Introduction

IDEATE: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology publishes the very best work produced by undergraduate students within the Sociology Department at the University of Essex.

This edition presents work across a wide range of topics, among them for example: Masculinity in the UK; delinquent subcultures; Durkheim and anomie; punishment; gender and crime; 'irregular sexuality'; antidepressants; inequality in health and wealth; sex tourism; US immigration policy; genocide and complicity.

All of the work published here has achieved a grade of 85%+ (1st year students), or 80%+ (2nd & 3rd year students). The only exception to this is for SC203 (Researching Social Life) data analysis assignments where the top 2-3 assignments only are published.

We are pleased and proud to be able recognise our undergraduate achievement in this way.

Congratulations to all and best wishes,

The IDEATE Editorial Team

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Emma Kyne: SC304 Globalisation and Crime

- [What social and psychological processes lead otherwise law-abiding people into complicity with genocide?](#)

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Gemma Threlfall: SC361 American Society: Ethnic Encounters in the Making of the USA

- [The plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty reads: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!" Has US immigration policy reflected these aspirations? Answer your question with reference to specific policies.](#)

Chloe Ward: SC361 American Society: Ethnic Encounters in the Making of the USA

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20th century boys in a 21st century world?
An investigation into what factors shape masculine identity in the UK, and the degree to which masculinity has evolved since the mid 1900's.

James Bicknell

On the surface, being a man is a simple thing: act tough, don't show emotion, win at all costs and love manly sports. However, is such a generalisation truly a representation of the modern male? Or even the male of the not so distant past? This journal shall investigate how one would define masculinity, and how society affects the modern male in his quest to decipher the many cultural taboo's of 'being a man'. This journal shall further highlight how men straddle the thin line of hyper-masculinity and effeminacy, and analyses if current advertising and film are socialising males into narcissistic, homoerotic and emotionally open tendencies that define man in a way he's never been seen before.

'No tears, no fears, what I want to be [?]': The impact of film and the media's portrayals of masculinity on male friendship (Michael, 1982).

The first factor to investigate is the extent to which homoeroticism has become socialised by film as a norm for male peer groups in current society. Films of the past portrayed masculinity as being emotionless in the face of catastrophe, and showing a stiff upper-lip, with stars such as Clint Eastwood in Western films conveying masculine men as having a constant poker-face, and an inability to shed tears (Horrocks, 1995: 74-75). However, the recent trend has been an emergence of the 'bromance', with men now witnessing images of heterosexual males displaying acts of homosocial bonding in friendships through films and other such media types (Wyatt, 2001: 55). Initially, the war film was the inadvert outlet for portraying men as being sensitive and close to one another, but this was permitted due to the hyper-masculine environment of war; the place where boys are socialised into being men (Simpson, 1994: 214). A modern example of this is the homoerotic relationship of Frodo and Sam throughout *The Lord of the Rings* film trilogy (2001, 2002, 2003), whereby they are shown embracing, crying into each other's shoulders, and carrying each other. However, due to the fact they have faced so much adversity on their quest, this 'unmasculine' closeness is overlooked by the viewer (Simpson, 1994: 215). However, it can be noted that in today's cinema this homoerotic bond has transcended the war film, and has in fact carved out its own 'bromance genre' (DeAngelis, 2014: 13-14). Films such as *Shaun of the Dead (*2004) and *Neighbours* (2014) all display the modern intimacy and emotional openness of male friends, such as crying and comforting each other.

Thus, it is unsurprising that such tendencies have leaked into modern male friendships, as individuals are socialised by the media into being more intimate with one another. One useful source for demonstrating this is the series *The Sex Hunters* (Sex Hunters Parts 1-5, 2008), a documentary about a group of northern friends who spend a summer in a Newquay caravan park, and whose main occupation is trying to sleep with as many women as they can. This documentary from 1992 is a prime example of male homoerotic intimacy in friendships. The majority of the documentary shows the males demonstrating very heterosexual and traditionally masculine tendencies, such as talking about the girls they seduce, weight training and boxing. However, the documentary also highlights the friends'

extreme intimacy, such as kissing each other on the head, crying about their familial relationship to one another, and even groping each other's genitals (Sex Hunters Part 5, 2008). To investigate if this was common masculine behaviour in modern society I conducted a participant- observation study around the University of Essex campus, in locations such as the student union bar, of a group of predominantly young male friends. During this study I also witnessed this homoerotic behaviour, where the males mockingly spooned, joked of being lovers, and confided about intimate problems to each other. This phenomenon of male friends being more affectionate to one another is thus a trait that has transcended film and been realised in many British male peer groups today (Simpson, 1994: 50). However, this thus leaves men conflicted in terms of what it means to be masculine. For example, the traditional view that men should be stoic and never share their feelings with other males in case they appeared vulnerable, known as the masculine 'mask of silence' (Tolson, 1977: 10), contradicts this newly portrayed view of the intimate bromance. Thus, men trying to assert their masculinity are constantly met by these conflicting parameters offered by the wider media: is it masculine to share your worries with other males or to deeply internalise them in order to forgo seeming vulnerable and 'unmanly' (Seidler, 1989: 143)?

'Cowboys and Angels': Hyper-masculinity, effeminacy and the fine line of manhood in modern society (Michael, 2017 [1991]).

Thus, this idea of conflicting notions of what it is to be masculine in modern society is an important area to investigate. While researching for this journal, it became clear that distinguishing between 'hyper-masculinity' and 'effeminacy' was difficult, and I determined this to be the 'fine line of masculinity'. For example, it quickly became apparent that many ideas we have of the masculine persona are in fact bordering on that of the feminine or, as mentioned previously, homoerotic. A prime example of this is the bodybuilder, an individual who trains in order to sculpt their body into the largest and most perfect form it can possibly be (Schwarzenegger, 1977, in Pumping Iron, 1977). Schwarzenegger in his bodybuilding and acting career would traditionally be thought to represent the epitome of the masculine ideal: a hyper-masculine, charming, muscular individual who no-one would want to provoke (Horrocks, 1995: 27). However, upon inspection the seemingly hyper-masculine world of the body builder, or the action hero that Schwarzenegger also portrays, can encompass a lot of very traditionally feminine attributes. As the famous bodybuilder Sam Fussell stated, bodybuilders go to extreme lengths of self-grooming to look their best for competition, and this is often to a traditionally feminine level (1992: 140). For example, bodybuilders must normally remove all body hair from their torsos, lather themselves in oil, use tanning cream or spray, wear tight competition briefs and apply mousse (Simpson, 1994: 42). Thus, it is clearly seen in this example that the bodybuilder is a walking confliction of masculinity: huge muscular men of almost unrealistic proportions who pose, dress and act in traditionally feminine ways.

These conflicting norms of bodybuilding have now transcended the subculture of the initially self-contained world of muscle building, and can now be seen in mainstream society. The male fitness and beauty culture has increased dramatically over the recent decades (Bordo, 1999: 179), and this is shown by the dramatic increase in the sales of male beauty products, with companies such as '*Mrporter.com*' showing a sale increase of 300% in 2015 for their male beauty products (Fury, 2016). The protein supplement industry is also growing drastically, with Euromonitor figures showing the sales of protein supplements worldwide doubled from two and a half billion in 2007 to nearly five billion in 2012, with males spending large amounts of money in order to increase their muscle

gaining capacity (Walker, 2013). This notion of male narcissism is a growing one, with males now finding their identity through beauty products, styling their hair, and sculpting and admiring their physique in the mirror after hours of working out and drinking protein shakes (Simpson, 1994: 95). This combination of hyper-masculine traits (men wishing to be muscular) and effeminacy (buying beauty products and high levels of self-grooming) thus leaves the male identity in limbo on what can be described as a 'thin line of masculinity'. For example, males who work out may be called self-obsessed 'posers', but those who do not may be ridiculed for their skinniness by others in society (Bordo, 1999: 221). The male image is transforming in society, and thus it is becoming increasingly complex for men and boys to be able to discern how to be masculine (Horrocks, 1995: 170).

'Sometimes the clothes do not make the man': Advertising and the media's effects on masculine identity (Michael, 2017 [1990]).

The media can exert a great influence on male perceptions of masculinity, and can further show attitudes concerning what masculinity is in the context of the time they were aired. It should be noted that the expectations placed upon men on what being masculine is have changed dramatically over the past decades, with males now being judged on their 'leanness' and their abs, or by being pressured to emanate the muscular physiques of those like Schwarzenegger or Stallone (Salzman, Matathia & O'Reilly, 2005: 125). Through analysing adverts from the 1960's to the present, it is easily recognisable that there has been a dramatic shift in how the male body in advertising is presented. For example, the advert for male aftershave '*Fore*' in 1969 (George Best 1960's Fore TV ad, 2007) depicts footballer George Best strolling through a park, with girls flocking to him as he passes (See Appendix 2). In the advert he is modestly dressed, and has a slim build. However, in comparison *Paco Rabannes'* 2016 advert for Invictus aftershave (INVICTUS / The Film EN / Paco Rabanne, 2016) depicts Australian rugby star and model Nick Youngquest strolling through a rugby field, with women and Greek Gods worshipping his muscular body as he passes (See Appendix 3). The two adverts portray very different interpretations of masculinity. For example, Best casually strolls through the park like an average pedestrian, and it is made clear in the advert that it is the aftershave that he carries that attracts the hordes of women. However, Youngquest attracts the women by displaying his shirtless and muscular torso, he swaggers across the pitch beckoning the crowd and his competitors to challenge his masculinity and sporting prowess, the large trophy on his shoulder representing his masculine and phallic power. The differences between the two adverts representation of masculinity are stark: Best is seen as masculine due to the fact he's wearing aftershave, and that girls are following him. His sporting prowess is not referred to in the advert, and the fact he is masculine is shown only by the advert telling the viewer he is manly. However, in the Invictus advert Youngquest is immediately portrayed as a hyper-masculine, athletic, and chiselled embodiment of masculine values, his confidence and egotism entrancing the viewer as he smirks at the camera upon reaching a room of beautiful women.

There are many other adverts that present this hard to obtain 'perfect masculinity' that the Invictus advert shows, such as *Calvin Klein's* and *Levi's* air-brushed models, and these adverts only aim is to make men feel inferior in order to sell their beauty and muscle building products (Simpson, 1994: 95-96). The fact that fitness magazines such as *Men's Health*, which are always utilizing ultra-muscular celebrities, bodybuilders and models on their covers (See Appendix 4), dominate the paid for magazine market shows the emphasis placed by males on needing to be muscular (Plunkett, 2014). Thus, it can be denoted that

modern advertising presents an unrealistic array of masculine ideals that are extremely hard to replicate for the average male, and thus the male identity is fraught with a feeling of inadequacy, and thus a reasoning for why 90% of male undergraduates believe they are not muscular enough (Bordo, 1999: 221).

'Everything she wants': The impact of females on masculine identity (Michael, 1984).

There are countless film plots that are based on males chasing women, and doing what they can to appease them. It can be argued that this is a representation of real life, and in fact women are the sex that defines what it means to be masculine (Salzman, Matathia & O'Reilly, 2005: 140). This argument states that heterosexual men spend their time and efforts trying to be what women would perceive as masculine, such as being strong and able to provide emotional support (Salzman, Matathia & O'Reilly, 2005: 140). The notion of the female being in control of men and their masculinity is often portrayed in films, as they are commonly the temptress or the catalyst for men to commit crime for them (Horrocks, 1995: 99). For example, *From Dusk till Dawn* (1996) depicts how predominantly female vampires pose as strippers at a club, and then slaughter the men they have tempted there in a frenzy, while *Psycho* (1960) shows how Norman Bates is psychically destroyed by his overbearing mother, to the point of embodying her image and abandoning his own masculine identity, murdering those she would see as impure (Horrocks, 1995: 97). Obviously, these can be determined as extreme examples, but one could say it's a dramatisation of the way in which mothers and other such female role-models can socialise their children into pursuing dreams and desires they were unable to realise themselves (Friedan, 1963: 289).

Analysing music lyrics has also proved a successful way of determining how males feel their masculine identity is shaped by female perceptions of them. For example, on Wham!'s album *Make It Big* (1984), the majority of songs are about women's control and exploitation of men, whether it be within marriage or by cheating on and teasing their lovers. For instance, in the song '*Freedom*' about a girl taking advantage of her boyfriend, George Michael sings that people are saying 'she's making a fool of you' as she is continuously unfaithful to him, and how she's severely hurting him but he'll forgive her anyway, despite it damaging his sense of masculinity (Wham!, 1984). Furthermore, the way the lyrics are sung in an upbeat manner could be interpreted to represent how males often take pain with a smile in order to hide how deeply hurt they are (Wham!, 1984). The common theme of this album, and of many other artists' songs, are examples of males in wider society feeling their masculinity is challenged and constrained by their desire to please and appear masculine to women. This clearly works in reverse as well for men controlling women's femininity, but the fact that men traditionally aren't meant to talk about their feelings and vulnerabilities (Seidler, 1989: 143) may explain why such artists songs are so popular, as they give a voice and refuge to men who feel they can't articulate their worries of being emasculated (Horrocks, 1995: 172-173). To borrow from psychoanalytical thought, as Mills advocates fluidity between the social sciences and humanities (2000 [1959]: 120), it can be described as males fearing castration by the growth of female power in all sectors of life, from politics to sport, and thus men seek to identify either with hyper-masculine genres (such as action movies like *Commando* (1985), with the big guns and explosive battles), or by absorbing feminine norms (such as high levels of self-grooming) in order to assert their identity in an uncertain world (Horrocks, 1995: 174).

Conclusion: 20th Century boys in a 21st century world?

In conclusion, it can be deduced that what it means to be masculine in modern society is extremely hard to define, and is much more complicated than one would initially theorise. This investigation has uncovered deeply diverse and rich data from the mediums of film, media, sport, advertising, books and of the analysis of music sources. From these sources, the investigation can infer that what it means to be masculine has changed in some respects dramatically, in the sense of the extent to which homoeroticism in modern film and bodybuilding sports have transcended the subculture and entered the collective male psyche and culture, as shown by Simpson (1994) and Horrocks (1995). Furthermore, parallels between 1980's culture and today's culture can be drawn, such as the re-emergence of big hairstyles (Quiffs, etc) and the revival of gender neutral clothing to an extent amongst males (See Appendix 5). Bordo has highlighted the body image issues that arise from advertising pressure, and how society attacks males for being too skinny, but also brands them as 'posers' if they work out and try and change their bodies (1999: 221). Thus, this journal has designated the difficulties males have evading these contradictions as a 'fine line of masculinity', whereby males struggle to straddle the line between hyper-masculinity and effeminacy; an issue that has made it more difficult than ever for males to discern how to be masculine (Horrocks, 1995: 170).

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Appendix 1: Journal Proposal

'20th Century Boys in a 21st Century World?'
An investigation into what factors shape masculine identity in the UK, and the degree to which masculinity has evolved since the 1980's.

This journal shall investigate how masculine values have changed in the last few decades, and attempt to determine what defines modern male identity today. The topic shall relate to the 'Feminist Imaginations and Gender Justice' lectures of the SC111 module, as these focussed on gender identities, the focus of my enquiry. The study shall further link to the work of Mills, as I have attempted to utilize his notion of 'intellectual craftsmanship' in my own work, such as allowing my personal experience and my sociological enquires to complement each other (2000, [1959]: 195). This practice has been essential while conducting my ethnography of masculinity in male friendships, allowing me to gain rich data from my interviews and participant observations on often overlooked aspects of masculinity. I believe gender identity is an extremely current debate to analyse, as today there are conflicting images of what it is to be masculine and feminine, and thus it can be hard for the individual to orientate their identity in the modern era. There were two personal inspirations for me to study masculinity: these were breaking my arm in August (a time of emasculation), and the death of George Michael. As a fan I always found the fact that he dramatically changed his image over the decade's a fascinating one. Thus, the idea of studying masculinity's evolution over the decades and unusual role models of masculinity emerged.

There are several sub-topics that I shall investigate in my journal in order to ascertain a broad understanding of what influences masculinities. Popular culture will be a critical aspect of the enquiry, as it encompasses music, fashion and media productions. 'Male Myths and Icons' will be my main resource to study this aspect, as it covers a range of popular culture from music to horror films, and relates to how these form masculine identity (Horrocks, 1995). Another aspect to investigate shall be the extent of homoeroticism in advertising and amongst male peers. For this I will use the book 'Masculinity', which delves into important topics such as the emergence of the 'bromance', and how this homoerotic relationship is a theme of many films and real life friendships (Lehmen, 2001: 3-4). 'The Male Body' is another book which richly analyses advertising, and is also useful for determining how hyper-masculinity and homoeroticism in fact inadvertently share commonality, thus projecting a conflicting image for males (Bordo, 1999: 153-154), which will be of interest to examine. Music lyrics, magazines and other such resources shall also be examined. The role of celebrity role models is also of importance in masculinity studies, and thus the book 'Male Impersonators' will be essential in understanding how these idols, such as Tom Cruise and Arnold Schwarzenegger, promote norms of narcissism amongst males (Simpson, 1994). I shall also examine older works on masculinity, such as 'The Limits of Masculinity' (Tolsen, 1977), in order to establish if theories of the past are still applicable today, and thus the extent to which the definition of masculinity has changed. A further occupation of this journal is to investigate if 1980's culture has re-emerged in the modern era, and thus underlying homoeroticism, the comeback of non-binary clothing and narcissistic self-grooming is possibly just 1980's culture and masculinity being reproduced today. Thus, the enquiry of this journal: is it a case of '20th century boys in a 21st century world?'

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Appendix 2

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Appendix 3

INVICTUS / The Film EN / Paco Rabanne (2016) YouTube Video, added by Paco Rabanne [Online]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NLNBlTC9Ekg Accessed: 21 April 2017

Appendix 4

Bicknell, J (Authors Collection) (2017a) Tesco Muscle Magazine Selection [Phone Photo]. Authors Phone

Appendix 5

Bicknell, J (Authors Collection) (2017b) Primark T-shirt [Phone Photo]. Authors Phone

Critically discuss the notion that delinquent subcultures are social solutions to social problems

Caterina Fantacci

This essay aims to analyse the different perspectives that lead to various understandings of the functions of deviant subcultures. Subcultures are a consistent part of what criminologists and sociologists study; most academics and researchers in these fields generally define them, in the study of delinquency, as sub-groups that share common values, norms, and beliefs different than the ones in a wider, mainstream culture (McLaughlin, Muncie 2013). It is a matter of debate, however, whether these subcultures function as a social solution to social problems or not. This essay will outline various sociological and criminological theories in this regard.

Since the 1920's and 1930's more and more theories within criminology and sociology began to search for an explanation of the causes of deviance. During this period, a key theoretical concept was developed by Merton who elaborated his strain theory, drawing upon Durkheim's concept of anomie (Tierney, 2010). Strain theory tried to analyse the adaptations of individuals in society, as they were led towards criminal behavior, when they felt tensions, supposedly because the socially expected cultural goal they were supposed to meet could not be achieved due to obstacles within the social structure (Tierney, 2010).

Subcultures started to be explored when Albert Cohen (1955) elaborated further on the 'strains' that can cause criminality. Cohen specifically studies the subcultures of young boys in the United States, concentrating on adolescents and the factors that eventually lead them to anti-social behaviour and delinquency (Hale, 2009). Whilst Cohen's work was centered around the delinquency of working-class boys, he concedes that crime does occur among middle-class individuals too (Cohen, 1955). Cohen also accepts that there may be various causes of crime, and may have different causations, but he focuses on the cases where individuals perceived delinquent behaviour as the solutions to anxiety and distress; what they do, he states, depends on what problems they face (Hale, 2009). In the case of working-class boys, the problem is the pressure to conform to and the expectations of the middle-class lifestyle and the 'solution' they find, to overcome this problem, is delinquency (Tierney, 2010). The American society, Cohen claims, is led by a powerful mainstream culture that, with its norms, rules, and values, sets standards that are unattainable for people in disadvantaged groups of society. Whilst Merton focuses on critiquing the American Dream as the main factor in causing strain, Cohen discusses that in reality strain is simply caused by not being able to reach a higher social status: it is not, simply put, about the ideal of success and wellbeing portrayed by the American Dream on its own. According to Cohen, some boys join others to form a delinquent sub-culture creating new counter-norms, and counter-values in response to the judgement from the middle-class, and as an attempt to construct their own personal status (Tierney, 2010). Explaining this, Cohen relies upon Freud's concept of 'reaction formation' – that is, people who are denied something (and in this case, social status recognition) react by excessively vilifying it. In Cohen's study, working-class boys look for others in their social milieu, who share a similar issue with adjustment, and then they group together, expressing hostility towards the dominant values of the society (Gelder, 2005). As school fails to provide support or erase

the inequality of opportunity, delinquent activities are the resources used to gain respect and strengthen one's own social status; thus, collectively, it is a social solution to a social problem (Tierney, 2010). It is important to notice how Cohen claims that the existence of distress, and problems with adjusting to the mainstream society, are not enough for the emergence of a delinquent social solution: the opportunity of association and the possibility of communicating with like-minded people are necessary and ought not to be taken for granted. However, this theory has been criticised for its possible over-prediction of criminality among the lower classes, and for another assumption that could be drawn: that most crime comes from the inherent lack of equal opportunities in the American society (Tierney, 2010). Following this reasoning it might be argued that crime could be policed by creating equal opportunities regardless of the social class of origin. However, giving equal chances to succeed would mean giving equal chances to fail – "strains" would keep existing and consequently, social solutions would be sought within reacting subcultures (Tierney, 2010).

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) expand on from Albert Cohen's theory, defining the formation of subculture as, once again, a collective solution to a common issue. For them, however, the principal problem is not the frustration of not achieving a higher social status. It is achieving a respected social status within their own lower class, rather than aspiring to the middle class (McLaughlin, Muncie 2013). Cloward and Ohlin find that there are three types of subcultures; criminal, conflict and retreatist subcultures. Criminal subcultures develop when youths grow up in neighbourhoods where criminality is not only visible to young people but also accessible to them; successful criminal models become the most important reference for behaviour. The aims of delinquency within this subculture are considered to be utilitarian, because they do not lead to violence, drug abuse or gang affiliations (Tierney, 2010). If the criminal subculture can't be accessed however, the means that young people will be relying upon is violence: in this instance material success in the neighbourhood cannot be reached (for lack of opportunities), thus conflict subculture develops. The retreatist subculture arises where it is not possible to successfully develop a criminal career nor to successfully defend one's own status with violence and strength as in the conflict subculture; the characteristics of this final group include the use of drugs and the affiliation with gangs (McLaughlin, Muncie 2013). All of these three subcultures still attempt to develop common solutions through anti-social behaviour and delinquency (Tierney, 2010).

The study of subcultures arrived in the United Kingdom with Downes in 1966. His research on subcultures also relies on Albert Cohen's idea of social frustration. The study focuses particularly on young working-class boys in East London, and it theorises that the young do not internalise the values of the middle class, rather they dissociate themselves from the mainstream culture and shift their interests towards leisure achievements. The collective solution to the problem is not delinquency itself then, as delinquent behaviour would only develop when the aspirations of purely pursuing leisure were not met. Because the pursuit of leisure is an aim gained through interactions within the group, when this quest fails, delinquency becomes again a collective solution to a shared social problem (Fionda, 2005).

In the 60's and 70's, other theories of subcultural deviance arose, still supporting a claim, similar to Cohen's, that the strict enforcement of a powerful mainstream culture (by the dominant groups) creates a deep conflict between that culture and the culture of other smaller groups that are seen as a threat and are thus marginalised (Fionda, 2005). Vold (1958) claims that like-minded individuals in these smaller groups would always "meet up" and form an alliance, even if only for one specific aim, and that they would always do so to

respond to a problem collectively (Brake 1985). In 1958, Sykes argued that inmates in prisons form deviant subcultures and groups functional to surviving in the new threatening and painful environment; delinquency serves as a social solution to cope with prison deprivations (Fionda, 2005).

The idea that subcultures are collective solutions can be found in Albert Cohen, Cloward and Ohlin, Vold, and Sykes and it is then taken, elaborated and developed further by Murdock, Hall and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies of the Birmingham University (Brake, 1985).
Hall and Jefferson, working for the BCCC, first outline what a culture is: a setting where social groups "develop distinct patters of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life-experience" (Hall and Jefferson, 2006;4). The culture of a group, or class, has special and different expressions, ideals, values, customs, and meanings. "Culture" is how the social relations of the groups are structured and framed, and also how these structures and frames are experienced and interpreted individually (Hall and Jefferson, 2006). These act as references to the individuals, but also constrain them into strict ways of expressing their identity and of relating to others; everyone lives and filters their own view of the world through the lenses of society, historical context and culture. Problems may arise when groups within society are too constrained, or have less power; e.g. because of institutionalised discrimination, stereotyping, racism. (Brake, 1985) (Hall and Jefferson, 2006). The hegemonic culture holds a monopoly in society, affects it and influences it more than any other, and will present itself as universal. However, the other less-powerful subcultures will try to change it and intervene so that they can be expressed; when subcultures attack the dominant culture, this latter affirms its hegemony again developing ideologies. The nature of this "battle" between the dominant culture and subcultures, however, is not a simple opposition. The subculture will always take elements from the dominant ("parent") culture while, at the same time, responding and reacting to it: thus, subculture needs to be discussed in consideration of this dual relationship. Hall and Jefferson (2006) on one hand discriminate respectable and criminal subcultures within the working class but also, on the other hand, analyse them in relation to the dominant culture. This double-edged approach is useful to understand the complex relations that the youth subculture has with the mainstream one. Some of these youth subcultures are regular and persistent within the mainstream "parent" culture. But, others are not; they appear only in a certain historical context or moment, they develop, they are identified and classified (by themselves or other cultures), and disappear with time or lose their peculiarities (Hall and Jefferson; 2006). The individuals in these subcultures however, do not disappear: members of a group may seem to act differently, have different values and behaviours, but they are still part of the dominant culture, as this is inevitably part of their milieu. The individuals of the subcultures may try to create "solutions" to the problems that the mainstream culture's limits provoke, but they will always have to interact with the bigger, more powerful social structure of the hegemonic culture. Indeed, those in the subculture are not the only ones experiencing the problems and the constraints of the parent culture; even individuals who are not members of a subculture may suffer from the same limitations but they, on the contrary, remain subordinate and do not react (Hall and Jefferson; 2006).

Matza disagrees with the concept that delinquent subcultures are a social solution: he suggests that delinquency is not a lifestyle, as people can move in and out of anti-social behaviour (Brake 1985). He also critiques Albert Cohen's theory's implication that once an individual entered a subculture, he or she could not eventually exit it, and he critiques its "over prediction" of criminality within lower classes. According to Matza, people, even the ones within subcultures, can drift between being deviant or non-deviant. In collaboration

with Sykes, Matza describes the technique of "neutralisation" that offenders use to minimise their responsibility for their actions and rationalise their behaviours (Brake 1985). By doing so, Matza and Sykes prove that such delinquents are not completely averse to the mainstream society's values and laws, and those delinquent subcultures are not real social solutions that derive from a complete disregard of mainstream values (Tierney, 2010). In disagreement with Matza's theory, Miller (Hale et al,2009) argues that delinquency is more a product of lower-classes inherent values, rather than a reaction to the loss of status or a lack of opportunity to achieve a middle-class status. The main difference between the lower and middle classes is the 'focal concerns' of the individuals (that are the most important issues within an individual's personality). According to Miller low-class youths emphasise the importance of luck, toughness, smartness and autonomy; and these have to be showed through demonstrations of physical force, recklessness, and defiance of the authorities. Miller states that these form part of the lower-class culture and deviate completely from the "socially acceptable" ideals of the middle class (Hale et al, 2009). In this instance, anti-social behaviour and delinquency could arguably be seen as both an individual and social 'solution' because, by performing these roles, the individuals would find personal fulfilment and sense of belonging, and the chance of establishing a respected reputation within the gang (Khrone and Lane, 2015)

In conclusion, throughout these analyses, it is important to highlight how Hall and Jefferson critique that the "structure vs actor" relationship in subcultures and the dominant culture is symbiotic. The collectivity in the subculture groups mediate the culture and develop new meanings, and these new meanings that the subculture uses are taken in return to be investigated and understood in the wide culture (Hale et al, 2009). Subcultures, for this reason, are more than mere social solutions; they are complex expressions of various interactions. Do these collective solutions just emerge from or in the subcultures? How much and to what extent exactly does the dominant culture affect the formation of these solutions within subcultures?

Many theories, as it has been shown, depict the development of subcultures as a coping mechanism, a common solution to a wider problem in the mainstream culture of a highly structured society. However, due to the complexity of the interaction between the individuals in the subculture and the subculture itself, and between the subculture and the dominant culture, it is difficult to argue whether these solutions are only collective: these interactions seem to be just as interpersonal as they are cultural, and the lines that define a true "collective solution" seem to become blurry.

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Using examples, explain Howard Becker's concept of 'becoming deviant' and outline what its implications are for understanding criminality

Sophie Joyce

In the 1960s, Howard Becker proposed the labelling theory in his book Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, which studied the concept of an individual becoming deviant. Within this essay, I will be examining how Becker's theory has benefitted societies' understanding of what is and what is not criminal. With the use of various examples, I will particularly focus on Becker's 'becoming deviant' theory and how and why specific actions are labelled as deviant and how this can influence societies' understanding of criminality. I will also compare Becker's theory of deviance with various other theories of labelling and deviancy. Finally, I will examine any faults and implications within Becker's theory that lead to a lack of understanding of crime and deviance.

Firstly, Becker suggested that an individual becomes 'deviant' due to their behaviour being labelled by external sources, such as, formal and informal responses. Due to the behaviour being labelled and treated as deviant by social judgements, the individual has an increased risk of becoming deviant and resulting to a 'deviant career' as the labels can have internal psychological impacts on the individual (Becker, 1963). Becker writes how:

> …social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders […] deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions of an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied. (Becker, 1963: 9)

For example, an individual who stole something once and consequently is labelled as a thief may grow up to commit a more serious offence of robbery. Due to the label, the individual may experience a self-fulfilling prophecy as they have been branded as a thief and as a result believe they have no other option but to fulfil this label.

An implication of Becker's becoming deviant concept is that it attempts to add justification and meaning to every human action, whether it be criminal or not. Becker's theory relies on social judgements to explain human actions to specific situations. For example, the action of two people kissing is labelled as romantic and withholding sexual tension behind it, rather than it simply being the action of two pairs of lips connecting. Labelling theory works on the basis of society interpreting a meaning behind every action. As a result, interpretivists label the individual committing the action with the same or similar label as they used for the action. Therefore, when a deviant act is committed and witnessed by members of society, the justification for the action is that it is the individual committing the action's fault and as a result, the individual is labelled as deviant. Consequently, due to being labelled a deviant, society automatically assumes the individual will offend again. This is an implication for understanding criminality as the theory does not hold any empirical evidence that the individual will offend multiple times. Some criminologists argue that 'either it is un-testable or, if it is tested, is found to be severely lacking in supportive evidence' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 95). Arguably, it is a blind justification that if an individual offends once, they are destined to continue offending.

Furthermore, Becker argued that all individuals have a motivation to commit deviant acts. Yet, although these individuals continuously consider committing a deviant act, the majority do not commit to these thoughts. The lack of confidence to commit these possible offences may be a result of social judgements the individual will experience from family, friends and wider society. For example, the urge to progress into the use of illegal substances can be tempting for an individual as they wonder what it would be like to experience a high. However, they may choose not to act upon the urge because they understand the complications and issues it can result in within their lives. For example, were the individual to become addicted to the illegal substance, they would be constantly attempting to receive their next fix and as a result may miss work due to being high and consequently lose their job. Without a job, the individual would not have access to the necessary funds needed to supply their drug addiction and subsequently may turn to further deviant acts such as theft and robbery as a means of receiving the money. Due to these actions, an individual may fall into a vicious cycle of deviancy as they believe it is their only option.

Becker also suggests that 'some psychological theories find the cause of deviant motivations and acts in the individual's early experiences, which produce unconscious needs that must be satisfied if the individual is to maintain his equilibrium' (1963: 26). This suggests that criminality and deviant acts are a result of an individual striving to maintain their mental balance between becoming a deviant and conforming to society. An implication of this view is the assumption that all those who have committed a deviant act had the impulse to do so. It can be argued that to understand criminality we should 'instead of asking why deviants want to do things that are disapproved of, we might better ask why conventional people do not follow through on the deviant impulses they have' (Becker, 1963: 26/27). Becker's concept of becoming deviant does not explain why only specific individuals commit deviant acts when most individuals experience deviant urges frequently. It fails to recognise that some individuals ignore the urges to offend and instead choose to conform to society's expectations. It also fails to explain how certain individuals shut off their impulses to offend, as it expects that only those individuals who are already deviant will have deviant urges that they will succumb to.

Carrying on, a major element of Becker's concept of becoming deviant is 'deviant careers'. A deviant career relies on sequential causation which 'refers to the sequence of movements from one position to another in an occupational system made by any individual who works in that system' (Becker, 1963: 22). Becker's sequential causation contains various elements, which I will be applying to the example of a drug addict. Firstly, there must have been the 'commission of a nonconforming act, an act that breaks some particular set of rules' (Becker, 1963: 25). The non-conforming act here is that of an individual taking an illegal substance. In this situation, if the individual does not get caught by the authorities then he does not receive a deviant identity. However, if the individual does get caught, they are likely to be punished for their crime. Due to this punishment, the individual receives a deviant identity; he is labelled as a drug addict. Consequently, if the individual accepts their label as a drug addict, according to Becker's theory, it will become their master status. As a result, the individual experiences a self-fulfilling prophecy. As described by Merton (1968), when an individual is treated in a particular way by society, in this case a drug addict, they begin to believe that society has no expectations of them other than those for which they have been labelled. Subsequently, the individual resorts to fulfilling the label they have received, as they believe they are branded with the expectations associated with it for the rest of their life. For example, an individual branded as a drug addict may resort to

continuingly taking drugs as they accept the label as true, and believe themselves to have no alternative options. Therefore, once an individual accepts their master status, they accept that they do not belong in conventional society and branch off into sub-cultures. These sub-cultures, in the case of a drug addict, contain other drug users and pushers with whom our deviant individual can connect and from whom they can learn. Meanwhile, as the individual has accepted their master status as a drug addict, they find it difficult to function within conventional society and therefore turn to crime, such as stealing and dealing, in order to maintain their deviant career:

> Thus, the deviant who enters an organised and institutionalised deviant group is more likely than ever before to continue in his ways. He has learned, on the one hand, how to avoid trouble and, on the other hand, a rationale for continuing'
> (Becker, 1963: 39).

Through this sequential causation, society has led to an individual becoming a deviant through means of judgement and labelling.

A positive aspect of Becker's theory is that a system is present to portray how an individual becomes deviant. However, the concept of deviant careers relies on these specific steps to establish causation between an individual receiving a label and, as a result, becoming criminal and resorting to a life of criminality. It can also be argued that Becker's theory does not actually establish causation, as it holds no empirical evidence that the label will lead to the individual's criminality. The theory relies on interpretation at each given stage. Becker's theory is deterministic as it focuses on how - once an individual is branded with a label - they are determined to fulfil its meaning. Katherine Williams argues that:

> ...it is not claimed that labels create certain types of behaviour, but rather that they and the effects that they have may be one of the factors considered in any offender's decision to choose criminality
> (Williams, 2012: 424).

For example, if an individual is caught and punished for taking drugs they may receive the label 'drug addict.' This label however is not deterministic. The individual still has a choice as to whether or not they will continue in becoming deviant as, during the period of punishment, the individual could receive a rehabilitation order enabling them to re-evaluate their situation and gain help in readjusting back in to conventional society. Therefore, an implication within Becker's theory for understanding criminality is that it relies too heavily on determinism.

Nonetheless, Becker's theory has contributed greatly to an understanding of criminality as it set out the basis for labelling theory. Edwin Lemert progressed labelling theory by suggesting that primary and secondary deviance were significant in explaining criminality and why an individual becomes deviant. 'Primary deviance' is where deviant acts go unwitnessed and therefore unlabelled and consequently have little effect on the individual. 'Secondary deviance', by comparison relies on societal reaction labelling, and due to this stigma results in the individual adopting the label as their master status (Lemert, 1967). Both theories depend on societal judgements in labelling a deviant, and the implications of these judgements lead to an individual progressing to criminal behaviour.

Although Becker's and Lemert's theories aid significantly in understanding criminality, they both fail to recognise the true victim within violent crimes. Due to the fact that

labelling theory and Becker's concept of becoming deviant focus on victimless crimes such as drug abuse, they fail to completely understand criminality as related to more serious, violent crimes. They place emphasis on the offender in the deviant act becoming the 'victim', due to being labelled a deviant, and consequently on the individual struggling to live with the label they received. Katherine Williams argues that:

> ...when they remove the normative element of the offence, they make the act appear morally neutral. It is made to seem that the disapproval of the act is confined to those in authority and they focus on victimless crimes where the perspective is easier to claim' (Williams, 2012: 424).

For example, if an individual kills an innocent person, they are branded as a murderer by all sectors of society. Yet, within labelling theory, this individual is the victim as they suffer from the label 'murderer' which can have implications for their later life, such as the inability to get a job. An implication of this is that the murderer's victim is deprived of the status of victim within labelling theory. Becker's theory lacks in the understanding of criminality because it does not view the offender as the criminal and the true victim is therefore deprived of any recognition. As a result, Becker's theory and Lemert's extension to it lack in their explanation of more serious violent crimes, such as murder and rape.

, Becker's theory was revolutionary for criminologists and the understanding of criminality during the 1960s, and continues to show relevance in explaining deviance in modern day criminality. Various researchers have applied Becker's labelling theory to different issues. T. J. Scheff, for example, applied Becker's labelling theory to mental illness and discovered how:

> ...five studies support labelling theory since they indicate that social characteristics of the patients help determine the severity of the social reaction, independent of psychiatric condition' (Scheff, 1974: 449).

Therefore, labelling theory is supportive not only in explaining how an individual can become deviant and progress to a life of criminality, but also in benefitting the understanding of various non-criminal actions. However, Scheff discovered how:

> ...in his analysis of labelling theory, Gibbs demonstrates that the concepts used in the theory are ambiguous, since they are not defined denotatively, i.e., in a way which allows for only a single meaning for each concept. He argues that this ambiguity leaves open many alternative meanings and implications. For this reason, he concludes that the theory in its present state is of little value' (Scheff, 1974: 444).

As a result, labelling theory contributes to explaining criminality by suggesting a rationale for understanding how, once an individual has committed a deviant act, they may continue to offend. Yet, although Becker's theory is simple enough to follow, it offers no proper definition for terms used, and this consequently can lead to limitations in the understanding of criminality and the various meanings that are derived from different deviant acts.

In conclusion, although Becker's labelling theory and concept of becoming deviant have contributed to the understanding of criminality, they have multiple limitations that significantly influence their explanation of crime and deviancy. Becker's theory sets out a basis for understanding criminality by suggesting it is a result of the labels a society places

on an individual's behaviour and how these labels can motivate the individual to commit further deviant offences. However, labelling theory is supported by no empirical evidence; it relies on the concept of determinism to argue that once an individual is labelled they are determined to fulfil its requirements. Yet, there is no empirical evidence to support this notion and, as a result, the theory is deemed impractical. Becker's concept of becoming deviant proposes a system of steps an individual progresses along in order to experience a deviant career. These steps however can be regarded as being ambiguous and inapplicable to violent crimes. Becker's theory is beneficial in explaining victimless crimes; labelling theory demonstrates how the offender becomes the victim once they have been branded with a label, and how this may have future implications in their lives. However, in the context of more serious and violent crimes, labelling theory deprives the real victim of their status as a victim. Consequently, labelling theory again can be regarded as impractical in the full understanding of criminality. Overall, I believe that Howard Becker's labelling theory and concept of 'becoming deviant' have benefitted the understanding of criminality to a certain extent; but there are too many limitations within the theory, I believe, to warrant it contributing more significantly.

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What are the potential limitations of interviews as a research method? Give examples of studies which have employed this technique well and discuss critically why in your opinion they are good examples.

Christabelle Quaynor

In this paper, I will be critically analysing and weighing out the advantages and disadvantages of the frequently used qualitative research technique: in-depth interviewing. In-depth interviewing is 'a qualitative method of analysis, which proceeds as a confidential and secure conversation between an interviewer and a respondent'. According to Bryman:

> In spite of proliferation of terms describing types of interview in qualitative research, the two main types are unstructured and semi-structured. Researchers sometimes use the term 'qualitative interview' to capture these two types of interview (Bryman, 2016: 466).

However, that is only one asset of in-depth interviews. I will be exploring the following factors in this discussion: the variety of interviews, feminists' framework, online methods, comparison with other research techniques, studies that have benefitted from this method (and how) and critically examining the level of reliability, replication, validity and practicality within in-depth interviewing.

In-depth interviews tend to predominantly be unstructured or semi-structured. Firstly, I will embark on exploring the quantitative method within in-depth interviewing: semi-structured. This is when the researcher 'has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referenced as an interview guide'. (Bryman, 2016: 368). Other strengths also include 'the potential to increase response rate' as well as 'ensuring the respondent is working on their own' (van Teijlingen, 2014). This stresses upon the idea of flexibility for the participant, resulting in them feeling more willing to take part in your study. When it comes to ensuring insight and quality within the responses as well as following a plan or guideline for your study and participants to "hold the floor", semi-structured interviews are strategic. Conversely, there are disadvantages to semi-structured interviews such as the risk of social desirability, as it may affect the 'validity of experimental and survey research findings'. Specified by Mitchell et al:

> ...semi-structured allows the investigator to ask additional questions. This could be considered a disadvantage due to data from follow-up questions could be hard to interpret as different participants ask different questions (1998: 302)

This may be a liability, especially when it comes to the attempt of comparison and replication.

There are also unstructured interviews: 'conversations with users and other stake-holders where there is a general topic, but no predetermined interview format or specific questions'. This may potentially be used by a researcher to 'gather rich in-depth data about the users without imposing restrictions on what they can express.' (Wilson, 2013: 44). Reporting further from Wilson (2013), this is mainly due to educative advantages:

'exploring a new domain when you are not certain about of the major issues facing users and gathering data on general themes rather than specific questions' (Wilson, 2013: 45). There are various explanations for preferring unstructured interviews; it all lies within the researcher's aims. A familiar agenda take for instance: 'the description and the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects' (Kvale, 1996: 31) which requires enhanced detail. In light of unstructured interviews, they 'tend to provide a more relaxed atmosphere than highly structured interviews where interviewers are limited in their ability to probe and explore paths important to the participant' (Wilson, 2013: 47). Evidently, characteristics of the environment can affect a research, so this increases the chances of validity. Due to unstructured interviews having a natural aura, this means 'the interviewer could develop a relationship with the participant which could mean they are more open and honest with their answers', increasing reliability so the study is more dependable. On the other hand, there are known potential limitations to doing an unstructured interview. For instance, 'there may be a great deal of information in the form of continuous speech. This has to be analysed by identifying themes – that is idea within the respondent's comments that can be classified or interpreted. This may be difficult and time-consuming, potentially open to investigator bias.' (Russell and Jarvis, 2008: 94).

According to Silverman, in-depth interviews are relatively economical in terms of time and resources. One of the strengths is: 'its ability to access directly what happens in the world, that is to examine what people actually do in real life rather that asking them to comment upon it' (Silverman, 2011: 166), overall increasing the ecological validity. Qualitatively speaking, in comparison to other qualitative research methods, such as focus groups, they 'have an advantage when trying to engage clients (decision-makers) in the research process. You are less likely to "lose" your client in the course of two or four hours compared to the time associated with IDIs'. Another critique is in-depth interviews require 'effective listening skills, a vital ingredient – being attentive to what the interviewee is saying or not even saying. It means the interviewer is active without being too intrusive' (Bryman, 2016: 475). This is a difficult balance, but bearing in mind, there are not many research techniques that are functional for personal and emotional themes (such as focus groups), e.g. in Rayburn and Guitar's unstructured study:

> ...they carried out interviews with homeless people in Florida. The research had the aim of dealing with a homeless person's stigma in their perspective. Although the researchers had prepared guiding questions, they tried not to lead participants in any particular direction. (in Bryman, 2016: 467)

Choosing an in-depth interview for this topic is an excellent choice, not only due to sensitivity from the participants but for the researcher to develop their knowledge and sympathetically listen. The more the researcher will know about this topic, the easier it would be to know what specific questions and themes to engage with. There is a significant freedom for the participant.

Quoting feminist researcher Biber: 'interviewing is a particularly valuable research method feminist researchers can use to gain insight into the world of their respondents.' (Biber, 2006: 114). To take this into consideration, someone may use an in-depth interview as a form of qualitative research due to the experience, comfortability and development in the field – in this instance, female interviewers. In-depth interviewing is convenient when it comes to research that both the interviewer and interviewee relate to (as it will be easier for the interviewer to know what to ask), in the likes of Biber's (2006) research about body-image issues. Biber interviewed a fitness-trainer in an unstructured context: 'I have

explained to her that I am interested in understanding women's body issue concerns and issues' (Biber, 2006: 111-112). Provided, this is a good example of a way to use in-depth interviewing as this study brings depth. For instance, the fitness trainer discusses her clients who often feel insecure and ask for help, so this makes the interviewee more reliable due to her occupation, since she is speaking for a particular community she often encounters. Yet, it is not always that straightforward. Due to Oakley (1981)'s listing of everyday interviewing strategies such as the 'interviewee and interviewer relationship being a hierarchy', this may cause tension, especially as a female interviewer (Roberts, 1981: 44). With this in mind, 'feminist researchers have developed their own framework' this emphasises the balance between the interviewer and interviewee – such as: 'a non-hierarchal relationship' and 'a high-level rapport between interviewer and interviewee' (Byrman, 2016: 488). This is an effective criterion – variables are being taken into perspective within in-depth interviews and equality is rightfully being recognised as one element.

Introducing the drawback of in-depth interviewing, Marvasti explains:

> First, you will need an operational definition of your topic, e.g. should racial discrimination be defined legally, should you follow the perspective of the victims and potential aggressors or should you, yourself define a term? Whatever you decide, your research will be stuck with how you define the phenomenon at the outset. (Marvasti, 2004: 11)

So, who has the right to define it? Will that affect the reliability and validity? Therefore, there is a lot of caution when it comes to sensitive topics, which are common within in-depth interviews. Referring to Kvale's criteria, examples of high-level requirements are that the interviewer is 'sensitive: listens attentively to what is said and how it is said; is empathetic in dealing with the interviewee.' As well as: 'interpreting: clarifies and extends meanings of interviewee's statements, but without imposing meaning on them' (Kvale, 1996: 88. On the other hand, I might decide to do an in-depth interview due to the versatility and flexibility. Such as: email, video-call, face-to-face interviews or telephones. For instance, Nettleton et al:

> …interviewed fifty-one people and the interviewees were approached by email after submitting relevant postings in various lists that were being studied. One of the online interviews was with a woman in her 60s with myalgia encephalomyelitis (ME), who bought along the importance of online social support for someone with this condition (Bryman, 2016: 491).

One platform that was used was a free chat system (MECHAT) allowing others to interact with others on the site:

> 'The mailing list is MECHAT, in particular has been a real lifeline. I check mail several times a day. I have been able to discuss things with people who understand […] it's a real comfort' (In Nettleton et al, 2002: 183)

One of the common referred advantages for in-depth interviews is comfortability – whether it is face-to-face or used online. Online research often benefits from connectivity and a great platform to be connected with your study. Not only does Nettleton's study demonstrate this, but it shows that participants may feel warmth and satisfaction from taking part in the research, even forming life-long connections with other participants due

to having a condition or trait in common.

Other non-face-to-face qualitative methods are frequently used:

> Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) were conducting a study of visitors' and
> correctional officers' views concerning visiting jail inmates in California. Due to
> the difficulties associated with conducting the study, some respondents had to
> be interviewed by phone (Bryman, 2016: 484-485)

Sturges and Hanrahan concluded there were no noticeable differences with quantity, nature and depth of the responses' (2004: 107) Thus, this study shows further evidence that telephone interviews do not affect depth – but it also shows it enables you to access participants that may be difficult to come across in usual face-to-face interviews. Nonetheless, there are also some limitations when using an alternative method. One factor when it comes to in-depth interviews is not what someone says but how they say it (or not say it), their micro-expressions, or even how they enter the interview room. With using qualitative research as online personal interviews, this makes it impossible to examine the participants' body language in depth. Other complications include:

> …the phone line may be poor, this is not the best technique for interviews and
> conversations that are most likely to go on for a long time, participants may not
> give their consent to being recorded' (Bryman, 2016: 485).

Problematically, in participant observations for instance, there 'are certain areas that could be observed – albeit indirectly through hidden hardware like a microphone – but that would raise ethical considerations.' (Bryman, 2016: 494) Therefore, this is at least an option of consent in in-depth interviews, which makes one less ethical complication for your in-depth interview study.

In-depth interviews are an economical qualitative method of research when it comes to the necessity of depth. There is vitality in the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee, while giving the interviewee more of a voice. It is useful for sampling, flexibility and most of all: enhanced quality. The main task in interviewing is to evolve and expand a powerful interpretation of the interviewee's words and actions. Various researches have done this effectively, thus increasing their reliability and validity, expanding the sociological field of research. The necessities for in-depth interviewing require training for credible analysis, as well as multi-tasking without interruption during the interview. Interviewers may find this stressful and would rather resort to alternative qualitative research methods. However, this is important to realise, with making your study more valid and dependable, the training is worth it. Nonetheless, in the future of sociology, our ability to develop further knowledge and techniques in quantitative research methods may as well continue to develop as we critically discuss our methods – this may hopefully lead to a path that increases validity and we are getting closer, in time and research.

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Outline the main argument of Merton's essay on 'Social Structure and Anomie'. What are the major differences between Merton's and Durkheim's conceptualization of anomie?

Ahmad Muqri Adi Marhain

In Modern Society, anomie is seen as an outcome of social change both theorized and conceptualized by sociologist Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton. Durkheim's idea of anomie is the change of organic society through individualism and social differentiation caused by decreased social control in modern society resulting in confusion with social norms and values. Merton's idea on anomie sees society on a persistent fluidity where society instead places pressure on individuals to accomplish goals that are highly regarded in society, but these are restricted to people because not everyone is successful. Throughout the essay, I will outline the main key points of Merton's essay on "Social structure and anomie" and compare it with Durkheim's concept on anomie.

Firstly, Emile Durkheim uses the term anomie in 'The Division Of Labour' where he discusses the importance of solidarity. Solidarity in society is what holds all individual members together; it is what makes people feel like they are part of their society. He divides solidarity into two sections, mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is pre modern society where everyone in the society shares the same values bound together by 'commonalities, similitudes and likenesses '(Pope and Johnson, 1983) The 'commonness of beliefs and sentiments, appears as the defining characteristics of societies grounded in mechanical solidarity' (Durkheim, 1983:19) shows that there is a collective consciousness found in mechanical solidarity which shows there is a strong social cohesion in society.

The transition of mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity resulted in a very drastic change. Organic solidarity increased with individualism because every individual had their own different abilities and specialised in something different, which brought in more variety to individuals due to an increase of economic prospect. There were more people that had different values and beliefs. The differences in people found in organic solidarity from mechanical solidarity caused individuals to stray from each other creating the feeling of isolation in individuals led to the theory of anomie. Anomie as suggested by Durkheim is the destruction of the bond that binds people in a society. 'Man is the more vulnerable to self-destruction the more he is detached from any collectively, that is to say, the more he lives as an egoist.' (Durkheim, et al, 1972:113) Durkheim notes this as the egoistic constituent of human nature, which is a danger to society.

Additionally, Durkheim also outlines that capitalism provides possibilities for members of society to obtain their own wealth and become affluent. It allows people to be able to earn more but through the cost of their own expenses. Anomie is significant in this point because society changes so rapidly, that individuals are unable to adapt to this change. In regard, to Durkheim's division of labor, individuals must act as organs as part of a system in order for the system to act smoothly and fluently. They need interaction and reassurance from one another. If this system does not act smoothly, anomie will occur. Individuals tend to work as hard as they are not able to cope well with the rapid changes in social

interaction that they face. They may work from a lower class to reach a higher class in the social structure but still end up facing misery because they still feel like they have not adapted to live a happier life. Durkheim found that in countries with higher GDP have higher suicidal rates during the industrial age where people especially in the lower class started being able to work. Anomic suicide is frequent in organic societies, which also shows Durkheim's differences to Merton's because Durkheim focuses towards looking at social facts such as suicide rates. Secondly, Merton's idea of society differs from Durkheim's concept of solidarity. Merton focuses on the process and perspective of an individual within that society in comparison to Durkheim's concept of solidarity, which explains society as a whole. Merton was more inclined towards middle range theories rather than theories that explained everything at a larger scale similar to Weber who rejected the 'prevalent evolutionary and mono – causal theories whether idealist or materialist, mechanic or organic' (Weber, 1978:35). Merton has similarities and influences in his works with Weber where he also sees that individuals are human actors motivated to action by the existing cultural values and social norms. He sees that there is a "latent function" that the individual's basic needs and ambitions drives society rather then their actions to society in an altruistic manner. Merton also targets how society tries to shape individuals within its societies, which 'Parson' also mentions referring to the Hobbesian's problem of order. 'Desires are random, there is 'no common rule of good and evil to be taken from the nature of the objects themselves' (Parsons, T. 1937:86). This builds from Durkheim's concept of solidarity because Merton explains that society doesn't just transition from pre modern to modern, it evolves with individuals creating a new set of goals and ambitions for themselves that is shaped by societal norms for example living affluently. Not everyone is able to achieve this because social structure limits people's wealth and opportunity to seek wealth but it encourages individuals to achieve creating a very economically competitive environment for individuals. Merton outlines that every society has a set of cultural goals such as being able to live affluently and have a reasonable amount of wealth, which can then be used for luxury and clothes. Most societies cultural goals are based on materialism and being your own person as well as reaching your aspirations. In order to achieve these goals, they have to be done through socially accepted ways such as working hard through owning a business or inheriting money from a wealthy family. However, not everyone is able to achieve these goals through legitimate ways so Merton's suggested society's way of getting these aspirations through five different ways, which are 'Conformist, Ritualist, Innovators, Retreatist and Rebels (Merton, 1968:140). These are ways in which people respond to society's preferred goals and leads towards Merton's idea of deviance in society. Individuals' means of achieving these goals tend to lead to crime. Merton's theory is focused more towards on the inequality of society that not everyone is given the same opportunity to get the same chance of success as everyone. Merton's idea of anomie relies more towards consistent change in social structure in comparison to Durkheim where anomie is a result of rapid changes in society.

Also, Merton's argument against Durkheim's theory of anomie is that societal restraints regulate individual goals and aspirations. In comparison to Durkheim, anomie is a result of rapid changes to modern society due to capitalism; there are fewer restrictions to individuals where we see the rise of individualism. People have more control to what they can and want to do so anomie doesn't cause any restrictions to people's goals and ambitions. Merton however argues that the de-institutionalisation of society norms causes anomie where society pressures people to follow the social norms but this will prove impossible because not everyone is able to achieve the same ambitions. People are divided into classes, which means that lower class people are unable to have the necessary wealth to achieve these ambitions culturally accepted by society but still thrive for their

aspirations through any means possible. 'Any cultural goals which receive extreme and only negligibly qualified emphasis in the culture of a group will serve to attenuate the emphasis on institutionalized practices and make for anomie.' (Merton, 1968:235) Both Merton and Durkheim are able to explain the causes of the anomie at the macro level but Merton's theory focuses more towards society through the experience of an individual rather than society as a whole.

Furthermore Merton and Durkheim both accept that society itself is the cause of its own crime. Merton believes that the social structure in a society is very important because society as a whole expects an individual to impose a certain social norm, which sets the bar too high for someone living in a lower class. Individuals need to achieve these cultural goals through available institutional means. However, people are constantly changing and become more active in their roles, they are no longer passive. Individual people in these societies can start to reject or accept these values and rules so they can act within their own decisions. What resorts people to deviances and crime is that although people can start to make their own decisions, they start to make irrational decisions or obtain the culturally set goals through illegal ways that leads individuals to crime. The way for individuals to achieve these goals 'becomes typically preferred to intuitionally prescribed conduct' (Merton, 1957:132), leading people to break the law. As mentioned before, Merton gave out five ways individuals adapt to societal norms and the majority does not accept societies values and rules. This suggests that society loses its social norms and values with modernity, but less rules causes more chaos leading to the downfall of society. Too much freedom causes society to become unstable resulting from people feeling like they don't belong in a society so they reject societies norms that leads to an increase of crime and deviance.

Similarly, Durkheim also states that society is responsible for its crimes, which Merton agrees with. Crime is caused by the individualism of society as a process of changing from mechanical solidarity to organic society. However, Durkheim suggest that crime is in fact a normal consequence of society and can actually help to create a much more healthier community. This is because having crime actually helps to strengthen the bond between people who accept society's rules and norms in comparison to those breaks it and helps to distinguish them from one another. This has always been the case for mechanical solidarity but in organic solidarity, laws change or become more complicated as opposed to mechanical, which is much, more simple. New laws that come with organic solidarity are needed because they see people as individuals who are far too important to lose since society relies on each other. Punishments are design to reform or correct individuals rather then focusing on killing the individual. Durkheim suggests that crime is needed in order to perfect its criminal and punishment systems since crime is a perfectly normal feature of society. If there is no crime, then there is something wrong with that society.

In comparison with Merton and Durkheim, they both agree that society is held responsible for crime and deviance but have different explanations for it. Durkheim explains crime as a natural feature of a society, a feature that is needed in order to improve society because it distinguishes individuals who accept or reject society which constantly shapes societies norms. Without crime, there will be anomie, which leads to chaos. Merton's thoughts about crime are similar to Durkheim but focuses more towards how society shapes people to resort to crime especially due to social structure. He acknowledges that crime is caused by society but however notices that social class and structure are the reason to why people tend to act through criminal behavior. The weakening of social norms causes people to achieve these goals in their ambitions even though they realize they are not in the position

to obtain them. These suggest that crime embellishes in a competitive environment created by society.

In conclusion, Merton's arguments on Durkheim have its drastic differences. This is because Merton has a different approach to sociological explanations where Merton tends to focus on the social needs and the individual experiences of society rather than observing society as a whole. Merton suggest that anomie in society is caused by the social norms misguide individuals in that society. People are pressured to attempt to achieve the culturally preferred goal without having the position to obtain it thus placing them in a challenging environment where individuals are inclined to compete against each other, through any means possible even if it means breaking the law. The weakening of social norms confuses people yet drives them to attempt to achieve these goals. This results in anomie because people start to feel like they don't belong in their society, yet trying to compete with other individuals in order to redeem themselves. Durkheim also blames society itself, which results in crime and deviance but explains that it is a healthy and normal feature of society necessary in order to perfect its system. He explains that crime is needed to strengthen the bonds in a modern society between individuals because it differentiates people who follow the social norm and those who don't which will decrease anomie in individuals. Both sociologists Merton and Durkheim share the same belief that society is to blame but they emphasize on different arguments. Merton seeks to provide a stronger social control over to society in order to prevent anomie in comparison to Durkheim who believes crime is a solution to making society a better place.

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According to de Beauvoir, woman has been defined as the 'other' of man. Discuss?

Mihailescu Mihaela-Georgiana

This essay will firstly introduce a brief background of the major work and noteworthy influences of Simone de Beauvoir, the mother of feminist theory. It is necessary to provide a greater insight of de Beauvoir contribution in social sciences, as it will fully contribute to a better understanding of her theories, therefore, facilitating both a factual analysis and criticism. Furthermore, it continues with an exploration of one of the most notable works of de Beauvoir, 'The Second Sex', delving into the aspects and ideas which are a prominent touch in the wave of feminism; about the subjugation faced by women in Western society; about the fact that women are not born as women, they become one. The primary thesis of her work, is that men essentially oppress women by portraying them as the 'other', whereby defined solely in opposition to men is analysed in a close link with the emancipation of women in order to ascertain whether women are inferior and secondary to men. Additional criticism and theorists will be included as it is utterly important to provide an in-depth analysis on her concept and thesis. I will conclude with my own views upon the extent to which women are portrayed as the 'other', secondary to men.

A French writer, existentialist philosopher, intellectual, political activist, feminist and nevertheless social theorists, Simone de Beauvoir, however she didn't view herself as a philosopher, she had a great impact on both feminist theory and feminist existentialism. She is highly regarded and appreciated for her 1949 treatise Le Deuxième Sexe, translated as 'The Second Sex'. The Second Sex is considered to be a detailed and definitive analysis of women's subjugation and oppression, notwithstanding a crucial tract of modern, contemporary feminism (Bair, 1990:23-6). De Beauvoir's analysis concentrates on the Hegelian idea of the 'Other'. It is the (social) development of woman as the quintessential "Other" that de Beauvoir distinguishes as elemental to women's domination and oppression (Mahon, 1993:70-5). Furthermore, the influence of Marxism can be distinguished in both de Beauvoir's personal life and work. She has been acknowledged for her political views and interests, as she was criticising and condemning the capitalist system in her publications regarding politics. She additionally challenged and questioned her bourgeois background in terms of the social and cultural norms, as to her relationship with Jean-Paul Sartre, both her fellow academic and partner (Bell, 1991:60-9).

The Second Sex is an expanded exploration of the issues women have experienced all through history and of the conceivable outcomes left open to them. It is likewise considered to be a classic of the studies of gender, or it may even be viewed as the point of departure of the distinction amongst sex and gender; while sex represents a biological distinction, gender is a socialised distinction, emerged from nurture rather than nature (Mills, 1995:60-8). Moreover, she contends that all through history, women have been characterised as 'the Other', an abnormality of the normal and natural male. Since women were constantly considered to diverge from the normal, and therefore, unavailable to attempt to emulate the normality enforced by males, they were regularly subjected. De Beauvoir considered the fact that only by relinquishing this assumption, feminism could progress (Walsh, 2000:59-67).

There is a presence of biases even in the supposedly objective social and natural sciences in their assumption of women's inferiority to men and, thusly, fortified that bias and validated patriarchy, allowing male privileges. In spite of the fact that Beauvoir acknowledged the existence of biological divide, she questioned the social values attributed to those distinctions (Bauer, 2012:85-9). In order to clarify the cultural, rather than inherent psychological and innate biological principles, de Beauvoir (1949) asserted:

> One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman. No biological, psychological or economic fate determines the figure that the human female presents in society; it is civilization as a whole that determines this creature. Only the mediation of another can constitute an individual as an Other (De Beauvoir, 1949:330)

According to the quote, de Beauvoir remarkably declares an influential focal thesis of the book: the fact that 'woman', as a biological construct, is divisible from 'feminine', as a social development or more broadly, that sex is not equivalent to gender. Hence, the women's status and position under patriarchy as the 'other' is a conditional, socially built constructed reality, instead of an inherent truth about the gender of a female. Furthermore, it is necessary to appreciate that de Beauvoir is not denying the fact that there are biological distinctions amongst men and women, nor does she demands that these biological distinctions must be simply disregarded in a legitimately constituted society. Alternately, she demonstrates that our biological constitutions do not establish our gender traits or characteristics: as masculinity or femininity, being modest or nurturing, delicate or emotional- these aspects are developed and compelled absolutely by social influences. Under various social conditions, men and women can freely and naturally behave in ways fundamentally different in relation to the contemporary social standards (Simons, 2010:20-6). De Beauvoir disputes that it is not the biological state of women, essentially that constitutes an impair: it is the means by which a woman establishes this circumstance, which renders it negative or positive. None of the exclusive female encounters the progression of female sex organs, feminine cycle, pregnancy and nevertheless, menopause – have a significance in themselves; however, in an oppressive or hostile society they can receive a negative connotation, of being a disadvantage and a burden, as women come to both acknowledge and accept the meanings and context a patriarchal society confer them (Oliver, 2000:29-37).

As stated before by de Beauvoir, gender has to do more with our existence- a way in which we live, rather than something we biologically are. Gender is obliged by social pressure in a substantial manner, since we are constrained and compelled by the society in the ways in which we can genuinely act and behave. For example, a woman in Canada in the 1950s could not simply choose as an individual to act and behave as a man, or as someone who is neither feminine, nor masculine- and along these lines, change her gender singularly. Regardless of the possibility that she was bold enough to endeavour the experiment, as per de Beauvoir and as well as the other existentialists- one cannot hold a specific trait, functioning as masculine, except that others perceive one as doing so (Butler, 1986:38-47). This accentuation of the social development of gender, race, and other elements of the reality we encounter in our everyday lives is linked with de Beauvoir's dedication to existentialism. The dogma that existence precedes essence is fundamental to existentialism: individuals have no pre-given essence or purpose decided for them by neither biology, nor God. In accordance with existentialism, each consciousness confronts the world as a detached and isolated individual, and unavoidably creates itself, offering itself a definite form through taking decisions. These decisions are constrained by the need

to react to the things that surround us, including both other consciousness and the passive natural matters (Tidd, 1999:100-7).

De Beauvoir and Sartre perceive the confluence of one's consciousness with another as significantly unsettling: confronted with the gaze and expression of an 'other', we acknowledge a perspective which is essentially divergent to our own, thus we are obliged to admit our own insufficiency. Moreover, this divergent consciousness must regard us an 'other', which it is conceived by us as a threat that will eventually shatter us by transforming us into an object. Sartre ascertained that everything we perceive, as well as other individuals, is interpreted as an 'object', being defined and characterised by us. De Beauvoir embraces this concept and relates it to men's perception of women. Furthermore, even the notion of 'woman', de Beauvoir contends, is a male notion: a woman is constantly an 'other' in the light of the fact that the male is the 'seer'. He is defined as a subject, while she is defined as an object, as the concept of being women is offered by men (Coşkuner, 2015:20-4). De Beauvoir's feminism can be viewed as an expansion of this concept: in regards to the threat postured by other consciousness, as indicated by existentialism, one may react by dominating and objectifying the 'other', to have the capacity to control it without obliterating it and in this manner, have the capacity to endure its gaze. In this way, as indicated by de Beauvoir, men have dominated and objectified women as the other, and capitulate to all-inescapable social burdens women have permitted themselves to be dominated (Lundgren-Gothlin, 1996:82-8).

De Beauvoir contends that as a young girl's physique evolvement occurs, every new stage is experienced as dreadful and traumatic and differentiate her more forcefully from the opposite sex. On the other hand, in this process of development, the society responds in an increasingly undermining and hostile manner. De Beauvoir analysed the method of 'becoming flesh', which is the procedure through which one comes to acquaintance with the image of oneself perceived as a sexual, bodily being unveiled to another's gaze. This aspect does not need to be perceived as negative, but predominately, young girls are frequently compelled to become 'flesh' contrary to their will (Joseph, 2008).

> The young girl feels that her body is getting away from her... on the street men follow her with their eyes and comment on her anatomy. She would like to be invisible; it frightens her to become flesh and to show flesh' (De Beauvoir, 1949:333).

There are numerous occasions in the development of a young girl's life which fortify the belief that it is misfortune to be born with a female body. The female body is considered to be such an embarrassment, a nuisance, a torment, a humiliation and nevertheless, a problem to deal with. Even supposing that a young girl tries to overlook the fact that she has a female body, society will instantly remind her. De Beauvoir offers several examples, starting from the mother who constantly criticises and disapproves her daughter's posture and body, marking her feel insecure; the sexual remarks of the men she passes by, making her feel embarrassed to the humiliation felt when male relatives are joking about her menstruation (Hughes & Witz, 1997:50-8). Nonetheless, de Beauvoir likewise offers positive illustrations of having a female body. She demonstrates that there are circumstances in which young women can be comfortable and pleased in their bodies, as well as proud and euphoric. Consider a young girl who relishes strolling in the fields and woods, feeling a significant association with the nature. This incredible sense of freedom and happiness felt is in nature is in contrast with the one she feels in a social environment. In nature, the male gaze is non-existent, there is no criticism from the mothers. She no

longer perceives herself through others' eyes, and in this manner, she is certainly free to define and construe her body for herself (Dallery, 1985:197-201).

As (Kiefer, Sanchez, Kalinka, & Ybarra, 2006:104-7) have analysed, a crucial component of belonging to a patriarchal society is the eventuality of undergoing a further dismaying event- the commencement of sexual intercourse. The act of intercourse is more physically traumatic for young girls since it necessitates penetration and an amount of corresponding pain. Socially, young girls are kept in a greater condition of ignorance, compared to boys, as they are often unprepared and vulnerable for what is to come. When it comes to the cultural aspect, the predominately techniques of sexual intercourse are not ideal for the female pleasure and climax, as they are designed to both submit and objectify the woman. De Beauvoir touches upon the sexual education received by girls, which has a tendency of romanticising the act itself, emphasising the courtship era and the delight of tender caresses, however, never the penetration. Therefore, when the intercourse takes place, it appears to be crucially different from the romantic images and fantasies depicted by young girls. De Beauvoir dryly analysed the situation: 'love assumes the aspect of a surgical operation' (De Beauvoir, 1949:404).

The experience of pregnancy, as expressed by (Johnson, 2010:250-5) is considered to be more positive, thus it remains ambiguous and vague for women: it can be both viewed as an unfair intrusion of her body and simultaneously an astonishing enrichment. In the process of the advancement of pregnancy, the society is predisposed to perceive her as less sexually alluring and attractive, as no longer sexually accessible. Therefore, she escapes temporarily from the male sexual gaze. De Beauvoir claims that pregnancy is a positive progress in a woman's life, as 'now she is no longer in service as a sexual object, but she is the incarnation of her species, she represents the promise of life, of eternity' (De Beauvoir, 1949:518).

Furthermore, the aspect of aging is not ignored. The aging woman is portrayed by de Beauvoir as an 'intent on struggling against a misfortune that was mysteriously disfiguring and deforming her' (De Beauvoir, 1949:595). This is a highly negative depiction of the maturing process. It summons the myriad of cosmetics advertising, which compel women to purchase the products in order to fight against the passing of time. Nonetheless, de Beauvoir's portrayal is a genuine one, as illustrated in her autobiographical writings: she truly struggled to comply with her aging body in regards with losing her attractiveness and looks. However, as a philosopher, she analysed this mentality as being a cause of an inordinate price set by society on such transient assets. She had acknowledged societies definition of her value as her own particular definition (Moi, 2008:179-85). De Beauvoir admits that as a woman persevere through the approaching of age, she may encounter a more positive phase of life: 'She can also permit herself defiance of fashion and of 'what people will say', she is freed from social obligations, dieting, and the care of her beauty' (De Beauvoir, 1949:595). Despite the numerous negative aspects of the old age, it can produce a type of liberation from society's constrain. The freedom increases, as the desire to adapt and conform disappears. De Beauvoir's view is that freedom necessitates space to act. In the instance of female embodiment, there is frequently no space for women to truly perceive their bodies through their own particular gaze, as the male gaze infiltrates everywhere (Silver, 2003:379-84).

De Beauvoir's major contributions to the establishment of women's feminist theory were progressive, however there were additionally other premature contributions which were for the most part overlooked. For instance, Georg Simmel, debated the fact that women are

objectified in Western societies, as the hierarchies and main values are dominated by a 'male culture', preceding the argument of Simone de Beauvoir. Furthermore, he recognised the 'female culture' as having a complementary significance (Simmel & Oakes, 1984). As argued by Professor Ewa Morawska (Morawska, 2017) this focus on the Western culture had not significantly been explored before, still Simmel haven't been recognised for these concepts. This aspect raises the question of the male academics fear of gender equality, as it interferes with the male dominated and patriarchal society.

To conclude with, de Beauvoir introduced an in-depth analysis of the women perceived as the 'other', secondary to men. The perspective that women do not choose to consider their bodily processes and bodies in a negative way, yet they are compelled to do so, as a consequence of being embedded in an oppressive patriarchal society is significant in understanding the otherness of women. On the other hand, there are noteworthy emancipation movements towards gender equality, as women are given the freedom to express their own views upon their bodies and choices. What feminist academics such as de Beauvoir are amplifying the space for that freedom to blossom. Notwithstanding, I believe that it is crucial to remember that de Beauvoir's creation, 'The Second Sex' was published in 1949. Both the social setting of that time and the geographical position, France, will be inconceivably distinct to our contemporary industrialised Western societies, for instance, the UK, which is a vital element to consider when endeavouring to establish whether a woman is genuinely the 'other' of man.

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Crime and Masculinity: A Critical Review

Daniel Powell

'Until recently masculinity has been absent from mainstream academic research' (Mac & Ghaill, 1996:1). Therefore, it is particularly interesting to understand why males commit most crimes and are present throughout all parts of the criminal justice system, but the concept of masculinity is ignored. Theorists such as Messerschmidt suggest that a strain of masculinity exists in which males who are unable to achieve masculinity (qualities or attributes regarded as characteristic of men) seek illegitimate means to do so. This is a concept grounded in sociological research such as Merton's strain theory and Cohen's study of delinquent boys. This review will analyse the lectures, class discussions and the literature presented that focuses on the dominance of males in the criminal justice system to formulate a critique of masculinity and crime.

The lecture introduced the concept of malestream criminology; this immediately flags up an issue with the way criminology is operated. This is because it is dominated by men in most sectors, an argument that has been highlighted and put forward by feminists. In class, we discussed hegemonic masculinity; this was identified as the power of men that hold masculine attributes as a reason why they may dominate the criminal justice system. This therefore has led to a question that further reading has also drawn on -are the offending behaviours of men and women like one another? (Simon & Redding, 2005). This idea of malestream criminology therefore suggests that either men commit more crime because of masculine traits reinforced through biology and socialisation or they are overrepresented throughout the criminal justice system. Collier (1998) draws attention to how 'explaining the disproportionate criminality of men with women has been foundational for criminality' (Collier, 1998). Therefore, the lecture introduced a concept that needs to be taken critically to formulate a thesis of masculinity in respect to the over representation of men in criminology.

The lecture advanced to introduce the concept of gender and sex, which have often been misperceived. In class, we formulated that sex includes anatomical definitions whereas gender includes socially constructed and cultural distinctions of identity. This therefore portrays that the fluidity of gender as different forms of socialisation can lead to different levels of masculinity or femininity. It is hard to categorise individuals into binary opposites of male or female. It is this distinction that is key in developing an argument on gender. Mirra Komarovsky (1989) highlighted how gender roles are context specific. Komarovsky further explained that gender roles exist and these roles occurred during periods of social change (in Faver, 1989:287). This highlights the social fluidity of gender rather than a predisposed binary definition. Therefore, it is hard to examine masculinity as an explanation to criminal behaviour because it is a term that operates in a spectrum and although it is argued that masculinity leads to criminality when said masculinity is achieved through illegitimate means (Messerschmidt, 1993). This proves difficult to state as the very concept of male or not male may be non-existent, instead, it depends on where you fall on a spectrum of gender. However, key literature supports the view that criminality is caused by a strain of masculinity. This is because Messerschmidt describes how 'masculinity challenges may motivate social action towards masculine resources' and in the case of Sam and Jon it was their sexual assaults because of not being able to fulfil

sexual desires and to objectify women; traits that they had learned as "masculine" as a result of primary and secondary socialisation (Messerschmidt, 2000).

Sex role theory was another key concept that was highlighted. This links closely to the definitions of gender and sex and joins to formulate a theory of gender and crime. This explains how biological differences have led to differential socialisation. One key literature reviewed supports the view that this can lead males to commit crime. For example, Jon identifies his masculinity with not crying or being weak:

"I can't cry, I can't show people the soft side of me" (Messerschmidt, 2000)

Therefore, this demonstrates how males identify masculinity with being strong and tough and portrays how they wish to achieve it. Cohen (1955) supports this view, explaining that 'since the mother has become the principal agent... of good... behaviour goodness comes to symbolize femininity' (Cohen, 1955:164). Therefore, key theorists such as Messerschmitt and Cohen link males to crime as a way to achieve their masculinity and rejection of femininity. However, this would only explain violent crimes and crimes that leads an individual to achieving some form masculinity. Therefore, ignoring crimes of the powerful and other non-violent crimes that in no way support a masculine role.

However, a counter argument to this is the idea that any criminal behaviour can be a form of masculine behaviour as to do something criminal can implement a dangerous status that has been associated with masculine traits.

The lecture mentioned that Judith Butler, a key feminist theorist, argues that sex is determined by one's gender. Butler (1988) further explained that the reality of gender was formulated and sustained through social performances (Butler, 1988:528). Butlers assertion here was that one does not come in to their gender because of their sex, but there are specific biological traits that cannot be ignored when analysing the differences between males and females. This therefore explains how individuals may use crime to achieve masculinity to associate with their gender.

Messerschmidt identified masculinity and strains of ways to achieve it. He explained that masculinity is what leads people to a criminal career as one of the most fundamental ways to do so is to use illegitimate means. This therefore closely links Messerschmidt's ideas with that of Merton's idea of strain theory. This is because strain theory outlines how the inability to achieve upper class ideals, that are promoted prominently in contemporary society, causes a strain and thus leads individuals to utilise illegitimate means to achieve them. This is supported in a case study presented by Messerschmidt where Jon, one of the participants identified himself as "short" and "fat" (Messerschmidt, 2000). Jon's inability to meet the dominant masculine position he was socialised in led to a strain that ultimately led his achievement of masculinity through illegitimate means. Sam, another participant in Messerschmidt's study, aligns with the strain theory where Sam explained that:

"Babysitting gave me a place where I was in control" (Messerschmidt, 2000).

This demonstrates how individuals without legitimate means of achieving masculinity could experience a strain of masculinity leading them to illegitimate means of achieving it. Having said that, this strain is not peculiar to every man and it is therefore not justified to suppose there is a causal relationship between the strains in society placed upon males and the masculine inferiority felt by them. Jon suffered numerous abuse as a young child and

Sam was adopted. Kirschener (2009) explained that adoption and crime go hand in hand while conducting research on criminal statistics as 'adoptees are 15 times more likely to kill one or both of their adoptive parents than biological children' (Kirschner, 2009). Therefore, in the case studies presented by Messerschmidt, other important factors need to be considered. For example, Cohen in his book delinquent boys suggests that predominately males join gangs and participate in a deviant career not only because of the frustration placed on them by masculine ideals but because of middle class ideologies as well (Cohen, 1955). This highlights how Messerschmidt ignores important factors such as class strains and subcultural influence.

To conclude, it is clear how masculinity may lead to a career in criminality with arguments put forward by researchers. Equally, it is important to consider the difference between sex and gender, which Butler suggests that gender may determine sex rather than individuals use gender to live up to the social expectations of their disposed binary disposition. Ultimately, it is true that a strain can exist because of masculine ideals and these can be promoted through socialisation however there is often a combination of this strain with other factors such as class and subcultural strains that can lead an individual to a career criminal. Theorist such as Merton who researched these strains may be better at explaining the micro influences of offenders. Nonetheless, masculinity is an important influencing factor and should not be ignored when analysing reasons why an individual may commit a crime.

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Compare and contrast the main macrosociological perspectives of punishment. Answer with reference to at least two of the following theorists: Marx, Durkheim and Foucault

Adam Wells

Understanding the role and effectiveness of punishment within society in both a contemporary and historical sense has long been subject to debate within both Criminology and Sociology. Two theorists who take on a macrosociological approach to the study of punishment are Emile Durkheim and Michel Foucault. Durkheim's approach to the study of punishment is based upon how it is used to ensure and establish social stability and cohesion. He views the development of society as a transition between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The former, being characterised by little division of labour and shared norms, values and beliefs labelled by Durkheim as 'conscience collective'. The latter therefore highlights a complex division of labour in which individuals complete different tasks within society with cohesion and stability arising as a result of the interdependence between members. In contrast to this, Foucault, despite also offering explanations and trends seen within social structures throughout history adopts a more radical approach. He focuses on the interconnectedness of power and knowledge and uses how punishment, particularly in the form of the prison allows for the subtle, yet firm control the powerful have over the majority. Despite being a radical approach, Foucault distanced himself from the Marxist perspective with this, combined with the amount of contemporary influence both these perspectives have demonstrate a very distant similarity between the two with general consensus highlighting the significant differences these perspectives have in relation to one another.

An undisputable fact acknowledged by both perspectives is the historical transition that has seen punishment evolves from very violent, barbaric and public acts towards punishment that is based on rehabilitation characterised by the use of the prison. These theories contrast with each other primarily around the reason for this dramatic change. For Durkheim, as a result of the transition from mechanical to organic society in which the concept of 'conscience collective' transforms 'law and punishment were concerned with restoring relations between individuals.' This being because 'social solidarity depended on cooperation between specialized functions and their agents… restitutive sanctions and civil law reflected these structural realities.' (Thompson, 1982:73) Whereas in organic societies, collective sentiments were influenced by religion so criminal acts were seen as a crime against God and required a severe penalty. Overtime, these religious beliefs have diminished and crime, seen only as an act against another man has less of an impact upon members of society 'The offence of man against man cannot arouse the same indignation as an offence of man against God.' (Durkheim, 1973:303) This being Durkheim's first law of penal evolution and needs to be taken in combination with the growth of humanistic sympathies ensured punishment was focused on depriving offenders of liberty highlighted through Durkheim's second law of penal evolution. This to a large extent is supported by Gresham Sykes, who identifies the primary functions of the modern prison being that of depriving individuals of liberty amongst other by-products of social life such as autonomy, and sexual relations which has overtaken barbaric forms of punishment due to it offering an 'humane alternative' while still being 'just as painful as the physical maltreatment which they have replaced.' (Sykes, 1958:64) Therefore performing similar functions whilst adapting and embracing the transition from mechanical to organic societies.

This model can be criticised coming from an Anthropological perspective. The ethnographic study of Trobriand Islanders completed by Malinowski and interpreted by Barnes demonstrates that Durkheim generally overestimates the amount of repressive law seen within mechanical society. Barnes, as reported by Thompson highlights the 'tolerant nature of the Trobrianders' social relations and the non-religious basis of their legal system.' This being combined with it being 'governmental action that is typically repressive.' (Thompson, 1982:90) Despite this only making reference to just one case study the evidence introduced means that when taken in combination Foucault's perspective may hold more weight in explaining punishment throughout society.

Foucault in direct contrast offers an explanation for this change based around power and control. He argues that the use of corporal punishment was an overt demonstration of the power and control of the sovereign state. But, often had the opposite of the desired effect 'rules were inverted, authority mocked and criminals transformed into heroes...For people who are there and observe, there is always, even in the most extreme vengeance of the sovereign a pretext for revenge.' (Foucault, 1977:61) Meaning this form of punishment was too costly, both economically and politically especially within a modern Capitalist society in which 'power in Capitalist society had to be exercised at the lowest possible cost,' (Carrabine et al: 2014:311) this prompting fairly rapid social change in which control over the majority was registered in a subtle cost effective manner. (Foucault, 1977) This being in the form of 'panopticism' introduced by Enlightenment thinker Jeremy Bentham in which control through self-regulation through constant apparent surveillance, described by Newman as:

> The panopticon had a central tower around which were arrayed the prisoners' cells. The central inspection tower was designed in such a way that the prison guards could, at all times, see into the prisoners' cells. However, the reverse was not true... The theory was that this constant visibility would bring about a sense of vulnerability and, in turn, would lead to self-control on the part of the prisoner
> (Newburn, 2013:333)

To Foucault, this model was not limited to the prison; it can be seen within the development of many social institutions ranging from schools to factories. This being supported by Perryman, who introduces the notion of 'Panoptic Performance' in which the same principles are placed upon teachers who under constant and intense supervision from external bodies alter their behaviour 'performing in ways dictated by the discourse of inspection in order to escape the regime.' (Perryman, 2006) So while both perspectives place emphasis on how punishment is used to keep society together and stable the reasons behind this differ greatly. For Durkheim, the whole of society benefits whereas Foucault would argue that in reality punishment is for the consolidation of power for the ruling class.

This is not to say that Durkheim and Foucault contrast each other indefinitely. Durkheim does agree with Foucault that the severity of punishment is very much dictated through the existence of absolutism, especially in the form of a monarchy which was seen to be at their height during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He does this however while still retaining the religious aspect of his argument demonstrated through the first law of penal evolution, 'The one who controls it appears to the people as a divinity... this religiosity cannot fail to have its usual effects on punishment.' (Durkheim, 1973:305) As well as this, both writers place emphasis upon how punishment in the modern era can be interpreted as being highly individualised. This is demonstrated through the use of rehabilitation and correction which Ramp highlights helps 'restore offenders to themselves...making them fit

again for full citizenship.' (Ramp, 1999:82) When taken in combination with the time in which Foucault released 'Discipline and Punish' 1975, a time in which rehabilitation was at the forefront of the criminal justice systems of western Europe and the United States this line of argument can be given significant weight. Despite this significant similarity, the overriding theme that promotes these two theories being on the opposite ends of the spectrum is the reason for this similarity. Durkheim arguing that it is necessary for the stability of society due to the interdependent nature of organic societies while Foucault places emphasis on power relations within society.

In addition to this, both Durkheim and Foucault's theories have, to a large extent, significant contemporary resonance with certain events and trends seen throughout society over the past fifty years having these theoretical interpretations. First of all, Durkheim, through his work on the 'collective conscience' which is broadly defined as the beliefs, morals, norms and values of held by the majority of society. (Scott, 2013) Punishment therefore 'serves to restore and reinforce the outraged *conscience collective'* (Cavadino & Dignan, 2007:72) essentially ensuring members of society are aware of what is right and wrong. As for contemporary relevance, the aftermath of the uncovering of the crimes of Jimmy Savile, Brennan argues 'what has ensued has been described, variously, as a long overdue recognition of past wrongs or a witch-hunt.' (Brennan, 2014 p.305) From this it can be inferred that the social shock caused through these revelations triggered a tightening of social morals to such an extent that the majority of media personalities who were influential around the same time as Savile came under intense scrutiny and led to the occasional miscarriage of justice in which the reputations of innocent individuals were tarnished through the tightening of morals formed in response to ensuring nothing such as this occurs again.

Similarly, Foucault's argument based around the idea of power being maintained through self-regulation is overtly clear throughout modern society with the most significant proponent of this being the excessive use of 'Closed Circuit Television' (CCTV). Despite being largely ineffective with Kietzmann and Angell introducing the statistic that only 'one crime is solved by each 1,000 CCTV cameras.' (Kietzmann &Angell, 2010:135) However, as pointed out by Kietzmann and Angell 'the state therefore still needs to instil the belief in the population that the very presence of monitoring artefacts means the virtual attendance of authority: that being caught red-handed on camera undoubtedly leads to punishment and perhaps prison sentences.' (Kietzmann & Angell, 2010:135) However, due to the successful use of CCTV footage in high profile cases such as the 1993 disappearance and murder of Jamie Bulger CCTV appears to be an effective tool of criminal justice and legitimises its existence and use therefore operating under a guise in which the state can control the population through the notion of self-regulation. This also brings to light another major difference between these two perspectives, the idea that individuals self-regulate their behaviour based upon external factors such as they might be being observed can be interpreted as following a Classicist perspective in which individuals weigh up the costs and benefits of engaging in crime meaning Foucault's perspective also incorporates elements of individualisation, in comparison to Durkheim, who firmly supports the notion of social facts being external to the individual and influential on their behaviour, there is no place for individual action within Durkheim's theory and although Foucault doesn't explicitly mention this factor due to the association of his theory with Classicism and the Enlightenment tradition it can be interpreted as such.

Another aspect that these two theories have in common is the distance in which they both are from the Marxist tradition. Which in itself varies a great degree due to the theoretical

foundation the theorists have? Foucault for example worked closely with Marxist writer Louis Althusser and continued the Marxist paradigm through focusing on key Marxist themes such as power and repression. Having said this however, as highlighted by Cavadino and Dignan Foucault 'distanced himself from Marxism whilst remaining politically radical.' (Cavadino, &Dignan, 2007:68) The distance originates from lack of emphasis placed by Foucault on the influence of the economy and is replicated to a certain extent within the work of Durkheim offering a further similarity between the two perspectives. For Durkheim, collective sentiments such as religion were a more influential force than the economy this promoting the biggest contrast between Functionalism and Marxism, the consensus against conflict approach to punishment. This claim can only however be supported within mechanical societies in which the influence of religion was substantial with the result being the aforementioned use of punishment against the body of an individual. In modern society, coming from the perspective of Loïc Wacquant, who highlights the influence of neoliberalism on crime control and punishment whereby the economy really is influential and responsible for economic deregulation, growth of wage work that is precarious in nature, low wages and reduced rights for workers and leads to significant levels of social insecurity which paves the way for increased levels of criminality through the creation of alienated and marginalised groups. (Wacquant, 2009) This has two implications, the first being that economy in modern society is more influential than Durkheim is prepared to admit with it helping create the conditions in which punishment can thrive with legitimacy and the concept introduced by Foucault in which society creates delinquents who are 'used by the bourgeoisie for a variety of political purposes... essentially a 'divide and rule' strategy.' (Cavadino &Dignan, 200:69) Essentially the economy creates barriers in which portions of the working class are divided this helping restrict the growth of what Marx labels 'class consciousness.

Overall, it is clear to see that on the whole, these two perspectives of punishment are worlds apart. From the theoretical foundations in which Durkheim focuses on the positive aspects of punishment in relation to ensuring and sustaining social stability while Foucault is concerned with how punishment is used to prop up power and control the working classes. The similarities that are apparent between these two perspectives, in the form of the stance they take in relation to the Marxist perspective and the possibility for them to be applied to contemporary society demonstrates how different these perspectives truly are, with Durkheim failing to make reference to power relations and Foucault failing to make reference to the importance of other factors as introduced by David Garland in the form of opposition to these practices of discipline and in the form of his quote in Cavadino and Dignan's work 'his penology is actually too crude and simple, reducing the complex phenomenon of penalty to questions of power and little else.' (Cavadino, &Dignan, 2007:69) This when combined with the fact that both perspectives have influenced subsequent waves of theorists within Criminology gives both their ideas significant weight in relation to analysing and exploring punishment.

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What factors shaped the concern with 'irregular sexualities' within the popular press and government policy during the 1950s and 1960s?

Tim Chechlinski

In 1967 the British government decriminalised homosexuality in England and Wales. The 1960s are noted as a period of sexual revolution characterised within popular culture by the free love movement. The change in the law was as a result of altogether more British affairs: a Parliamentary committee, a debate on morals and a series of sex scandals sensationalised by the British tabloids. This essay will first examine the events that led to the Sexual Offences Act (1967). The post war atmosphere combined a heady mix of the promotion of family values and a crackdown on the so-called deviant, culminating in the 1957 Wolfenden Report which made a series of recommendations separating the regulation of private and public activities. The Montagu and Profumo scandals highlighted how British values of the era were perceived and promoted by the public and the press. Examination of the press treatment of the Profumo Affair will further argue that 1950s and 1960s Britain was a period of a contradiction of late Victorian prudishness and late twentieth century permissiveness. The combination of these was the beginning of legal and moral changes which opened the floodgates to a dichotomy of progressive liberalism and regressive conservatism on matters of government interference and press reporting within British sexual life.

I met (men) in the streets. I think gay people today are very lucky. Insomuch as if they don't want to, they have nothing to conceal. Homosexuality wasn't on the TV, or even the radio, never. It was never, never, never mentioned. It was just ignored, it just didn't exist (Anon cited in Porter and Weeks, 1991:124).

The above quote taken in the early 1990s referring to what it was like to be gay prior to the Sexual Offences Act (1967) is typical of many of the reports from the time. Homosexuality was not just illegal and misunderstood, it also created often miserable conditions for those men who identified as homosexual, due to social expectations of heterosexuality and stigma. The decades following the second world war saw the gradual exposure of homosexuality within British society in the media and government policy. Throughout the gradual revelation that homosexuality existed within British society, the main source of information on the matter was from unsympathetic and sensational press coverage. With a backdrop of curiosity and scandal that homosexuality provided, thousands of gay men's lives were made a misery with legal problems that often culminated in imprisonment, electric shock therapy or chemical castration (the most infamous of the latter being performed on computer scientist Alan Turing). It is relevant to understand what happened that saw homosexuality in the UK go from being largely ignored to becoming an issue of public and legal concern, eventually ending up being decriminalised (Houlbrook and Waters, 2006 Mort, 1999).

The Beveridge Report (1943) was a landmark moment for British social reform recommending changes which went on to be instigated in law, in areas of pensions, health services, national insurance, family allowance and unemployment benefits. Widely regarded as a major milestone of social progress in the UK in the post war era, part of it

served to benefit the promotion of the traditional nuclear family. This appeared to benefit the British government, in the functional process of repopulating the future workforce, which had lost so many during the Second World War. The promotion of the traditional heterosexual family unit meant the further marginalisation of so called irregular sexualities: male homosexuality and heterosexual prostitution. The early 1950s London, becoming the centre of the world stage: in 1951 (the Festival of Britain) and 1953 (the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II). With such a spotlight on the British capital, concerns were raised about the visibility of the immoral activities in the so called 'vice capital of Europe' (Mort, 1999). Specifically, the visibility of female prostitutes and male homosexuals on the streets of London, in locations with proximity close to the centre of government, press and Royal institutions caused concern. There was even literature published for those travelling through London, particularly aimed at business men: advising them of how to safely take advantage of the illicit pockets of sexual London life. The presence of such activities were in contradiction to that of the then Conservative government, led by Winston Churchill, which wanted to promote values, more suitable to the Victorian era. The home secretary at the time Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe led the charge against such vice and instigated the Wolfenden Report in 1954, to silence the issues. Unbeknown to him, it was the Wolfenden Report which went on to recommend the decriminalisation of homosexuality something which he fiercely opposed (Houlbrook and Waters, 2006 Mort, 1999).

The Wolfenden Report which began its investigations in 1954 came at a time when arrests for homosexual acts and prostitution were at a record high, predominantly due to the spotlight which had fallen upon such illicit activities. Thousands of men were arrested for gross indecency, namely homosexual acts, often through police entrapment in public toilets. The most well-known example at the time was the Montagu scandal, a sensationalist event focussing on the arrest and subsequent imprisonment of Lord Montagu, landowner Michael Pitt-Rivers and journalist Peter Wildeblood. Well reported by the British press, the arrests were based on the crime of 'conspiracy to incite certain male persons to commit serious offences with male persons' (Wildeblood, 1999), a charge not used since 1895 to charge and imprison Oscar Wilde. The essence of the arrests was based on acts committed in private, and unlike many of the arrests of homosexuals during the era, was not in the public sphere. It was the Montagu scandal that prompted the Conservative government to create Wolfenden Committee to neutralise the newly highlighted public awareness of homosexuality, which at the time was at a high. The media still offered the view that homosexuality was exclusively dangerous and predatory, for example a *Sunday Mirror* article from 1962 offered the headline "How to spot a possible homo" (McCormick, 2016). The response to the Montagu trial was to the surprise of many who were empathic towards those charged with crimes. Many questioned the purpose of arresting people for private activities. This led to the Wolfenden committee questioning whether such acts committed within public or private spheres should be considered the same, within the eyes of the law (Mort, 1999).

The Wolfenden Committee itself was initially aimed at looking at prostitution and homosexuality. It was the latter that went on to capture the committee's interest and which proceeded to dominate the investigation. Among the significant witnesses that came before the committee was Peter Wildewood, who spoke to the committee only two months after his release from prison. Having been at the centre of the spotlight following the Montagu affair, he spoke on the premise that he 'had nothing further to lose' (Wildeblood, 1955 cited in Mort, 1999). He helped to initiate early characterisations of the homosexual space and difficulties encountered within them:

...a life lived in secret crippled the personality; freedom brought 'decency and dignity' to a homosexual's sense of who he was (Wildeblood, 1955 cited in Mort, 1999:109).

He also used his appearance to define the three areas of homosexuality: 'glandular homosexuals', pederasts and the men attracted to other men (respectively known in contemporary English as: transsexuals/ transvestites, paedophiles and gay men). This separation was a calculated attempt by Wildewood to define the form of sexuality which he situated himself as a positive as opposed to the other two groups, which he deliberately portrayed as negative. He pointed to the fact that glandular or effeminate homosexuals were perceived as amusing by the public which was unhelpful to the normal homosexual cause; while suggesting the pathological pederast was an 'entirely separate condition'. He presented pathological and glandular homosexuals as those belonging to the spheres of prison or the carnival, while his own group being the one, in Freudian terms merely within the psychological sphere. He pointed to such normal and common forms of homosexuality as ones which could not be helped, and was neither proud nor ashamed of his 'condition' (Wildewood, 1955 cited in Mort, 1999). Wildewood's appearance at the committee helped to provide the first ever official public insight of homosexuality from the mouth of a self-confessed homosexual and represents a breakthrough moment in gay rights, that once publicly addressed made it increasingly difficult to silence. Instead of silencing the issue as Maxwell-Fyfe had hoped, the committee was giving the issue an empathetic and educated voice (Mort, 1999).

One of the significant tasks the committee awarded themselves with was to draw maps of the homosexual spaces of London. These maps included public landmarks and intimate locations of homosexual desires, many of which found common space, such as the public toilets of Piccadilly Circus or Soho. Police reports referring to the arrests due to gross indecency helped to form actual maps, in the grand tradition of Booth and Rowntree. Police witnesses described the customs, practices, timings, locations and characteristics of homosexual activities. Since the late 1930s Metropolitan police had practised entrapment of homosexual men, normally within public toilets. They emphasised the uniqueness of each the physical areas, some operating for the pleasure of business men during a lunch hour or more commonly within the public toilets during the evening. The offered insight into the diversity of the participants, from soldiers, clergy men or the judiciary to those in more creative professions such as actors, hairdressers or dress makers. They exposed some of the methods the homosexuals used to initiate a sexual liaison, as well as pointing to the often-international exchange of information and secret languages used. These reports help to illustrate how the 1950s homosexuals were limited to fulfilling their private and then illegal sexual desires within a public sphere (Mort, 1999).

During the final months of the formation of the report, one of the committee members Goronwy Rees was exposed as the author of a sensationalist report in the tabloid newspaper *The People* exposing English traitor Guy Burgess as a drunk, drug addict and homosexual. Initially his authorship was anonymous, and when revealed, he was forced to resign from the committee. Perhaps the most significant consequence to come from the revelations 'lay in the connections which it exposed between elite masculine society and low-life in the capital' (Mort, 1999:112-113). The Wolfenden report had exposed a previously buried and secret subculture of homosexuality and prostitution. Once the report was finally published in 1957 it recommended that although immoral, it was important that the activities of homosexuals and prostitutes be within the realm of government control; there should be a divide between the sexual activities within the public and

private, as highlighted by the Montagu case. For the prostitutes, the effect was immediate, with the 1959 Street Offences Act, with that the acts of heterosexual prostitution were driven off the streets into the commercial realm. The opening of massage parlours and striptease joints went on to dominate areas such as Soho. It took ten years for the Sexual Offences Act (1967) to enter UK law and following the recommendations of the Wolfenden Report decriminalised consensual private homosexual acts for adults aged over twenty-one (five years older than heterosexual consent). This act was often seen as an act of pity for an already derided group of individuals. It is perhaps understandable that further liberalisation of homosexuality did not take place until the 1990s, such was the almost begrudging nature of the imposition of the Act (Mort, 1999). This collision of post Victorian values and the changing values relating to sexual permissiveness as seen in the examinations of the Wolfenden Committee can also be seen in one of the most infamous moments of 1960s Britain: the Profumo affair.

The Profumo affair was a scandal involving the then British War Secretary John Profumo, under Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. His relationship with Christine Keeler, a nineteen-year-old model who was also allegedly sleeping with a Soviet naval attaché was framed as being a potential security risk; 'the Profumo affair was made in Fleet Street' (Davenport-Hines, 2013). The British press, which already had a difficult relationship with the Macmillan government, became notorious through their detailed reporting of the case. Falling readership, in an era when television became a dominant feature of the British home, the scramble for readers, meant increasingly sensational methods and salacious stories. The tabloids of Fleet Street were a hotbed of sexism, racism and homophobia, comparable to the atmosphere of a Western Saloon. The stereotypical shabby hack in a rain mac and pork pie hat was dominant during this era, using tactics which the phone hackers of the twenty first century would find uncomfortable. Vulgarity, brashness and a habit for invasive humiliating reporting, were among the key attributes (Davenport-Hines, 2013).

> A paradox of the 1950s was that the English increasingly claimed sexual acts as the private business of consenting adults […] there was simultaneously a growing desire for the intimate details of people's lives to be exposed to the dazzling searchlights of newspaper prurience (Davenport-Hines, 2013:196-197).

By the time of the exposure of the Profumo Affair in glorious detail in 1963, part of the British public, namely tabloid readers were increasingly permissive of private sexual freedoms. In return for a progressive attitude, they wanted to know every detail. The story had indiscreetly echoed around the hallowed halls of the privileged few and Fleet Street for several months. In that time, it connected a society osteopath Stephen Ward; Profumo himself; model Keeler (who temporarily disappeared); her friend Mandy Rice-Davies; Soviet military attaché Yevgeny Ivanov; high profile figures such as the Astor family; a shooting incident, and many other names and side stories. The resignation of Profumo opened the floodgates for the media, who were prompted by his ministerial resignation, now found free rein to report as they wished. Keeler who was paid thousands of pounds for her story by the press, embellished the exploits for heightened narrative. A show trial of Stephen Ward for living immoral earnings concluded with his suicide. The affair and the reporting of it, left an indelible mark on British society. Debates raged over the moralistic state of Britain in 1963 with concerns over private versus public (his resignation for lying to the House of Commons was publicly supported). The glamorous and sexualised figures of Keeler and her friend Rice Davies appeared side by side with the stories of deception, national security and moralistic condemnation. Elements of the press revelled in the hypocrisy of the failure of Conservative family values, who perhaps through no coincidence

were voted out at the next election. The Profumo affair opened British gutter journalism into a new era of debatable ethics unchallenged for decades, for the sake of an appealing story. The younger British population generally accepted the story, while the older generation found the revelations distasteful; equally some of the population revelled at the sordid tales, while others squirmed (Davenport-Hines, 2013 Sandbrook, 2010).

The unravelling of British values, as seen through the Wolfenden Report and the Profumo affair were radical moments of the 1950s and 1960s. Britain was entering the era of modernity with one hand clinging onto prudish Victorian values on all things connected to sex; on the other hand it was beginning in earnest to accept alternative sexualities – so long as they were private affairs. It is then ironic that the British appetite for stories narrating such activities is considerable. During this era, the traditionally repressive British sexual morals, encoded during the Victorian era began to unravel. The antithesis of such repression became a part of public discourse as an interest in sex manifested itself through the riveting antics of Lord Montagu or Christine Keeler. The unravelling of Victorian values and the fight to hold back their decline, has been central to much of British social discourse and politics in the ensuing decades. The allowance of progressive ideas and conversations on alternate sexualities, within almost all parts of British public life, could not have happened without characters like Wildeblood, Profumo, Keeler and Wolfenden. Private sex had become a public issue, so long as it was all done behind closed doors and the public could read every detail of it over Sunday breakfast.

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'Power is not repressive; it is productive'. Critically assess this statement and its implications for social theory.

Lok-Ching Cheung

Michel Foucault remains as one of the most important sociologists in critical theory. His work on power, discourse and knowledge is notable for influencing post-Marxist, feminist and post-colonial theorising (Mills, 2003). Often referring to himself as a Nietzschean (Foucault, 1980), like Nietzsche, Foucault was interested in uncovering the historical events that constructed what is passed as natural today. To him, power is central in such historical investigation of these events that has 'led us to constitute ourselves and to recognise ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking and saying' (Foucault, 1984: 43). In *Power/Knowledge*, Foucault argued that power is not simply about censorship and repression, but is in fact productive in nature – power:

> ...traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression (1980: 119).

In this essay, I will be critically assessing the statement, 'power is repressive; it is productive', by first explaining what it means. I will then evaluate it by pointing out some strengths and weaknesses of this statement, and finally, elucidate how this statement is useful for social theory.

Power is productive because it produces specific identities that encourage society to behave in a certain manner. Critical against the Marxist notion of power being exercised repressively and exclusively by small dominant groups, Foucault has instead famously asserted that 'we need to cut off the King's head' (1977: 121) and has focused on a more decentralised understanding of power. He believes that power plays an important role in control and reproduction of subjects. Power induces individuals to behave in a specific way by differentiating what is normal and abnormal. The normative project is central in shaping individuals' behaviour and psychic dispositions, so as to ensure easier control. Power gives rise to new forms of behaviour, to which 'certain bodies, certain gesture, certain discourse, certain desires come to be identified and constituted as individuals' (Foucault, 1980: 98). Thus, power is not repressive because it points out what is normal and subtly invites actors to conform to the norm. Individuals are conditioned to abide to social expectations of normality through constant self-discipline encouraged by power. Genealogy in particular plays an important role in Foucault's work, as he believes that the identity of society is based on what it forcefully excludes (Panneerselvam, 2000). The technology of abnormal individuals only became visible at the end of the eighteenth century when 'regular network of power and knowledge' (Foucault, 1999: 252) was established. The differentiation between normality and abnormality is only possible because of the intricate relationship of power and knowledge.

According to Foucault, knowledge is linked to power because of the unavoidable result of its own activity (Foucault in Ransom, 1997). Power and knowledge are inseparable: 'power produces knowledge' (Foucault, 1975: 252). As power produces subjects, it makes subjects that do not fit into the norm, for example homosexuals or social deviants, become visible and easily identified, therefore allowing knowledge of them to be derived according to the 'same systems of regularities' (Foucault, 1999: 253). Institutions such as prisons, schools and hospitals become areas of interest when the abnormal individual is rectified in an environment that 'evaluates, corrects and encourages responses according to the norm' (Ransom, 1997: 18). The notion of 'domination-observation' (Foucault, 1975: 305), which rendered men docile and useful by making them knowable through power-knowledge, is connected to the rise of individualisation at the end of the eighteenth century (Foucault, 1977). The principle of individualising becomes a 'question of distributing individuals in a space in which one might isolate them and map them' (Foucault, 1977: 144) in order to allow better analysis.

In addition, power is not repressive because individuals retain their agency despite being subjected to power. As Foucault has famously argued, 'power is everywhere' (1998: 63). To him, it is important to discuss power beyond the centrality of the state:

> ...the State, for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations, and further because the State can only operate on the basis of the Other, already existing power relations (Foucault, 1980: 122).

Society is only possible because of power relations beyond the limits of the state: relations such as relationships between family, lovers, employers and employees (Mills, 2003). Power is the 'total structure of actions' (Foucault, 1980: 220) because it is exercised over those who are in position to choose (Hindess, 1996). Individuals are not simply victims passively subjected to power – they are active subjects of power because they still have the liberty to choose. A degree of freedom yet remains. It is as Foucault has argued in *Power/Knowledge*: '[individuals] are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power... [they] are the vehicles of power, not at its points of application' (Foucault, 1980: 98).

As mentioned, individuals are normalised through encouragement to match up to the norm. This makes contemporary society what Foucault referred to as 'disciplinary society' (1975: 209), to which individuals discipline themselves through self-regulation. In this sense, power is about tactics and strategies to achieve desired means: 'to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved' (Foucault, 1991: 95). Foucault emphasized that power takes many forms, often at its most effective when it is least visible (Armstrong, 1994). The tools of the government are no longer simply the law, but a 'range of multiform tactics' (Foucault, 1991: 95). Biopower, which refers to the control and regulation of the population through 'an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques' (Foucault, 1976: 116), becomes a new form of power in the modern society because the population is viewed as a resource to serve the state. Human species become the 'object of a political strategy, or a general strategy of power' (Foucault, 2007: 1) as power serves to steer individuals in the desired direction without coercion (Nealon, 2008). As Ransom (1997) has argued, the goal is to condition groups of individuals to behave in a certain way without granting them the ability to question about what they are asked to do. Discipline functions to ensure a healthier population, which allows better agents to serve the economy and is generally easier to control and regulate as the norm becomes a means to manipulate the population. It makes individuals more obedient and more useful by producing 'subjected and practised bodies, "docile bodies"' (Foucault, 1977: 138).

One possible weakness of this statement is its suggestion that individuals will always be invariably constituted by the productive effects of power. Foucault's conception of power evinces that power is the 'inescapable feature of human interaction' (Hindess, 1996: 150). Individuals' subordination and dependence on power is, therefore, a fundamental part of the human condition, since society is only possible because of these power relations at work. The problem is that if 'heteronomy is indeed the inescapable condition of human existence' (Hindess, 1996: 150), there would be no point in resisting the effects of power, as its domination is a necessary evil for society to function normally. Hiley also asserted a similar argument against Foucault's notion of power-knowledge: 'since one is always caught up in the web of power-knowledge – since one can never divorce knowledge from power – there is no post power-knowledge regime to which genealogical analysis can contribute' (1994: 175).

Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the importance of the government in its power to control the society. While Foucault argues that power lies beyond the limits of a singular government, it is also crucial to consider the relatively more significant power of the government. The government will always be more powerful in ensuring control and order than other non-state institutions. But without identifying the government as a distinctive intuitional structure, it becomes more difficult to distinguish between 'the exercise of power and social control in general' (Wrong, 1979: 3). Thus, another possible drawback of this statement is a dismissal of the government's particular

significance in influencing society's welfare. However, this does not suggest that this statement does not stand despite these minor setbacks.

Firstly, this statement is useful because it allows a more realistic and broader understanding of how power influences individuals. By rejecting the Marxist notion of power being centralised and concentrated in a singular state, Foucault focuses on the ubiquitous nature of power and enables a more in-depth investigation of power relations at work in the daily lives of individuals. This allows a more comprehensive approach to power because individuals maintain a relative degree of autonomy and are more than simple victims of power. It is as McLaren has argued: 'if power is simply a negative, totalizing, dominating force, then the subject is correspondingly limited, restricted, and dominated' (2002: 66). His focus on the more localised and decentralised power allows a better understanding of the complex nature of power, which influences individuals in ways more than simple domination. This is important because Foucault is trying to invite critique of the phenomenal world; by emphasizing that power is productive, he is able to point out what is often taken for granted in contemporary society. This is related to my next point.

In his essay *What is Enlightenment?*, Foucault stated that he was aiming at a philosophical interrogation of how the Enlightenment had 'simultaneously problematize[d] man's relation to the present, man's historical mode of being, and the constitution of the self as a an autonomous self' (1984: 34). His argument that power and knowledge are inseparable shows that the Enlightenment's idea of truth and knowledge standing outside of power relations (Mills, 2003) is false and that knowledge is not as objective and true as it had claimed. As McLaren (2002) has asserted, power and knowledge are circular. What Foucault did, is to show that truth is relative and manufactured – 'truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power… truth is a thing of this world… each society has its regime of truth' (1980: 131). His rejection of knowledge as objective reveals that reality is constructed by discourses passed off as natural and true when they are products of history. This leads to his argument that normal is a modern creation and is repeatedly reinforced by power-knowledge. This is useful because this allows Foucault to denaturalise the contemporary world and to 'turn aspects of it into matters for reflection' (Ransom, 1997: 4). Foucault has also commented that 'is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest' (1988: 154). By demonstrating that power is productive, Foucault invites the reader to question and critique their reality, in hopes that change can be enacted by external critique.

Foucault is often criticized for being non-action oriented (Flyvbjerg, 1998), as a theorist who only focuses on power relations and its implications rather than providing solutions to help fight against the domination he had so illustrated in his work. In response to such criticism, Foucault instead explained that '[his] project is precisely to bring it about that [individuals] "no longer know what to do", so that the acts, gestures, discourses that up until then had seemed to go without saying become problematic, difficult, dangerous' (Miller, 1993: 235). Indeed, by understanding how power 'traverses and produces things' (1980: 119), we can perhaps hope to fight back and change things. In this sense, Foucault can be seen as offering us an alternative to some more orthodox ways of understanding power. Thus, the implications of this statement are very important in understanding other social theories, as it is an alternative way of interpreting other social phenomena.
 Firstly, the notion of power as productive offers another way of understanding how the emergence of the West and the rest in post-colonial theories. As Said has argued, 'the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony' (1978:15). The West gained its identity and strength by setting it against what it was not. The white gaze shaped the colonised man's identity by denying him his subjectivity, leading to the distinction between the West and the rest. It is as Hall has contended: 'the so-called uniqueness of the West was, in part, produced by Europe's contact and self-comparison with other non-western societies' (1992: 278). Here, power is productive as Foucault has claimed. It is not repressive because it produces the subject of a black man, 'enabling people to know or speak of certain in certain ways' (Hall, 1992: 278). It produced knowledge of the black man, and reinforced the gap by continuously excluding him while building up expectations of how a black man should behave according to such knowledge. As mentioned, Foucault has argued that the identity of a society is

based on what it excludes. This shows that the power relations between the West and the rest are products of historic exclusion of non-western civilisation. It is as Hall has contended: 'the so-called uniqueness of the West was, in part, produced by Europe's contact and self-comparison with other non-western societies' (1992: 278). Thus, the argument that power is productive reveals the symbolic systems at work in the distinction between the West and non-western societies.

In addition, this statement is also important for understanding power relations in ways of seeing. Gaze is a signifier of power – as Schroeder has propounded: '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' (2002: 208). This is similar to the white gaze mentioned earlier. According to Foucault, disciplinary power provides a way of seeing by enabling others to see certain kinds of subject and to allow them to categorise these subjects specifically according to the knowledge derived when gazing. Foucault's panopticon embodies a very similar point: in using such knowledge to define the subjects, they are brought into the light and become visible. This suggests power relations at work because the gazer will always stand in a more superior position and the knowledge they obtained is always seen as normal and true (Haraway, 1991). The medical gaze is a good example in exemplifying how the anatomical truth of men came to be considered as pure and objective knowledge of the human body. Another example includes the male gaze – 'men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at' (Berger, 1972: 47) – the female object is passive to the more superior male gaze. She can only derive power from the definition she has been given by the gaze. In this way, this statement is useful because it illustrates how vision is connected to power and knowledge.

In conclusion, the statement 'power is not repressive; it is productive' stands because it enables a broader understanding of power at work. The domination of power is more than simple repression and the authority of the statement – it is about defining people and pointing out what it means to be normal and abnormal. It is about producing subjects through knowledge constructed by the normative framework established by the Enlightenment. This goes to show that power is far more complex and far-reaching than one can imagine, as individuals internalise such self-discipline and conform to the norm without question. What Foucault is trying to do is to reveal the power relations at work in the daily lives of individuals, to call for questioning what is considered as 'timeless, natural and unquestionable' (Foucault, 1980: 150), and to hopefully change things.

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Secondary Data Analysis: Inequality in Health and Wealth

Stacey Howlett

Individuals with lower socioeconomic status (SES) are generally those in lower social class groups. As a result, in comparison to higher social class groups, lower social classes are prone to higher levels of stress and poorer physical health. These groups are more likely to experience financial difficulties or be in manual labour jobs. In turn, low income can influence poor lifestyle choices (e.g. no gym membership and/or smoking habits to cope with stress). Furthermore, manual labour has been linked to poor health (Radl, 2013). Social Reproduction Theory suggests such social class inequalities are reproduced to the next generation (Bourdieu 1990). However, The National Centre for Health Statistics 2001 found there are marked gender differences in the link between low SES and poor health. Men with low SES suffer worse physical health than women with the same SES (in Williams, 2003). Williams (2003) reports this can be explained by poor lifestyle choices (commonly made by men in lower class social positions) that increases the likelihood of poorer physical health. A higher percentage of men smoke, abuse substances, as well as consume more alcohol to cope with stress, compared to women. That is, particularly compared to women in the older generations. Williams (2003) also proposes the males' traditional macho gendered role is linked to poor physical health. Moreover, as Radl (2013) points out, men with lower SES may be manual workers who are at a greater risk of early retirement for health-related issues. Although, further research highlights, women are more likely to be obese than men, and less likely to engage in sports (Williams, 2003). Nonetheless, the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2012) reports males have a lower life expectancy than women but are far less likely to seek medical advice than them.

The research suggests a relationship between educational qualification and self-reported physical health (educational level indicates SES status). Participants with lower levels of education will likely report lower levels of physical health. Furthermore, I argue, grounded on further research findings (e.g. *The National Centre for Health Statistics (2001), Williams, (2003) and Radl (2013)*), males with lower educational qualifications (below A-level) will likely experience worse physical health than females. That is, grounded on the assumption that people with low qualifications or no qualifications are likely from lower social class groups.

I propose the following hypotheses:

H1: There is a strong socioeconomic gradient in health. I expect older participants with low educational statuses will have lower levels of self-reported physical health.

H2: Because research suggests typical lifestyle choices made by men in lower social classes negatively impact physical health (compared to females) I expect the relationship between lower education status and self-reported physical health will be stronger for men than for women: Gender will moderate this relationship.

Data and Methods

The data used in this research is a subset extracted from Understanding Society: The UK household longitudinal study. That is, a yearly, large scale study carried out since 2009 offering insight of how societies, attitudes, behaviours, health, as well as their social

economic circumstances have changed over time. The 40,000 households captured in the main research are the same households used in each wave of the study. Both subjective, as well as objective insight was gathered from respondents aged 16 years or over, in the form of face to face interviews and self-completion questionnaires (Knies, 2016).

I am interested in physical health inequality among the older generations. Older generations are more prone to report poor physical health (WHO, 2017). Moreover, these respondents are more likely to have adopted traditional gendered roles throughout their lifetime, in support of the research findings by Williams, 2003 (relating to gender differences). Thus, the subset of data used in this secondary data analysis was restricted to participants aged 50 and over (N = 10,546).

Dependent Variable (DV)

My dependent variable was a physical component summary variable (SF-12) which measures self-reported physical health of respondents. This was a continuous variable, (a necessary DV to carry out regression analysis) (Field, 2013). SF-12 was measured on a scale ranging from 4.4 to 74.46. Higher scores indicate better reported physical health.

Independent Variables

My independent variable measured participants' highest educational qualification. This was selected to measure respondents' SES. The variable is categorical (ordinal) consisting of 6 categories: *Degree, Other higher, A level etc, GCSE etc, Other qual,* and *No qual*. As none of these categories had particularly low frequencies and all were relative to my research, I decided not to collapse any (Field, 2013). The largest percentage of this sample had *No qualifications* at 24% (2525 respondents). The lowest percentage had *other higher* qualifications at 13% (1331 respondents) (Appendices, A). To carry out regression analysis it was necessary to create five dummy variables for each categorical variable, e.g. Degree = 1, everything else = 0; Other higher = 1, everything else = 0 and so on. That is, except *No qual,* this was my omitted category which each of my dummy variables will be compared with (Field, 2013).

My second IV was respondents' gender, labelled *sex corrected.* This is a binary variable because it consists of two categories only (Field, 2013). Approximately half of the sample was males and half was females (Appendices, B). It was once again necessary to create a dummy variable: 1 = Male, 0 = female (Field, 2013).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Men and Women Ages 50 and Older, Understanding Society 2009 (N=10,546)

	Mean/Percent	Standard Deviation
SF-12 Physical Component Summary	46.17	12.64
Degree	17.5	
Other Higher	12.6	
Alevel	14.6	
GCSE	16	
Other Qualification	15.3	
Male (Table, 1)	47.2	

Table (1) illustrates the distributions of each of my chosen variables. That is, the Mean and Standard Deviation for my continuous SF-12 variable, whereas for each categorical variable the sample percentages are displayed (Field, 2013). The SF-12 has a mean score of 46 and standard deviation of 13. On average, participants reported reasonably good physical health.

Table 2. Coefficients from Models of SF-12 Physical Component Scale, of Men and Women Ages 50 and Older, Understanding Society 2009 (N=10,546)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE	Sig	B	SE	Sig	B	SE	Sig
Highest Educational Qualification (relative to No Qualifications category)									
Degree	8.61	0.38	0.001	8.62	0.38	0.001	8.178	0.542	0.001
Other Higher	6.42	0.42	0.001	6.42	0.42	0.001	5.824	0.534	0.001
Alevel	5.17	0.4	0.001	5.19	0.4	0.001	5.894	0.6	0.001
GCSE	5.93	0.39	0.001	5.93	0.39	0.001	5.96	0.496	0.001
Other Qualification	2.87	0.39	0.001	2.87	0.39	0.001	2.417	0.527	0.001
Male				-0.047	0.24	0.847	-0.389	0.498	0.44
Degree*Male							0.86	0.763	0.26
Other Higher*Male							1.521	0.852	0.07
Alevel*Male							-1.017	0.815	0.21
GCSE*Male							-0.101	0.791	0.89
Otherqual*Male							1.011	0.789	0.2
Constant	41.71	0.24	0.001	41.72			41.867	0.316	0.001
R2	0.05			0.57			0.58		

(Table, 2)

Stepwise Regression

Model 1

A simple linear regression was carried out to measure H1. The results indicate that the predictor explained 5% of the variance (R^2=0.05). Respondents with qualifications in all categories reported statistically different measures of physical health compared to respondents with no qualifications (p=0.001 for each category) (Table 2). Thus, I can reject the null (which assumes there will be no difference) and accept my H1 (Field, 2013). The difference between respondents with a degree and those with no qualifications is 8.61 points. The difference between those with other higher qualifications and those with none is just over two points less. The difference between those with A-levels (5.17) and those with GCSE's (5.93) is somewhat similar when comparing each to respondents with *no quals*. For participants with *other quals* the difference is only 2. 87 points. Thus, respondents with higher qualifications generally reported better physical health.

Model 2

Table 2 (Model 2) shows the results for the multiple regression analysis carried out to predict respondents reported physical health based on their gender and educational qualification. The results indicate that the predictors explained 5.7% of the variance. The

difference between men and women's self-reported physical health, when controlling for the different levels of educational qualification is -0.047. This is such a small amount it does not prove to be statistically significant (p=0.847). Moreover, the coefficients in Model 2 have remained the same for male respondents with *other higher*, *GCSE*, and *other qualifications.* For male respondents with a degree, *B coefficient* has increased by merely 0.01 point, and for males with A-levels, *B* has increased by 0.02 points. The *p* values also remained unchanged in Model 2 compared to Model 1 (Table, 2). This suggests the difference between males' reported physical health is not statistically different to females', when controlling for educational qualifications. However, Model 2 illustrates a further 0.7% of the variance compared to Model 1.

Model 3

To see if gender moderates the relationship between educational qualification and respondents' physical health I tested for interaction effects between the IV's on my DV. Does the effect of respondents' educational qualification on their physical health depend on their gender? If the results significantly differ to the results obtained independently, both gender and education interact (Field, 2013).

Table (2) illustrates the interaction terms created for each level of education, e.g. Degree*Male, OH*Male and so on (except for my omitted category). The predictors explained 5.8% of the variance (R2=0.58). Thus, the interaction terms, as well as all other variables from Model 2, explained a further tiny percent (0.01 compared to model 2). The overall model was statistically significant (.001[b]) (Appendices C). This means findings can be generalised to the British population.

I expected the relationship would be stronger for males with lower level qualifications than for females. Thus, educational qualification on reported physical health was evaluated separately for men and for women. Similarly, I measured the effect of gender separately for each educational qualification level. The positive effect for males with *other qualifications* is 3.938, whereas for females with *other qualifications* it is 2.417. This means females with other qualifications score 2.417 points higher on the scale than females with *no qualifications*. Males with *other qualifications* report slightly better health than females, as well as both males and females with no qualifications. I expected the opposite, although findings were not statistically significant (P=0.2).

The positive effect for males with *GCSE's* is 5.859, whereas for females 5.96. Similarly, the effect for each gender shows slight differences but proving better for females. Males with *GCSE's* report 5.859 points higher than males with *no qualifications*. For females with *GCSE's* it is 5.96 points higher. Females with *A-levels* report slightly better health than males do. Males with *A-levels* also report 4.877 points higher physical health than males with *no qualifications*. Similar findings are illustrated for each gender with A-levels (positive effect for men having A-levels: 4.877, for females: 5.894). Both indicate slightly better health for females, albeit not statistically significant in each case (A-level*Male: P= 0.21, GCSE*Male: P=0.89). Similarly, there were no statistically significant gender differences for participants with higher qualifications (*Degree**Male: P=0.26, *Other higher**Male: P=0.07).

In all levels of educational qualification, both males and females reported better health than those with no qualifications. However, when comparing educational level separately for males and females, the differences are very slight and somewhat mixed. There is

statistical significance for each level of main effect qualifications, but not for main effect gender or for any of the interaction effects (Table, 2). In comparison to Model 2, all the coefficients have altered slightly which suggests the interaction terms have had an impact on their relation to physical health. However, the insignificant results indicate it cannot be concluded that gender moderates the relationship between educational qualification and self-reported physical health. The effect of respondents' educational qualification on their physical health does not depend on their gender. I must accept the null hypothesis for H2 (which assumes no difference) (Field, 2013).

Conclusion

The findings of this research show there are clear social class inequalities between respondents. Although the research cannot offer support for Social Reproduction Theory it does offer insight of which social groups are more likely to reproduce poorer physical health. Older individuals with higher educational qualifications reported statistically significant better health than those with lower, and with no qualifications (H1 was supported). However, when gender was added to the regression, findings were not statistically significant. The small changes in the coefficients indicated gender had a tiny impact on reported physical health when controlling for education qualifications. Model 3 illustrates that gender and educational qualification do not interact and produce different results. The insignificant results meant H2 was not supported. Arguably, as this research measured self-reported physical health, and men are less likely to seek medical advice compared to women (WHO, 2017), the findings may be a result of men failing to report their poor health. They may not perceive it as serious enough to do so, or possibly they are too macho to admit it. Furthermore, although research by Williams (2003) was centred on western culture, it was carried out in America which may explain why findings were different using UK data. Arguably, men do experience worse health than women but there is a lack of recorded data available to prove such claims. Future research that focuses on the next generation of respondents (their children) is recommended to see if these inequalities are in fact reproduced.

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Appendices

(A)
Highest Educational Qualification

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Degree	1845	17.5	17.5	17.5
	Other higher	1331	12.6	12.6	30.1
	A level etc	1541	14.6	14.6	44.7
	GCSE etc	1687	16.0	16.0	60.7
	Other qual	1617	15.3	15.3	76.1
	No qual	2525	23.9	23.9	100.0
	Total	10546	100.0	100.0	

(B)
Sex corrected

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	male	4980	47.2	47.2	47.2
	female	5566	52.8	52.8	100.0
	Total	10546	100.0	100.0	

(C)
ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	97145.289	11	8831.390	58.580	.000[b]
	Residual	1588095.717	10534	150.759		
	Total	1685241.006	10545			

a. Dependent Variable: SF-12 Physical Component Summary (PCS)
b. Predictors: (Constant), OQ_male, OH_male, GCSE_male, AL_male, d_male, GCSE, otherhigher, Otherqual, Degree, Alevel, Male

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What social and psychological processes lead otherwise law-abiding people into complicity with genocide?

Elliott Connor Jones

A debate exists amongst scholars on the social and psychological processes that lead law-abiding people into complicity with genocide. This essay will draw upon the relevant secondary literature in order to provide an understanding of what these processes are and which of them have the greatest impact on one's decision to engage in mass slaughter. The definition of genocide has been contested, however, for the purpose of this essay, we will rely on article two of the UN General Assembly's (1948) convention. This states genocide is 'acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group'. In order to strengthen our analysis, this essay will focus on two thoroughly researched genocides that took place in the twentieth century. The Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide will be perused as they adopted two very different approaches to mass murder. By comparing these two events, we can come to a more informed judgement on what processes are essential for leading law-abiding people into genocidal activities. Throughout this paper, it will be argued that ethnic considerations are subservient to various other processes when considering why law-abiding people become involved with genocide.

The first section of this paper will analyse three prominent psychological processes of dehumanisation, routinisation, and brutalisation. It will be argued that these processes not only made genocidal activities easier to commit but that they also helped to distance and justify their actions. It will then examine how individual's obedience to authority means that, when states sanction violence, they are much more likely to commit genocide. This paper will then analyse the personal motives, such as revenge and power, and how these encouraged some people to become involved in genocide. Next, it will look at how group dynamics and in-group coercion can create competition and force people into actions they normally would not do. Lastly, it will focus on Randall Collins concept of 'confrontational tension' and show how a build-up of fear is enough to cause groups to do unimaginable things.

Through a process of dehumanisation, people engaging in genocide were able to physically and mentally distance themselves from their perceived enemy. For instance, the victims of the holocaust were often represented as numbers and codes on a spreadsheet (Bauman 1989). The purpose of this was to create a 'special language of camouflage and deception' (Alvarez, 1997: 160), meaning the final consequences of their actions were concealed. This suggests the dehumanising process enabled many law-abiding citizens to not acknowledge what consequences would precede their actions. Accordingly, Zygmunt Bauman (1989) has argued the setting up of a modern bureaucracy in Nazi Germany meant that ordinary people were mentally and physically detached as each individual made up small steps of the overall genocidal mission. From this perspective, law-abiding people became involved in mass slaughter as they were only responsible for a specific part of the killing apparatus. Ultimately, this had the effect of creating invisible victims as the vast majority of people involved in the Holocaust did not witness the deaths first-hand. Therefore, rather than seeing the victims of genocide as living entities, these law-abiding people simply saw them as obstacles in the way of completing the overall mission.

It is worth discussing the impact of propaganda and how it was used in Germany and Rwanda to attach subhuman traits to the victims. For example, many media outlets in Germany depicted Jewish people as vermin or rats (Browning, 2001). Similarly, magazines and radio stations in Rwanda would use the word 'inyenzi', meaning cockroach, to describe Tutsi's (Thompson and Annan, 2007). Consequently, these actions have the effect of removing these people 'from the in-group and relegating them to the out-group' (Alvarez, 1997: 146). As a result, the 'out-group' is seen as somewhat unhuman and therefore foreign; which enabled ordinary, law-abiding people to justify their actions. Simply put, by attaching non-human descriptions, such as statistics or rodents, these 'out-groups' are denied humanity and it becomes easier to justify the killing of (Bauman, 1989). However, scholars such as Scott Straus (2009) have contested this and argued that dehumanising techniques were not a central theme inspiring involvement in the Rwandan genocide. For instance, Straus's study showed that 87% of Hutu's had positive relations with Tutsi neighbours pre-genocide and 70% had family ties (2009: 127-29). This implies Hutu citizens viewed their Tutsi counterparts positively before the genocide, meaning the stigma attached through propaganda was unlikely to have had much effect. Despite this, it is important for us to consider how propaganda was used in these two examples to directly and indirectly incite violence.

The routine manner in which genocide was carried out meant many people participated in acts 'without considering the implications of that action and without really making a decision' (Kelman, 1973: 46). This quote implies that once genocide is routinized, people no longer question the 'implications', meaning that it becomes easier to commit. For instance, it is a well-known fact the Rwandan genocide was so well planned that the perpetuators were able to kill a huge number of people in such a small time frame (Day and Vandiver, 2000). From this perspective, violence became normalised as particular actions were consistently repeated. Furthermore, many of the men who formed the militia groups in Rwanda committed murder because they believed it was their 'professional duty' (Smeuler and Hoex, 2010). This suggests these ordinary men and women engaged in genocide as it formed part of their daily routine, or as they put it, their 'duty'. However, this may show how violence became routine but it does not explain why men, and in some cases women, were able to overcome the initial horrors of murdering, raping and mutilating in both genocides (Alvarez, 1997). Therefore, a process of routinisation provides us with an explanation of how these activities are sustained over a long period of time but it does not show us how law-abiding people come to commit these atrocities in the first instance.

The bureaucratic element of the Holocaust meant daily tasks became routine and habit for many people, meaning they completed them without considering the consequences (Bauman, 1989). This shows how ordinarily law-abiding people became involved in genocide as the routine manner of their work meant they focussed on the success of completing their daily bureaucratic tasks rather than making moral choices (Kelman and Hamilton, 1989). Nonetheless, this explanation may indicate why 'desk-murderers' were able to engage in genocide, but what about those who carried out the killing and other forms of violence? Simply put, violence is micro-subjective and 'there is no way to bureaucratize the pulling of a trigger' (Day and Vandiver, 2000: 53). This implies the decision to engage in extreme forms of violence cannot be routinized as every situation is different. However, we must acknowledge how a process of 'routinisation' meant that people became accustomed to violence (Browning, 2001). Therefore, this process suggests many otherwise, law-abiding people became comfortable in their role and the repetition of their work meant these actions eventually became routine.

Through a process of 'brutalisation', many actors in genocide become desensitised to the atrocities they or others commit. For instance, Browning (2001) has shown how the men of Reserve Police Battalion 101 managed to psychologically distance themselves from the atrocities taking place as they gradually became brutalised. Additionally, Browning argues these men became accustomed to killing as it was normalised. This suggests that long periods of witnessing and participating in genocide can lead the individual to become desensitised. In fact, some scholars argue becoming brutalised was viewed positively:

> Brutality comes to be considered an accomplishment, a mark of distinction, in a process of brutalisation that has left its participants habituated and desensitised to the extraordinary evil they commit (Waller, 2007: 245).

This quote implies men not only became 'desensitised' to evil but that they also saw this brutalisation as something they could gain respect for. For that reason, becoming brutalised is just as much about group dynamics as it is about becoming accustomed to violence (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010); although, it could be argued these individuals wanted to become brutalised as it made their actions easier to deal with. Nevertheless, this explains why soldiers or members of militia groups may have become involved with genocide, but what about those behind the scenes? Many of the initiators or administrators never actually got involved with the physical side of these genocides (Ibid, 2010). This means the following theme can only be applied to those who were involved or subjected to physical violence. Despite this, we have shown how law-abiding people may join in genocides as they become desensitised to violence. Moreover, in some cases, becoming brutalised was something people aimed for as it was considered as an 'accomplishment'.

In Nazi Germany and Rwanda, the state not only authorised violence towards innocent people but also provided them with cover to legitimise their actions. For example, pre-genocide, the government in Rwanda ordered thousands of weapons, trained militia groups such as the Interahamwe and disseminated anti-Tutsi propaganda and rumours through their own controlled radio station (Ibid, 2010). Consequently, the killing of Tutsi's was intentionally made to seem as 'self-defence' as the government aimed to legitimise their demise (DesForges, 1999). Similarly, the Nazi party played upon popular fears by depicting the German people as victims defending themselves from the Jewish threat. It's important to note that 'when acts of violence are... permitted by legitimate authorities, people's readiness to commit or condone them is enhanced' (Kelman and Hamilton, 1989: 16). This suggests the sovereign body ruling a particular country possesses the ability to lead otherwise law-abiding people into involvement with genocide simply if they authorise it. This obedience to authority has been confirmed through an experiment by Stanley Milgram (1963) who found people are likely to follow orders from an authority figure whether or not it goes against their personal morals. From this perspective, ordinary people commit atrocities as they are conditioned to obey authority no matter what they are asked to do.

However, by focussing on how state-sanctioned violence encourages participation in genocides, we are essentially ignoring the personal motives that many people had. For instance, many of the recruits of militia groups in Rwanda were given incentives such as food, alcohol and money (DesForges, 1999). Consequently, the low socio-economic status of some of these men meant these incentives were enough to motivate them to violate innocent persons. This means many of the men who participated did so in order to satisfy social and economic needs. In like manner, Christopher Mullins (2009) has shown how a crisis in masculinity, as a result of poverty and inequality, led some men to use sexual

violence as a way of making up for their lack of socio-economic power. From this perspective, some men engaged in rape in genocide as a 'way to reclaim masculine dominance and empowerment lost to unemployment… and other social forces beyond individual control' (Ibid, 732). This suggests socio-economic factors influenced some of these men's personal motives to commit sexual violence. In addition, some scholars have argued some men were motivated by revenge (Mullins, 2009; Browning, 2001). Therefore, we have shown here how personal motives such as material and personal gain, gendered power dynamics and revenge, were all factors encouraging otherwise, law-abiding people to become involved with genocide. Additionally, we have argued the socio-economic context of Rwanda had an indirect impact on these personal motives.

Various scholars have identified the different ways group dynamics influenced law-abiding people to become involved with genocide. We have observed in both genocides that killer groups such as the Interahamwe or Reserve Police Battalion 101 were deployed in order to commit mass atrocities. Moreover, scholars such as Smeulers and Hoex (2010: 449-50) argue 'collective behaviour' provides a form of anonymity meaning the perpetuators feel less accountable for their actions. This suggests that groups such as the ones listed above, were effective at diffusing responsibility so the members feel less to blame when committing an immoral act. Additionally, these scholars have shown how the 'competition' that exists within groups means some individuals endeavour to become the 'best' member by adopting and implementing the group's value system in order to gain respect (Ibid: 449-50). This means that individuals may be influenced to join in with genocidal activities if it gives them some form of status within the group. Similarly, Christopher Browning (2001) found some men committed murder as they felt they had a responsibility to the others around them. This is closely linked to what Lee Ann Fujii calls 'the logic of contamination' which states that individuals begin to act like those around them as their 'beliefs, actions, and attitudes converge toward those in their immediate social environment' (2009: 99). This quote implies that individuals learn to adopt genocidal tendencies as they go through a process of affiliation with their surroundings. However, these theories do not explain why 10% of Browning's sample decided not to engage in murder and the fact that many Hutu's tried to protect their Tutsi counterpart (DesForges, 1999). This suggests group dynamics only go so far when considering why ordinary people get involved with mass murder. Despite this, in this section we have shown how genocide is 'group behaviour' (Smeuler and Hoex, 2010: 451).

A large proportion of literature highlights how many ordinary people were forced or threatened into joining genocide. For example, evidence shows many Hutu were threatened by others to join in with the massacres otherwise they would be killed themselves (Fujii, 2009). Similarly, many of those who were involved in the Holocaust denied to take responsibility for their actions as they say they were forced to participate (Alvarez, 1997). From this perspective, 'men participated in the killing because other men encouraged, intimidated, and coerced them to do so' (Straus, 2009: 122). This suggests fear and coercion was used to generate popular participation in these genocides. Therefore, people may become involved with genocides as they would rather be the perpetuators then the victims. However, some scholars have added another perspective on recruitment tactics by arguing that some individual's involvement in the Rwandan genocide depended on social ties and circumstances (Fujii, 2008). This is the idea that ties of kinship and attachments were used by leaders or members of the killing groups to encourage 'joiners' participation. Although, the fact that many Hutu's helped Tutsi relatives, friends or strangers shows how their participation in the killing depended on whether they were in the presence of killer groups. This suggests people could switch roles from attackers to

defenders. Therefore, many scholars have argued people joined in genocide as they were either forced or threatened. However, other perspectives on Rwanda suggest people's participation was based on social ties to members of killer groups and their role in the genocide could change.

This is closely linked to Randall Collins (2008) concept of 'confrontational tension'. Collins argues that when one is faced with a hostile situation, their 'confrontational tension' increases, and although this often is the reason why violence is prevented, there are some factors that allow this barrier to violence to be overcome. The author lists several examples such as the 'forward panic', the encouragement of a group and attacking a vulnerable target to show how someone might be encouraged to use violence in particular circumstances. According to this theory, ordinary people may become involved in violence in genocides when faced with cases of extreme fear and tension. To put it simply, 'this idea proposes that any group in a highly emotional state, especially a state of fear, is capable of massacre' (Scheff, 2006: 175). This implies situational explanations are a key indicator of why ordinary people become involved in genocides. However, it also shows how group intimidation or the presence of weak victims can push an ordinarily, law-abiding person to do something they normally would not. Nevertheless, this theory ignores how there are emotions other than fear involved in many hostile situations. In addition, it does not explain why many Hutu killed their Tutsi counterpart for pleasure (DesForges, 1999). Despite this, we have shown here how situations of extreme fear can lead otherwise, law-abiding people to commit atrocities.

To conclude, this essay has shown how there are multiple social and psychological processes other than ethnic hatred, that lead otherwise law-abiding people into complicity with genocide. The first section of this paper examined various psychological processes used and implicated by states and individuals in order to maintain a physical and psychological detachment from the consequences of their behaviour. We showed how the victims of genocide had their humanity stripped from them as they were given subhuman traits or reduced to statistics. The argument put forward was that these dehumanising processes meant that people were able to justify their genocidal activities. We then discussed how the careful planning and efficiency of these genocides meant that each individual performed their responsibilities in a routine manner, meaning that they did not acknowledge or challenge what they were doing. Many individuals involved in the physical aspect of genocide became desensitised to violence and eventually used their brutality as a method to gain status or cope with the psychological difficulties of mass slaughter.

The next section began by looking at how individuals are more likely to engage in violence when it is state-sanctioned. This is because of people's tendency to obey authority, even if it means committing mass slaughter or other forms of extreme violence. We then discussed the personal motives, such as the presence of incentives, which led some law-abiding people to affiliate themselves with genocide. It was argued that these personal motives were enough for some people to commit atrocities on a large scale. We then looked at how group dynamics can have a substantial impact on how one behaves, and it was argued that genocide is group behaviour. Afterwards, this paper showed how in-group pressure was a substantial factor encouraging one to participate in genocide. Lastly, we reviewed Randall Collins concept of 'confrontational tension' and showed how situations of extreme fear are enough to cause one to commit atrocities. In sum, the social and psychological processes that lead otherwise law-abiding people to participate in genocide are much more complex than ethnic considerations would imply.

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'Antidepressants are prescribed too freely'. Is this a fair assessment?

Megan Davenport

This essay will assess whether or not antidepressants are prescribed too freely as a treatment for depression. Studies examining the effectiveness of antidepressants in comparison with other forms of treatment for depression will be used in order to try and establish whether antidepressants are the best form of treatment to use. Discussing the effectiveness of antidepressants will help this essay to demonstrate whether or not it is necessary that they should be used as the first choice of treatment by GPs which will allow for one to make a judgement about whether or not it is reasonable that antidepressants may be prescribed freely if they are, in fact, proven to be a more effective form of treatment. All arguments will be supported by contemporary statistics and studies, to ensure that all points raised are both accurate and relevant in today's context.

When assessing the use of antidepressants it is important to consider whether it is *necessary* to prescribe them in high volumes to begin with. If there is evidence to suggest that antidepressants can prevent suicide and/or self-harm, for example, then this suggests prescription is a positive factor and justifies their use in treatment – if this is in fact the case of course. A national statistics report published in 2016 looked at prescriptions dispensed between 2005-2015, and found that the number of antidepressant items prescribed and dispensed in England had more than doubled over the last decade. Data from this report found that in 2015, 61.0 million antidepressant items were prescribed and dispensed –31.6 million more than in 2005, representing a 107.6% increase (Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2016). The same report also found that in 2015, antidepressants were costing the NHS £780,000 per day because of the increase in Net Ingredient Cost (NIC) (NHS Digital, n.d.). The question must be asked: is this cost to the NHS worth it? Are antidepressants having positive and substantial benefits for patients who are in need of treatment for depression?

A study by Jick et al. examines the links between the use of antidepressants and suicide. Their objectives were to 'estimate the rate and means of suicide among people taking 10 commonly prescribed antidepressant drugs' (Jick et al. 1995: 215). The study observed 172,598 people who had been prescribed one or more of these 10 drugs – 143 of these people committed suicide. In the results of their study, Jick et al. found that a history of suicidal behaviour, ranging from previous attempts to suicidal thoughts, and the number of antidepressants prescribed before the suicide had a strong correlation with the risk of suicide. When interpreting this, one could question whether the number of antidepressants being prescribed is a risk of suicide because of the adverse effects of the drug itself. Jick et. al. note that as per data, the antidepressant Fluoxetine had a substantially higher rate of suicide than the other antidepressants. While they suggest this may be as a result of selection bias, there have also been suggestions by others that this drug may trigger an emotional state which can increase the risk of suicide (Teicher & Rosenbaum, 1991). However, Jick et al. argue that this suggestion has not been supported by any 'formal evidence' (Jick et al. 1995: 218). This could therefore indicate that those who have been prescribed more than one antidepressant are committing suicide because their condition is more severe – hence the need for multiple prescriptions.

It is difficult for one to assess whether antidepressants are prescribed too freely when the effectiveness of these drugs remains largely uncertain. Measuring the effectiveness of antidepressants is arguably quite problematic – Simon argues that clinical trials cannot determine whether antidepressants increase or decrease the risk of genuine suicide attempts or death from suicide (Simon, 2008). He notes that this is because these outcomes of suicide are, fortunately, too rare for accurate conclusions to be drawn from clinical trials as the method of measurement. Simon goes on to note that there is evidence of suicide rates declining in the UK, not only when antidepressant use has remained steady, but when it has experienced sharp declines as it did in 2003 and 2004 (ibid: 515). If suicide rates continue to decline in periods of decreased antidepressant use, this can lead us to question their effectiveness if we take this as evidence that they are not a definite factor in stopping people from committing suicide as Simon demonstrates the possibility that there may be no direct correlation that exists.

Although seemingly the most common, antidepressant drugs are not the only form of treatment for depressive disorders. To assess whether antidepressants are prescribed too freely, it would be of some value to discuss the effectiveness of other treatments for depression. For the purposes of this essay, we will analyse Electroconvulsive Therapy (ECT) as a treatment for depression. A study conducted by Pagnin et al. conducted an experiment that tested the effects of ECT in comparison to both simulated ECT and antidepressant drugs (Pagnin et al., 2004). The response criterion was defined as either a reduction of at least 50% from baseline to end point on the Hamilton Scale for Depression, or a clinical judgement of 'recovered' or 'marked improvement'. In all instances of comparison ECT was demonstrated as having a significant superior effect and, according to their findings, 'the chance of response with ECT was about 4 times greater than with the antidepressant drugs' (ibid: 15). Overall, it was concluded that ECT is a 'valid therapeutic tool' for the treatment of depression, even for severe and resistant forms. It should be noted, however, that they point to the necessity of conducting numerous larger studies to confirm its use as a first choice treatment for depression. A related study conducted by Gagné et al. (2000) found similar results. This study measured the efficacy of continuation ECT in depression, compared with patients who used antidepressants alone for long periods of time. Their findings also note that the outcomes of ECT were significantly better, particularly in terms of the probability in preventing relapse and recurrence in chronically depressed patients after having responded to acute treatment with ECT (ibid: 1960).

There are numerous studies that note the significant success rates of Electroconvulsive Therapy (ECT) when compared with the use of antidepressants. This could suggest that antidepressants are prescribed too freely if we are to align to arguments that suggest that there are other methods of treatment that have higher proven success rates yet are not considered the first choice of treatment. This leads us towards a discussion of why this may be the case.

The social construction of illness is being replaced by the corporate construction of disease (Moynihan et al. 2002: 886).

According to an article in the British Medical Journal, an estimated three quarters of those who write and contribute to the definitions for the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (or 'DSM') have links to drug companies (Spence & Reid, 2013). These pharmaceutical companies are often involved in campaigns to raise awareness for under-diagnosed problems by labelling them as widespread and serious but essentially treatable in order to encourage the expansion of markets for these drugs (Moynihan et al., 2002).

The implications of this, is that, consumers could be led to believe that antidepressant drugs are the only answer. This mind-set of drugs as the 'be all and end all' of solutions may play a part in the treatments that they receive. The same could be said for General Practioners (or 'GPs') when they prescribe antidepressants; a report published in 2010, for example, estimates that prescription medicine wastage in England was approximated at £300 million per year because of unwanted or unnecessary prescriptions (York Health Economics Consortium & University of London School of Pharmacy 2010: 5). We must therefore consider whether this is an outcome of poor practice, as well as a lacking of knowledge, in terms of depression? Or could it be suggested that pharmaceutical companies put pressure on GPs to frequently prescribe these drugs? This would not be surprising given that their standing as a very powerful institution that works closely with the state.

An article published in the British Medical Journal presents a 'For' and 'Against' argument of whether antidepressants are being overprescribed with Des Spence, a general practitioner, arguing that they are being overprescribed whilst Ian Reid, a professor of psychiatry, argues that they are not (Spence & Reid, 2013). Spence implies that the definition of depression is too loose, which can make it difficult for GPs to accurately distinguish between what is depression and what is essentially short-term sadness. He also points to the problems patients experience when switching medications and/ or the problems that can arise when patients are on multiple medications as evidence for why they should not be prescribed freely – side effects, withdrawal symptoms are provided as some examples. On the other side of the argument, Reid comments on the fact that depression is a very common mental disorder and that higher prescription just represents better practice. The commonality of depression can be supported by statistics; in 2014, 19.7% of people in the UK aged 16 and over showed symptoms of anxiety or depression and this was a 1.5% increase from 2013 (Evans et al., 2016). He also notes that, despite growing awareness, depression is still largely under-recognised and under-reported and thus this is an issue given that depression can be dangerous and, in some cases, fatal. Reid and his colleagues screened nearly 1000 GPs and only scrutinised the decisions of 33. He described how many of the GPs were cautious in their prescription decisions and drew attention to the fact that some depressed patients went unrecognised (Spence & Reid, 2013).

Data from the 2014 Adult Psychiatric Morbidity Survey reveals that severe symptoms of common mental disorders (or 'CMDs') have been continually increasing - the proportion of people showing severe symptoms of CMDs was at 6.9% of 16 to 64 year olds in 1993, 7.9% in 2000, 8.5% in 2007 and 9.3% in 2014, representing a steady and continuous rise (McManus et al., 2016). It could be argued that we have begun defining our problems as medical concerns; we must ask whether we are medicalizing normality? (Spence & Reid, 2013) If this is the case, it could provide an explanation as to why prescriptions of antidepressants may be prescribed more freely than they should. For example, the DSM-5 allows for a diagnosis of depression following two weeks of feeling low after a bereavement (American Psychiatric Association, 2013), when, in reality, most people would take longer than two weeks to get over a bereavement of a loved one. Widespread medicalisation, can thus only lead, to over-prescription of unnecessary treatments. Thomas Szasz argues that mental illness is a myth and that everyday continuous struggles are a part of human life; he refers to these as 'problems in living' (Szasz, 1974). He notes how these stresses and strains are 'inherent in the social intercourse of complex human personalities' (ibid: 5), and we should not be trying to provide solutions and treatments such as antidepressants for something that is a 'normal' part of humanity.

As mentioned, the pharmaceutical industry is of great value to states; it is beneficial to the economy especially in terms of providing jobs and produces medicines that can keep populations healthy. Therefore, it is understandable why the pharmaceutical industry would be heavily funded for its research and development (or 'R&D') into new drugs. 'In 2011, the industry spent USD 92 billion on R&D… this represents 10-15% of industry revenues' (OECD 2015: 188). The argument could be posed that antidepressants are much more developed than other forms of treatment for depression and, for this reason, it is of greater benefit to the patients to be given a treatment that has been so heavily invested in and has been tried and tested to a greater extent than alternative treatments for depression. Despite arguing that Electroconvulsive Therapy had significantly better results than antidepressants during their study, Pagnin et al. (2004) still asserted that larger samples would be required before it could begin to be considered as a first choice of treatment. Thus, in line with these arguments, we can begin to suggest that antidepressants are not necessarily being prescribed too freely if they have progressed to a better standard due to the higher expenditure on research and development for them than other methods of treatment for depression.

Following on from this discussion, it could be argued that antidepressants are prescribed more frequently, as opposed to alternative treatments for depression; but to claim that they are prescribed *too* freely is where this can be disputed. There are numerous reasons for using antidepressants as a treatment more frequently as we have discussed, and all of these reasons hold a lot of validity. For example, we have used statistics to demonstrate the commonality of mental illness, and although we have critiqued this with arguments such as Szasz's mental illness as myth (1974), it is still nonetheless a growing issue that society must provide solutions and treatments for. It is also perhaps better practice, to offer treatments to patients which general practitioners have more confidence in; i.e. offering antidepressants as a treatment before offering alternative, less established, treatments such as ECT. For this reason, one would argue that antidepressants **are not** prescribed too freely – at least whilst we are less certain of the alternatives. It is important not to reject other factors, such as the effectiveness of antidepressants, and the possible ulterior motives in terms of creating greater opportunities for profit, that may exist from the pharmaceutical industry, when answering this question. One may also point out that negative attention surrounding the volume of prescription of antidepressants could be linked to the negative stigma that surrounds mental illness. For example, statistics we have used in this discussion that measured how much antidepressants are costing the NHS will be only a fraction of the cost as opposed to medicines prescribed for other conditions. However, the negative stigma that exists around mental illness draws attention to over-prescription as an issue, when it may not even be one. To conclude, this essay rejects the stand-alone statement that antidepressants are prescribed too freely, because this fails to look at the bigger picture and acknowledge the reasons why this may be the case. This essay also attempts to scrutinise the question itself in relation to the arguments made about the stigmatisation of the mentally ill; it is impossible to truly answer this question without exploring the deeper social issues that exist in society.

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Masculinity: A Critical Review

Rosie Dean

This critical review will explain the concept of masculinity in sociology by examining a life history study. The study researched the positive relationship between failing to accomplish hegemonic masculinity early on in life and crime. This study could partially disprove Freud's psychoanalysis theory but further reinstate the arguments of feminism.

The sociology of gender can be a crucial aspect in explaining crime and the criminal profile (Carrabine, et. al. 2014:16). Sex differences between a man and a woman are entirely biologically reliant. Gender examines the sociological variations that men and women experience and the gender specific roles that are socialised in society (Sterling, 2012:3).

Masculinity as a gender role is socially constructed based on the male's biological features. The attributes and behaviours that are expected in order to accomplish the masculine gender role include being powerful, mentally and physically, and to assert dominance over other men and women. Dominance and power must be achieved through any means. Stereotypically within the gender identity of being masculine, primal acts of aggression are expected in order to dominate all others (McLaughlin, 2013:265). Hegemonic masculinity is the perfect representation of norms that are expected in the masculine gender role. It leads on to the ideology that society not only legitimises the traits associated in the masculine role but also justifies the patriarchy and perpetuates this in a repetitive cycle in the socialisation of men and women (Connel,2005:831).

The key-reading is a thought-provoking analogy of two life history studies. The life history method allows the researcher to extensively examine the life experiences of the participant and in this instance, make intricate connections to the offending. The case studies in the literature are two adolescent males who are both convicted child sex offenders. The criteria when selecting the two boys were as such: 'both are white, working-class, teenage males who sexually victimized females they personally knew and both displayed serious problems interacting with peers.' (Messerschmidt, 2000: 288). The two boys, referred to using the pseudonyms of Sam and John, differ in their experiences at home. Sam grew up in a loving and physically non-violent home. John grew up as a victim of sexual and violent assaults including being raped by his step-father. One of the researcher's objectives was to explore how parental relationships and the home environment could have impacted the crimes committed by both Sam and John. A developmentally crucial similarity for both Sam and John was the severe bullying they experienced at school.

A defining factor presented by the researcher was both boys growing up experiencing a strong awareness of their own masculine inadequacy. Both boys were socialised with the ideal masculine figure at home encouraging the normality of physical violence. The researcher evaluated that the bullying at school was a result of the boys being typically non-masculine. They were smaller, weaker, and less-intelligent and lacked the ability to dominate others. This feeling of inadequacy was exacerbated by the fact that they were unable to fight back against the bullying. The researcher explores at length how the failure to perform the gender role of masculinity shaped Sam and John's choices throughout their adolescent years and can even explain the choice to commit the sexual offences. In the conclusion, the researcher heavily links and implies that the sexual offences committed by

Sam and John were due to the overwhelming social requirement to control and dominate others and in their eyes; to accomplish hegemonic masculinity.

Although John did experience physical and sexual violence at home and then in turn reproduced this violence within his own life, Sam did not. Yet, they both committed child sex offences. This partially rejects the renowned psychological theory of Sigmund Freud. Freud, as a developmental psychologist, produced the psychoanalytical theory and theorises that the childhood experiences that we have shape our unconscious mind and thus our entire life (Storr, 1989:21). While the bullying did occur to Sam and John in their childhood, Freud gave particular emphasis on primary socialisation at home in his theory and how healthy and fulfilling the child's relationship with the parents is (Stones, 1998:69). So, to follow Freud's theory, John would be a perfect example of how the negative implications abuse from the parent in early years can have. Sam on the other hand, would disprove this because of his positive and nurturing relationship with his parents. These studies do not completely reject Freud's theories on childhood, but rather move on to emphasise more importance on secondary socialisation when shaping a child's psyche.

The study was not representative of a population and lacked generalisability. The sample size was vastly too small to accurately make any assumptions on how the gender role of masculinity can affect the criminal population. Sam and John were selected due to being white and working class. The gender role expectations within masculinity are socially and culturally constructed. Therefore, the roles, norms and expectations of masculinity can vary depending on an individual's race, class, sexual preferences, and so on. The sample in this study excludes any cultural variations and again, leaves it insufficient in terms of sampling to be able to be generalised onto any larger population (Bryman, 2012:198).
If the researcher was to increase the sample size and ensure that the selection was done at random it would further legitimise the study's findings. However, the life history method of researching would become potentially problematic with how in-depth a study could be if the sample size was far greater than a few individual cases. The life history method provided an excellent insight into Sam and John's life, and any future studies along these lines would require this method to be as valid as this study, thus, any increase in sample size would have to balance the requirements of carrying out the life history method of researching.

The feminist movement contests stereotypical gender roles. However, a suggested connotation of feminism is that it is purely in the interest of the feminine role. This may be truer in the extent that vastly more women are involved with the feminist movement but actually, the ideal of complete gender equality would be beneficial for men and the battle against damaging masculine role expectations. If more men supported feminism, it could break the norm of gender roles being perpetuated through the socialisation of children.
To conclude, this study highlights important issues in the damaging relationship between the masculine expectations of adolescent males and criminal offending. Although extreme, it could be suggested that because these role were not achieved that was the reason for these offences. With regard to this, it is important to examine how these examples could partially counter Freud's psychoanalytical theory and consider relevant arguments against traditional gender roles in feminist movements.

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Is it possible to get a First while having a full wallet?
A research project about how part-time employment affects academic achievements and future career ambitions for an undergraduate student

Alice Ferro

Introduction

This qualitative study provides a thorough understanding of the implications of on-campus part-time employment on the academic outcomes and future career aspirations of undergraduate students at the University of Essex. According to King (1999), student workers should be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are the 'students who work', being enrolled in a full-time degree while having a part-time job. On the other, there are the 'employees who study', taking part in part-time higher education while being employed on a full- or part-time basis. Out of the two, the first group is reported to perform better when working for a 'right amount of hours'. This research is concerned with the 'students who work'.

The study is based on two research questions:

i) How does part-time work influence the academic outcomes of undergraduate students?
ii) How does part-time work impact the future career ambitions of undergraduate students?

Wood *et al.* (2016) assert that major qualitative research should explore the ways and manners in which part-time employment affects academic attainment and future career ambitions. Thus, this study illustrates how part-time employment influences students' academic attainment and investigates the way in which the students' university experience can contribute to shaping their aspirations for their future career.

Literature Review

Much scholarly attention has been paid to the relationship between part-time work and academic performance. In terms of the motivation behind the decision to undertake part-time employment while being a student, Hammond (2007) states that the most prominent one is the economic independence that the student will gain from his/her parents. With this independence comes a responsibility of managing the working hours effectively. Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) and Kamal (2015) emphasise the students' efforts to keep up with coursework and to pursue their academic interests outside of the scheduled learning times. Kamal (2015) testifies that the most important factor determining the impact that part-time work can have on academic performance, is the extent to which students allow extracurricular activities and other commitments to affect their academic life. In other words, it is up to the individual to improve his/her organisational and time-management skills in order to meet deadlines and perform well academically.

Wenz *et al.* (2010) stress the element of 'human capital' and empowerment that follows part-time employment. Supporting this, Wood *et al.* (2016) outline that working students are reported to feel more productive and efficient than their non-worker peers. Students

who engage in part-time work during their undergraduate studies, and who manage to achieve high grades in their coursework and examinations, are more likely to find rewarding jobs after graduation (Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005). Dundes & Marx (2007) assert that students who work for ten to nineteen hours per week receive higher marks than students who do not work at all. Another study, carried out by Horn and Berkhold (1998), contents that the right amount is between one and fifteen hours. However, part-time work may cause personal negative externalities in terms of stress and physical tiredness (Smith and Taylor, 1999; Van Dyke *et al*., 2005). In turn, this will impact the attendance level of the students, and hence, their academic results (Wood *et al*., 2016).

In addition to the studies observing the relationship between the dedication to work and the academic performance, much attention has also been given to the differences between being an on- and off-campus employee. O'Connor (2010) explains that on-campus jobs provide the students with more opportunities to use study facilities, such as labs and the library, and to engage in extracurricular activities. Despite this, on-campus work is claimed to be more effective, as it helps students develop a variety of skills considered to be particularly valuable to future employers, including organisational, time-management, team work and interpersonal skills (McCormick *et al.,* 2010). However, in many cases, the kinds of on-campus jobs are low-skilled jobs and do not relate to the students' post-graduation careers (Hakim, 1998). Ehrenberg and Sherman (1987) even claim that off-campus jobs are more likely to negatively impact the academic performance of the students. Evidently, there is no scholarly consensus regarding the extent to which having a part-time job will negatively affect a student's academic achievements and how it relates to the student's possibility for attaining a job after graduation.

Findings

The two research participants of this study, Sydney and Emily, are both international second year students from different continents, and they have one on-campus part-time job each, to which they commit fifteen to twenty hours per week. Moreover, they engage with at least two other extracurricular activities, which is an important variable that actively contributes to shaping their weekly schedules and their experience at university.

Academic Achievements

One of the first questions addressed to the students during the interviews aimed at understanding the primary and secondary motives that led them to undertake a part-time job. Firstly, both stated the importance to boost their CV and to gain work experience as the primary reason. Secondly, they confirmed Hammond's (2007) initial conviction: they wanted to feel less of an economic burden to their families. In addition, making new friends was also an important factor. Interestingly, Sydney mentioned the importance of working as a form of 'cultural socialisation' in the new country of residence. This is a factor that is hardly outlined in previous studies. As she said, "I wanted to be able to integrate into the country because it makes it easier to adapt and to settle down" (Interview 2).

Conversely to what has been affirmed in previous studies, namely by Smith & Taylor (1999), the use of the study facilities offered by the university has increased for Sydney. She specifically said that "it is just a lot more convenient for me to go there", as the labs are closer to her workplace, and as she prefers studying during the night because in the morning she works for various extracurricular activities (Interview 2). Emily, on the other hand, has never used the library or other facilities to study, due to the distracting

atmosphere that can be found in these places. She has always studied in her bedroom, and therefore, her job has had no influence on this (Interview 1).

Both students affirm that having a part-time job is not a problem itself, but it is the combination of this with extracurricular activities that can represent an issue for the academic performance. They both emphasise that their jobs are more favourable than the extracurricular activities, as at least, the former has fixed schedules, and so they know when they will be on shift and for how long. While extracurricular activities seem to affect the time they dedicate to their studies, as they independently have to manage their time and tasks.

There is a clear difference between working part-time for the Students' Union of the university, and working off-campus. By working for the Students' Union, both the research participants affirm that their employers help and support them when making the weekly shifts schedules, as they make sure not to put them on shifts that might clash with lectures the day after. Their managers are also concerned with the coursework deadlines they have. While it could be deduced that off-campus employers are not as concerned with these kinds of commitments, the Student Union's supervisors aim to adjust the shifts to the needs of the employees.

One of the most striking findings is the almost complete lack of free time in the participants' lives. They both say that they are always, in one way or another, working or studying, due to the number of hours they spend on extracurricular activities, part-time work and their studies. This is a worrying outcome as it could potentially have severe effects on their mental and physical health. The importance attributed to boosting their CV and gaining considerable and valuable work experience for their work after graduation might be the reason why the students do not allow themselves to rest during term-time.

Both Sydney and Emily stated that their part-time job, together with the extracurricular activities, has had a negative impact on their academic results, even though their grades average still range between a First and a 2:1. Moreover, even though they both affirmed that their academic outcomes have worsened since they started working, this can also be attributed to the fact that the study workload has increased significantly from the foundation year to the second year of university. Furthermore, they have increased the number of extracurricular commitments, filling up their weekly schedules even more. Curtis and Williams (2002) claim that the more the students get used to combining part-time work and full-time education, the abler they are to balance their commitments and be successful in both. Hence, if these particular interviews were carried out again, after, for example, 6 months, the participants' answers and the results of the study might have been different.

Future Career Ambitions

Students who engage in numerous extracurricular activities in addition to a part-time job, where the former are related to their future career ambitions and the latter is mainly to boost their CV, are more likely to maintain constant involvement with their studies, as they actively cultivate their interests even out of classes and lectures. Moreover, the interviewees for this study proved to have a very high level of commitment to the extracurricular activities and to the planning of their careers. Hence, they are arguably much less likely to drop out of university, delay their graduation or significantly lower their

grades to ranges such as 2:2, Third or Fail, which agrees with the assertion by Ehrenberg and Sherman (1987).

The part-time jobs students undertake are not related to their future career aspirations. As the participants said, part-time employment can be 'distracting', due to the fact that they both enjoy working for the Students' Union. Thus, sometimes, the workplace and its 'relaxed atmosphere' might become a chance to hang out with some friends. Yet, this affects the time that students dedicate to their studies, since they still 'go to work' even if they are meant to be studying or doing other activities. As Sydney affirmed, "I don't consider my job to be a job; sometimes I actually consider it part of my free time" (Interview 2). Indeed, on-campus employment can become part of the 'leisure' activities the students have, since they find their time spent working enjoyable.

In terms of thinking about their future careers, they both emphasise the importance of constantly keeping their career goals in mind, and perceive their higher education as an interesting intermediary stepping stone that will lead them to their dream job. Both affirmed that there is no relation between their current part-time employment and the career they wish to undertake after graduation. Instead, they only find common-grounds between the two when analysing the skills they have gained from their part-time employment, and that might prove useful in their future employment. Conversely, they both engage in several extracurricular activities that relate more effectively to their future career aspirations. Hence, it can be deduced that it is not the part-time work *per se* that has the strongest impact on the career ambitions of undergraduate students, but instead their field of study and the extracurricular activities.

In terms of confidence in job searching after graduation, both participants feel empowered by having gained work experience, and affirm to have now a better understanding of how to identify the best job opportunities according to it. They both look at a compelling and impactful future career, which can challenge and teach them something new every day. Even if having a part-time job can be hard and stressful, both Sydney and Emily maintain a strong focus on their future career ambitions, and do not allow either physical tiredness or busy weekly schedules, to be the reason to stop working on their future. Every single day, they work to make themselves more likely to be among the top candidates during organisations' hiring processes.

Reflections

As suggested by Drever (2003), the use of semi-structured interviews is a flexible method that can be employed to cover a vast spectrum of research purposes. Therefore, this qualitative study made use of semi-structured interviews of a length of approximately 45 minutes each. This methodology is considered to be successful in investigating the topic and outlining the main relationships between academic performance, part-time employment and future career aspirations, particularly due to the possibility to probe the participants. The interviewees were able to provide insightful details about their part-time jobs, and the impacts these have had on their academic performance and ambitions for future careers.

The very first interview that was conducted with Emily did not have a successful outcome, due to my lack of experience with recording devices and interview settings. I interviewed her for more than 45 minutes, before eventually realising that the device had not actually recorded anything. I decided to re-interview her after two weeks, after modifying the

questions. Since I had taken notes during the interview, I was expecting some specific answers to my questions. However, the second time, I had the feeling that she deliberately omitted some details that she had mentioned in the previous interview, as she might have taken for granted that I had already appointed her previous answers in my findings. While probing her a few times, I realised I was aiming at collecting the same data again, as I did during the first interview attempt. Thus, I might have unconsciously biased the findings, while suggesting some examples of answers she could give to my questions.

By focusing on the discourse analysis, it was interesting to spot power relations while interviewing Sydney. When I asked her to describe her duties at work, she notably changed her posture and modified her speech by using technical terms, as to highlight a feeling of being superior to me. This kind of revelation of how the power of her workplace atmosphere has been exerted on her, confirms the concept theorised by Foucault (1980). Concerning the attitude of the participants, they both seemed quite nervous, perhaps even slightly self-conscious, as I was taking notes while they were talking, or when I asked them to wear a small microphone to improve the quality of my audio recordings. Still, I do not think this has had an important impact on the findings of the research as they both acted in a more relaxed way as the interviews went on.

In the future, it could be advisable to conduct research which majorly places the attention on the mental and physical impacts that part-time employment has on students' level of engagement with their courses. Furthermore, it would be interesting to study how the relationships and settings student employees experience influence the relationships and workplace experience in their future graduate job. Eventually, more attention should be dedicated to on-campus employment, due to its variety of features and effects on students, which differentiates it from off-campus jobs (Dundes and Marx, 2007). In terms of research methodology, it could be interesting to produce a mixed methods' study, for instance by employing a questionnaire concerned with the investigation of some variables and demographic details, such as gender, socio and economic backgrounds and GPA, in addition to semi-structured interviews. By doing the former, as it is suggested by Kamal (2015), a higher rate of responses could be registered and would be able to ensure anonymity. By also doing the latter, the researcher would gain a more in-depth and conceptualised understanding of the point of view of student workers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it was evidenced that it is mainly the combination of extracurricular activities and part-time job that shapes and affects the participants' academic performance and future career ambitions. While their part-time jobs are just means to gain proper work experience and earn some money, extracurricular activities are mostly related to the future career plans of the research participants, which help them to shape a better idea of the kind of employment they wish to undertake after graduation. Even if their grades have worsened since they started working, they still receive great marks and maintain interest for their degree. One of the major issues lies in the complete absence of free-time that affects these students' lives, leading them to become stressed and to partly neglect their health, in order to boost their CV and become outstanding candidates for future employers. While it is impressive the relevance these students attribute to the planning of their future careers, it is right to question if this demanding and busy life will not affect them majorly in the future.

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Compare and contrast the main macro-sociological perspectives on punishment. Answer with reference to at least two of the following theorists: Marx, Durkheim and Foucault

Georgia Griffiths

In this essay, I will be comparing and contrasting Durkheim and Foucault's perspectives on punishment. Even though they are both macro-sociologists, they indeed differ in certain ways. Durkheim bases his theoretical framework on the ideology of social morality and solidarity, and expresses that punishment serves an important purpose in society, which is to maintain the interconnection between individuals that fundamentally binds us all together. Durkheim assesses punishment in both 'mechanical' and 'organic' society. Similarly to Durkheim, Foucault discusses punishment from the perspective of its transformation throughout history. However, he focuses more on power relations between the authorities and professionals within institutions on the one hand and the offender on the other. Throughout this essay, I will compare and contrast the differences and similarities between both theorists and come to the conclusion that they both agree: the mode of punishment changes in parallel to societal change.

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) was a structural functionalist whose aim was to understand in a deeper context what functions social structures perform. In relation to punishment, Durkheim argued that, as a general view, punishment creates social solidarity which is vital in modern 'organic' society, a term Durkheim uses to refer to a contemporary society which has elements of complexity within it. By comparison, he also discusses 'mechanical' society, a traditional and simple society, before industrialisation: "The social molecules that cohere in this way can act only in so far as they have no action of their own, as with the molecules of inorganic bodies" (Durkheim, 1893, in Giddens, 1972:134). In Durkheim's view, mechanical society had little division of labour because everyone had similar jobs which meant that there was not much difference between individuals (in comparison to today's complex division of labour). As a result, society back then did not need many skills or talents in order to complete the job load; because of this, days were structured in similar ways which meant that individuals were thus socialised the same way. In relation to punishment within society, there was greater agreement as to what was considered right against wrong because more people shared the same values, ideas and beliefs as one another, which resulted in a 'collective conscience'. The idea behind this was due to society being simple and traditional: punishment was seen as straightforward; many people knew what was deemed morally right and wrong when it came to law and order, and they knew what the punitive outcome was. In contrast to this, organic society, the more complex and contemporary society we live in today, is seen to be very stratified, because of the complex division of labour. Society today is highly organised and fragmented due to the different and various jobs and roles needed. Due to the complexity of society and the diversity of occupations and roles, every individual's outlook on life and their experiences are very different. As a result, people hold different beliefs and values, which causes society to become more individualised (Newburn, 2007).

Durkheim thoroughly believed that punishment was needed in society to uphold social solidarity. Penal sanctions were taken by Durkheim to furnish a visible index of the moral

order of society, a tangible example of the collective conscience at work, both expressing and regenerating society's values (Garland, 1990, in Valier 2002). This shows that punishment in society, as argued by Durkheim, had a function of maintaining moral order, which he expressed as a crucial element of society working well. Durkheim argued that within mechanical societies 'reactions to nonconformity had been harsh' (Valier 2002: 27). As such, deviations from conventional sexualities and religion were punished because laws were put in place in order to bring everyone together. It was important, back then, for everyone in society to behave in the same way and live in similar ways because particular norms and values needed to be upheld, which in essence affected everybody. The law was put into practice in order to create rules and regulations in regard to how to behave and act in society. Crime was also publicly defined; meaning that everybody in society had a collective agreement as to what was deemed as 'criminal' so they would not fall within that spectrum. Therefore, if people fell outside of the norm, and rebelled against conforming to the social norm, it resulted in a mutual agreement to publicly punish, because that was the collective conscience everybody held.

Durkheim argued that mechanical solidarity deemed it necessary to make punishment public because this was viewed as an appropriate mode of deterring crime. In essence, public punishment worked to deter people from committing crime, because it allowed people within society to acknowledge what would happen if they themselves deviated from the norm. This is very similar to Foucault's perspective on punishment, because he argues that publicly punishing criminals sends a message to wider society. However, in contrast to Durkheim, Foucault argues that as well as using public punishment as a form of deterrence, public punishment of the body illustrated and reinforced power relations between authorities and wider society (Newburn, 2007: 533). From Durkheim's perspective, public punishment was seen as an act of scaring people into conforming to the social norms of society. However, as society has progressed from mechanical to organic society, punishment has also transformed from public to private.

In regard to organic society, punishment is deemed to be more severe and complex, mirroring the state of society at the time. Durkheim argued that, due to the more flexible and tolerant values of contemporary societies, the resulting diversity of behaviour would include some forms that would be sanctioned as deviant and criminal (Valier, 2002). However, Durkheim argued that even though the notion of crime is linked to criminal status and exclusion from society, it is to an extent healthy for society to have a level of crime. This is because crime creates jobs for individuals. It is also argued that committing criminal offences and deviant acts lets people express their individuality to a certain extent. In addition to this, because organic societies have a more complex division of labour, and people do not necessarily share the same values and beliefs, society becomes more individualised. As a result of individualisation, the law changes to address more individual concerns, and thus incorporates more restitution elements into the punishment of offenders. By this, Durkheim means that criminals should be able to compensate for their criminal wrongdoings by interacting with the victim of the crime, to attempt to fix the damage (emotionally, physically and maybe financially) they have done. Thus, Durkheim argued, punishment in contemporary society should be more about correcting the wrongdoing than physically and emotionally punishing offenders, as they used to do in traditional mechanical societies. Furthermore, he argued that, whilst in mechanical societies, hostile punishment is beneficial, in the context of increased societal complexity and individualisation, it is counterproductive (Valier, 2002:32). Instead he argued punishment must not degrade the individual (by public punishment) and that society should implement different forms of punishment intended to help and 'correct' the

offender, rather than purely punish on the basis that they have disobeyed the law and social norms of society.

To summarise Durkheim's perspective on punishment, he focused his work on the evolution of society and punishment, and how its development through time and history has impacted upon the views and mode of operation of punishment and crime.

I will now focus my attention on Foucault's macro-sociological perspective on punishment and consider the similarities with Durkheim's argument, and also contrast their differences. Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) main focus in his study of crime and punishment was the analysis of punishment in its social context and how the changing power relations affected the operation of punishment. One of Foucault's main contributions to criminology is his focus on the shift of crime control. He argues that crime control began as the continual threat of violence and the fear of being physically punished (punishment of the body); this soon moved towards the control of crime through surveillance and incarceration. Using surveillance as a mode of crime control draws upon the feeling of fear of being seen or caught for something you've done or are thinking of doing – 'punishment of the soul'.

Foucault stated that he saw the penal system as the form in which power was most obviously seen for what it was (Foucault, 1972/1996, in Valier, 2002). Similarly to Durkheim, Foucault argued that, as society progresses, we become more modern and enlightened and as a result find new methods of punishment for our own safety and for that of the wider society. We place them in institutions where their needs are met and they receive treatment. Nonetheless, disciplinary power still takes place in these institutions because it still enables professionals, for example psychologists and psychiatrists, to exercise their power over the individual prisoners, resulting in the potential exploitation and oppression of certain social groups. However, Foucault states that in the past we would have physically punished the mentally ill, which he referred to as 'punishment of the body'.

Discipline and Punish (1979) was one of Foucault's major contributions to the study of penology and criminology. It highlighted the transformation of punishment and enlightened us on the history of the penal system, and also made the distinctions between 'punishment of the body' and 'punishment of the soul' very clear. Foucault begins by analysing the penal situation before the eighteenth century where punishment was brutal, public and severe; this was a period where public execution was the key punishment. He begins his book with a detailed description of punishment in 1757:

> After two or three attempts, the executioner Samson and he who had used the pincers each drew out a knife from his pocket and cut the body at the thighs instead of severing the legs at the joints; the four horses gave a tug and carried off the two thighs after them..." (Foucault, 1977:5).

This graphic description of a public execution that took place highlights the severity of punishment before the eighteenth century; which Foucault refers to as 'Sovereign power', or punishment of the body. Foucault points out however that capital punishment (torture, execution) can work against the state. This type of punishment was an exercise in the power of the monarch. However, Foucault argued that, although it was a way of exercising power relations within society, in contrast it became ineffective in maintaining ruling power due to the public somewhat sympathising with the offender. Foucault opens his

book with a striking contrast between two forms of punishment, the first occurring before the eighteenth century and the second from the eighteenth century onwards. He sees these two forms of punishment as examples of sovereign power and disciplinary power, expanding on the idea of power relations within punishment, in his discussion of 'punishment of the body' and 'punishment of the soul'.

Similarly to Durkheim, Foucault argued that there has been a shift in the types of punishment for criminals throughout history. He explains that before the eighteenth century, society embraced the idea of punishing the body, which meant public displays of physical torture. In essence, the idea of this was to publicly shame offenders for the acts of criminality they had committed, and also to ensure that the wider society would refrain from committing further crimes. By making punishment a public display, this approach employed the function of preventing crime through increased awareness of the severe consequences for disobeying the law and committing criminal offences. Durkheim also based his framework on the social norms and values of society and the consequences that follow when people do not conform. Furthermore, Foucault argued that punishment mirrors the transformation of society throughout time, similarly to Durkheim, who also argued that, as society progressed and transformed through time, so did crime and punishment. Foucault makes it clear in *Discipline and Power* (1979) that punishment has changed from being physical and immediate to being more focused on incarceration and rehabilitation.

In contrast to Durkheim's perspective on punishment, however, Foucault also argued that punishment can be an act of exercising authorial power relations; for example, of sovereign power - the threat of force exercised through the monarch who has power over the public and, essentially, their bodies. This type of power was common before the eighteenth century when society had certain authority, such as Monarchs, who held extreme amounts of power over the public. At this time, the public had to obey the rules and regulations of society; if they did not, then the Monarch would have the power to inflict pain and punishment on the bodies of the guilty. However, Foucault argues that punishment has moved away from the physical, towards surveilled forms of punishment. The reason for this, he argues, is because society has moved towards *reforming* criminals through incarceration and treatment programmes. The significance of this is that disciplinary power is now everywhere in society, and that it is not only criminals who are subjected to this type of 'punishment', but rather wider society. Through the implementation and force of CCTV surveillance, people in society are now self-policing and regulating their own behaviour even if they are innocent. This is because individuals within wider society are continuously afraid of stepping outside of the conventional norm due to the risk and suspicion of being watched by the authorities via CCTV cameras. In essence, this accords with George Orwell's idea of 'Big Brother' (1984).

In relation to disciplinary power, Foucault talks about the 'panopticon' in regards to modern penology. The panopticon that Jeremy Bentham designed in 1791 is seen by Foucault as the epitome of power-knowledge principles, and as the prototype not just for prisons but for all institutions that implement regimes of surveillance and discipline (Garland 1991), for example, the mental health institution. The panopticon takes the form of a circular building with cells around the perimeter and a guard in the middle of the building in an inspection tower (Garland, 1991:138). This architecture allows the prison guard to watch all the prisoners from one singular standpoint, yet the prisoners do not know if and when they are being watched. As a result, prisoners self-regulate their behaviour. In addition, the prisoners are constantly subject to the knowledge and power of

the authorities: 'Any remnant of physical repression is thus gradually replaced by a gentle but effective structure of domination' (Foucault, 1977: 195-295). he seeks to understand the rationality of modern power and puts penal institutions into the foreground of his analysis.

To summarise, Foucault's work enlightens us on the internal workings of the penal apparatus, focusing on the specific technologies of penal power and the mode of punishment. In contrast, Durkheim informed us little about the instrumentalities of punishment (Garland, 1991:134). This is because he concentrated more on the understanding of social morality, and focused more on the subjective emotions of the offender. Durkheim's main claim throughout his work on penology is that the main function of punishment is reassuring the public sentiment, and also maintaining authority. Furthermore, punishment sends a message to society to not deviate from conventional social norms or the law, and reaffirms this sense of morality within a society. In contrast to Durkheim, Foucault discusses punishment at the level of individualisation. By this, he means that instead of relying on society to reassure us not to deviate from the norm, we self-regulate our behaviour. This is because we are constantly being monitored and watched by authorities through surveillance and CCTV.

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Gender and Crime: Controlling and Regulating Women

Shannon Hines

The topic of Gender and Crime investigates the differential treatments of men and women within the criminal justice system, which may ultimately inflict harsher or lesser punishment on individuals due to gender-bias. This essay will focus on the control and regulation of women regarding acts of criminality and will centralise around the question 'Should women be treated differently to men?'

Statistically, men commit a lot more crime compared to women. These crimes are generally more serious and violent, commonly leading to imprisonment and longer sentences. Research into crime rates revealed that the male population took a significant overarching lead at all stages including: arrest, prosecution, conviction and prison population in England and Wales (MoJ, 2016), ultimately suggesting a higher severity of crimes and presenting gender disparity within the criminal justice system. Of course, if the nature of crimes committed by men and women are significantly different, then the punishments of these crimes would differ also, therefore justifying the gender-gap shown in rates of prosecution. However, the issue that much research into this topic aims to explain is why there might be differential treatment regarding similar crimes committed by men and women, and why this disparity came to be.

There are many theories, such as biological and psychological positivism, that aim to justify the differential treatment of women. Lombroso can be considered especially central to this idea as he suggests biological factors associated with the act of crime are intrinsic to men, therefore deeming women as inferior. He explains that women are less likely to be susceptible to crime because they are biologically manufactured to possess 'maternal and compassionate characteristics', and as a result, deviance in this sense must be due to a biological malfunction where treatment over punishment is most effective (Brayford et al, 2015). The 1922 Infanticide Act provided support for gender-orientated justice, which, at the time of its enactment, allowed women who killed their babies to avoid the death penalty as the crime was considered a result of post-natal (Ibid, 2015). A problem associated with such biological explanations of crime in women is that they could easily be utilised as defence mechanisms to achieve lesser punishments. Additionally, much research highlights the increase of mental health issues in females after entering prison; James and Glaze (2006) reported that mental disorders were prevalent in 73% of women in state prisons compared to just 12% of women in the general population (Bloom and Covington, 2008:2), suggesting that incarceration negatively impacts the mental state of females. However, this argument is contradictory as biological positivism implies that to commit acts of crime, females are already in a psychologically unfit state, so surely in this case, prison cannot be the cause of this incline.

Another theory regarding differential treatments of women in crime is the 'Chivalry Complex'. This idea is based on traditional conceptions of women, predominately from the 1950's and 60's, which suggest women are treated more leniently in court as male prosecutors are 'chivalrous' towards women, perceiving   them as innocent mother figures, causing rates of offending to be significantly lower. Similarly, the Chivalry Complex may be applicable the other way around with female prosecutors inflicting harsher punishment on men because they are deemed as strong and masculine.

Pollak suggested in his 1950 report that women commit crime just as much as men but can hide it easier as they are 'deceitful and cunning' (Pollak, 1961). However, this traditional view of women as weak and inferior to men is very outdated and the societal shift of conceptions could rather be considered a contributing factor to the reported increase in crime as the incarceration of women has risen 6% in the last decade in England and Wales (MoJ, 2016). If females are now taken more seriously and regarded as culpable criminals, then this might just explain why the statistical increase has only occurred in more recent years. Though, despite this incline, there have been many concerns into the imprisonment and treatment of women in the criminal justice system, namely reported by Labour Baroness Corston. She suggested most women should incur community sentences for non-violent crimes as prison spirals into more problems for women, and thus, lesser sentences would be more beneficial (Corston Report, 2007). Similar to this, the Prison Reform Trust published 'a three-year strategy to reduce the imprisonment of women in the UK' in 2012 (Brayford et al, 2015: 192). Consequently, campaigns to remove women from prison may suggest an underlying conception that, compared to men, women are not deserving of harsh punishment because they cannot cope with them as well.

As previously stated, the nature of crimes committed by men and women in most cases is very different; statistics show that women only account for 5-12% of serious offenders (Brayford et al, 2015: 199). But what about cases when the nature of crime is similar? Lizzie Borden appears to be an exception to this as in 1893 she was arrested and tried for the violent axe murder of her father and stepmother, but was later acquitted with the murders left unsolved (Sherman, 2016). This goes to show that even in more serious cases, gender disparity is prevalent. On the other hand, 'Double Deviancy' is a feminist theory that implies women are treated more harshly in court because they are punished twice; first for their act of crime and secondly for deviating from the societal norm of appropriate gender roles (Brayford et al, 2015: 192). However, much like the Chivalry Complex, this notion is very outdated as women have a lot more control and power in contemporary society and prominent gender roles are not so common.

Overall, for the treatment of men and women to be equal, they should be treated the same regarding the regulation and control of crime; the law needs to be objective rather than a social construct based on gender. While the statistical disparity between genders could suggest that equal treatment isn't necessarily the case, even for contemporary justice, the main problem with this accusation is that discrepancies or unfair treatments within the criminal justice system are very difficult to prove. This essay has highlighted the main theories in aid of the differential treatment of women and suggests that women should not be treated differently to men, especially if the nature of the crime is to a similar degree, but, the statistical rates of women and crime suggest otherwise.

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What social and psychological processes lead otherwise law-abiding people into complicity with genocide?

Emma Kyne

Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide defines genocide as 'acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group' (UN General Assembly, 1948). Although the names of prominent leaders at the time of these atrocities immediately come to mind, e.g. Adolf Hitler or Pol Pot, the events would not have been able to unfold on such a scale as they did without the mass involvement of ordinary citizens. Most people, if questioned, would claim without hesitation that they would never act in such a way and that those who did must have been purely evil individuals. However, many academics have studied whether this could be possible and the overwhelming conclusion is that there are a variety of factors which could influence the ordinary citizen to become involved in genocide, sometimes without truly realising the amorality of their actions at the time. It is impossible to judge a person's actions without considering the societal context in which they were in. The aim of this essay will be to explain why ordinary, otherwise law-abiding citizens complied with acts of genocide with reference to events such as the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust.

Although now highly contested, it would be an incomplete analysis without considering the impact of personality factors upon levels of complicity with genocide. Bauman (1989) discusses the view proposed by Adorno et al. (1950) that the Nazis were cruel people because naturally cruel people gravitated towards the Nazi party. Waller (2007) gives the example of the psychologist Gustave Gilbert who, after administering IQ tests to Nazi defendants at the Nuremburg trials in 1945 and 1946, wrote an article in which he detailed the 'inhuman personality type' (Waller, 2007 p. 62) of the Nazis. Both examples of personality causing compliancy with genocide are exclusively in relation to the Holocaust. There are no mentions of personality factors being considered as causal in relation to later genocides (such as in the 1990s in Rwanda or Bosnia). The most likely reason for this is because it is a weak theory that was largely discredited after it was applied to the Holocaust for a lack of evidence. Clark (2009) highlights another key criticism of using personality factors to explain international crimes which is the sheer number of perpetrators; it is difficult to conclude that so many people would have the same deviant personality. He claims that some people are unwilling to discredit personality factors because these factors allow the 'us and them' mentality that those who commit genocide are intrinsically different. Therefore, by removing the opportunity to alienate those who commit genocide, people cannot distance themselves from such individuals and must face the reality that they can be similar and that makes many uncomfortable to consider.

One of the most widely studied and accepted explanations for why people have complied with genocide, is due to the natural inclination for obedience to authority. Many ordinary citizens have claimed that they only acted in a certain way to obey an authority figure and psychologists have since tested and supported these claims. Perhaps the most famous experiment in the field of obedience is that of Stanley Milgram in 1963, who chose to study obedience in direct response to the Nuremburg trials and claims of obedience during the Holocaust. His experiment, to briefly summarise, involved a subject who was told that they would be studying learning techniques and asking a participant (an inside associate of the

experimenter) a series of questions and to shock the 'participant' if they got the question wrong. With each wrong answer, the amount of shock they were to administer rose in small intervals from 15v (harmless) to 450v (severe). They were unaware that they were not really administering shocks to the confederate and believed they were genuinely inflicting pain. If the subject hesitated about shocking the participant, they were told that they must do so by an actor assuming the role of experimenter, therefore having authority over the subject. There were, of course, many limitations of Milgram's study, with the most commonly cited being a question of how ethical his study had been. A more relevant criticism of Milgram's study is that he was unable to take into account the situational factors that would be acting upon individuals in the context of genocide.

In a social psychology laboratory, the authority of the 'experimenter' was the only authority the participants had to answer to and they were aware that they could leave the experiment at any time. However, in situations of genocide, many ordinary citizens are obeying a much higher authority figure, such as a military or political leader, and the consequences of them disobeying could be much more severe, such as the fear of being killed themselves. Although this is a criticism of the experiment's validity, it does strengthen the argument that people would be more compliant with genocide because it is considering the factor of situational influences. Therefore, if Milgram could prove that subjects were obedient to authority in a laboratory setting, it is unsurprising that this would also be the case during genocide where they would have so much more to lose by not obeying authority.

As well as social psychological laboratory studies, we can also consider examples from past genocides in which authority was seen as a legitimate reason for ordinary people to comply with genocide. One of the clearest examples of this is the Cambodian genocide under the Khamer Rouge regime during the 1970s. As this government was attempting to implement a communist rule, it would have been impossible without the compliance of civilians. E Cunha (2010) outlined four reasons why extreme obedience was able to be created in this context; there already existed a culture of obedience in the region, the institutional control was strong, there was powerful indoctrination of the young and violence was normalised (E Cunha et al., 2010).

These ideas can be easily applied to various other genocides, including the Rwandan genocide in 1994. There existed a culture of obedience in Rwanda, although this was less about obedience to the state, but rather, societal pressure to conform (Straus, 2013). The institutional control in Rwanda was strong; the Interahamwe were trained and mobilized by the political elite Hutus at the onset of the genocide and they controlled or influenced the majority of the citizens to become involved in the genocide (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010). The Interahamwe are an example of the youth being indoctrinated; the political elite targeted poor, young men to train up in preparation for the genocide. They were committed to the cause because it gave them a purpose and provided them with food, employment and they had little to lose before their training (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010). Finally, violence was clearly normalised in Rwanda; as the genocide began, people no longer went to work or followed their usual everyday routine, finding and killing Tutsis became the new routine for many Hutu civilians (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010). Although there is strong evidence to support obedience to authority as a factor in why people would comply with genocide, there are some scholars who argue that this explanation is overstated. Daniel Goldhagen (1997) controversially introduced what he termed the 'smile problem', which questioned why, if people were only committing evil

acts in response to authority, many committed such acts with enthusiasm and went beyond the minimum threshold for inflicting pain.

Goldhagen argued that the Holocaust was caused largely by anti-Semitism amongst Germans. His work has come under strict scrutiny, with one of the strongest criticisms being that Goldhagen only emphasises the 'eagerness' of the German people to kill Jews, failing to explain the systematic killing of other groups such as gypsies and homosexuals. He also downplays the importance of the gas chambers. Rosenfeld (1999) argues that the gas chambers were a key feature of the Holocaust largely because they mechanicalized the extermination process, allowing Germans to remove themselves from culpability. Therefore, Goldhagen's argument does not conform with historical narrative; most Germans were not eagerly searching out and killing Jews, and the killing process was largely out-of-sight of most German citizens (Rosenfeld, 1999).

Another classic social psychological study, the Stanford Prison Experiment, was conducted by Phillip Zimbardo in 1971 which explored the influence of situational factors as to why a normal person would commit evil acts. His experiment, which was ended after just 6 days for fear of causing permanent psychological damage to the participants, involved taking a group of young men (each of whom underwent stringent psychological testing and were determined to be 'normal') and randomly assigned them to the role of either 'guard' or 'prisoner' in a simulated prison. It was in this environment of the prison atmosphere that both groups adapted to their role exceedingly well- more so than even Zimbardo had imagined. The guards, overall, became dominating and sadistic, whereas the prisoners were largely submissive.

Although there were no real differences between the participants, the mere label of 'guard' was enough authority for the prisoner participants to submit to degrading treatment in the closed environment of their replica prison. Zimbardo concluded that 'the pathologies were elicited by the set of situational forces constantly impinging upon them in this prisonlike setting' (Zimbardo, 2007, p. 197). Although this experiment explicitly discusses the importance of the situation more than authority, we can see that both groups were highly influenced by the authority of the labels assigned to them, with the guard group being compliant in causing pain to other people. This supports the earlier argued concept of authority as being a strong factor in leading people to comply with behaviour they may not otherwise consider, such as genocide.

Situational factors and obedience to authority are strongly interrelated factors which lead ordinary citizens to comply with genocide, because the situation which encourages this behaviour is one which is under the control of an authority which approves of, or at least condones, genocide. Situational factors are the most important reason why people would become compliant with genocide, because people would not support genocide if it were not an accepted aspect of their situation.

One of the criticisms of focusing on situational factors is that, by claiming that all would act in the same way under these pressures, it reduces the personal responsibility for the individual who had committed the act (Clark, 2009). This argument has also been presented against the explanation of crimes of obedience, with one of the most famous examples being Arendt's analysis of the trial of Adolf Eichmann and the concept of the banality of evil. Arendt highlighted Eichmann's defence that he had just been doing his job, and following orders, and the banality of evil argument suggests that we would all do the same (Arendt, 1963).

This criticism can be seen as an example of Matza and Sykes' (1957) techniques of neutralisation in context. By shifting the blame to either the situation or an authority figure, this could be seen as a denial of responsibility by those who complied with genocide. However, this is a weak argument in reference to why people commit or comply with genocide because the techniques of neutralisation focus more on the justification of actions after the event as opposed to an explanation of why they complied with genocide in the first place.

There are many other psychological processes which have attempted to explain why ordinary citizens would comply with genocide, even if they consider themselves to be decent people. Robert Lifton (1997) describes the concept of 'doubling' to explain how ordinary people may become compliant with genocide. Doubling refers to the 'division of the self into two functioning wholes, so that a part-self acts as an entire self' (Lifton, 1997, p. 30). His work is specifically in reference to the Holocaust and explains how a man could retain the view of himself as a loving husband, father, neighbour, etc. in the home, whereas at work he could be responsible for the death of many individuals because it is a different 'self' to the self at home.

Although this can be exemplified through the Holocaust, it is a weak explanation for complicity in genocide in general because it cannot be applied to any of the other genocides in modern history. During the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the Hutus did not separate their family life from the killing, their entire identity was transformed to resent and kill Tutsis. During the Cambodian genocide, the killings were in the name of communism and a supposed better future, so there were, again, no separations between home life and the arena of the genocide.

When examining the relationship between the group committing the genocide and those being killed, there are usually many differences between the people, with the clearest one being that the group committing genocide has much more power than the group that they are targeting. The powerful groups are keen to emphasise the differences between the groups and one of the most effective ways in which they have done so is to dehumanise the weaker group, usually by describing them as animals or disease. The Nazis referred to Jews as 'rats' (Stanton, 1998) and in Rwanda the Hutus called Tutsis *Inyenzi*, meaning 'cockroaches' (Mullins, 2009).

Dehumanisation may make ordinary citizens more likely to commit genocide because they may believe the propaganda encouraging the 'cleansing' of the country by eliminating the targeted population. It also encourages compliance because citizens are less likely to intervene and protect, or even care much for, individuals who have been labelled as subhuman. These phrases, such as 'eliminating the vermin', were common in times of genocide, aiming to reduce the view of genocide from mass murder to something commonplace and beneficial for the country. As the strategy of dehumanisation can be evidenced in all modern genocides, it is clear that it is an effective technique for encouraging compliance from ordinary citizens. A weakness of this reasoning is that it could not be a standalone factor; dehumanisation must be considered in the context of the situation whereby one group is vilified by a more powerful group and the dehumanising propaganda must derive from a source of authority. Therefore, although dehumanisation does elicit compliance with genocide, it is only with the influence of other, more powerful, factors such as the political situation and obedience to authority.

Aware that there may be a variety of motivations for committing international crimes, Smeulers (2014) developed a typology of perpetrators, which categorised some of these various motivations. Some of the categories, such as the criminal mastermind or professional killer, would not be applicable to an ordinary citizen and so do not require further comment. However, some of the other categories may explain why some citizens comply with genocide.

Fanatics are driven by hatred or resentment towards a particular group. Criminal/ sadists have violent personalities and take advantage of the opportunity presented for evil. Profiteers also take advantage of the contextual opportunity, only instead for material gain. Careerists see the dramatic changes to society as an opportunity to further their career. Devoted warriors strongly believe in the leader or ideology leading the genocide and are loyal to them. Followers and conformists are merely following the majority, especially if not doing so would be seen as standing up against the majority. Finally, the compromised perpetrator commits crimes because they are forced or coerced into doing so and do not agree with the ideology behind it (Smeulers, 2014).

Many perpetrators of genocide claimed to be compromised perpetrators, acting under duress and fear of being tortured or killed themselves. Although in all genocides there clearly were those for whom this is true, it has been argued that many claimed this in an attempt to diminish responsibility for their crimes. Smeulers' typology is a strong explanation of why people may comply with genocide because of the variety of motivations it allows for and doesn't attempt to provide one justification for all perpetrators. A further strength of the typology is that it can be convincingly applied to various historical examples of genocide.

It is impossible to ever claim to know with complete certainty what has driven law-abiding citizens into compliance with genocide. However, in applying the theories scholars have developed to historical cases of genocide it is possible to evaluate the strength and validity of such theories. An important point to emphasise is how not all ordinary citizens would have been compliant with genocide for the same reasons. Their justifications would have differed between genocides and even varied within individual events. Considering all of the evidence presented, it is clear that the situational factors are most important for convincing citizens to comply with genocide, especially when these are interlinked with the belief that the genocide is encouraged or condoned by an authority figure they feel obliged to obey. Although we can identify these causes from historical evidence, whether this would make us better prepared to predict and/ or prevent future compliance with genocide is still to be considered.

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Describe and critically discuss Eric Hobsbawm's notion of the 'Descent into Barbarism'

Amie Mills

Throughout history there has been a predominant discourse surrounding the sociocultural evolution, or development of society, describing how cultures and societies change over time. From the late nineteenth century, it was contrary to popular belief that societies transfigured from a primitive state to become more civilised. This primitive to civilised continuum has been theorised by many scholars, such as Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, and Norbert Elias, and is based on the assumption that Western civilisation progresses in accordance with rationality; and that barbarism is merely a historical variable. However, according to Eric Hobsbawm, barbarism is best understood as a by-product of social and historical context. For this reason, in this essay, I will be critically discussing Hobsbawm's conception of modern society pertaining to a 'breakdown of civilisation', or rather, a 'descent into barbarism', in line with discourses of genocide, the Enlightenment and modernity (1994).

The concept of barbarism, as a temporal-historical sequence of Enlightenment history, provides a narrative of human progress, providing a classification of socio-political structures. Immanuel Kant, a central figure in modern philosophy, described barbarism as a "state of lawless freedom' that threatens to unleash a 'hell of evils' in even the most civilized societies' (1991; Cited in Neilson, 1999:79). The term 'barbarism', typically implies and signifies a long-standing history of violence, slavery, and colonialism and domination. According to Hobsbawm, the concept barbarization can be broken down into a two-tiered definition. First, Hobsbawm suggests that the first form of barbarization often occurs in an anomic and stateless condition/society. Namely, it refers to the:

> Disruption and breakdown of the systems of rules and moral behaviour by which all societies regulate the relations among their members and, to a lesser extent, between their members and those of other societies (1994:45).

In this regard, it can be understood as the breakdown of traditional controls and legitimate violence. On the other hand, the second form of barbarization gives emphasis to the notion that barbarism offers a challenge and/or a threat to the Enlightenment values and institutions of progress, reason and rationality, or rather, as simply put by Hobsbawm, 'the reversal of the eighteenth century Enlightenment' (1994:45). The beginning of modernity is often dated to the age of European Enlightenment, a time in which values and knowledge were redefined in conjunction with the civilizational perspective. Despite this, the concepts of modernity and Enlightenment are intrinsic to historical narratives of genocide and the creation of the Other. For example, Hegel's 'Master-Slave Dialectic' demonstrates the nature of domination as inherent to Enlightenment rationality (1977). This is significant in that it exemplifies that barbarism cannot be understood as a separate entity from the power relationships born in Enlightenment thought and in constructs of civilisation.

For Hobsbawm, the First World War began the 'descent into barbarism'; this period of world crisis enabled for a murderous epoch, by scale, frequency and length of warfare. For example, Brzezinski estimated that this period, from 1914 to 1990, accounted for the 'megadeaths' of '187 million' (1995; Cited in Hobsbawm, 1994:47). Markedly, the

atrocities committed in World War II subsequently transgressed such connotations of Enlightenment thought and enshrouded such concepts of civilisation. Here, Hobsbawm is not alone in his critique; for example, in *The Germans*, Elias presented the Holocaust as a 'throwback to the barbarism and savagery of earlier times' (1996: 302). With this in mind, Hobsbawm's analysis proposes that the emergence of the Holocaust was due to the emancipation from social controls and political order; presenting the irrational and savage tendencies of man to be suppressed and neutralised by civilising processes and conditions of social order. This, therefore, suggests that following this unilinear line of progress, Hobbesian thought declared that the Holocaust necessarily constituted a 'descent into barbarism'.

In correspondence with this, there has been a longstanding debate whether the Holocaust as a modern form of genocide, namely being 'the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious, or national group', was best understood as a regression into barbarism based on the pathologies of western civilisation (CPPCG, 1948; Cited in Boundless, 2016). However, as questioned by Hilberg, 'wouldn't you be happier if I had been able to show you that all the perpetrators were crazy?' (1980; Cited in Bauman, 1989:83). Such questions have led to a discourse on notions of 'evil' and 'bad' people. For example, Crook et al suggest that Holocaust represents the very apotheosis of 'modern evil' (2011:5). Indeed, this implication suggests that perpetrators of the Holocaust did not transcend humanity, but rather, they were perhaps, for the mass majority, normal human beings. Hannah Arendt's famous case of Adolf Eichmann is crucial to such reasoning of the 'banality of evil', in outlining that such evils can originate in the modern political domain (1963). This, therefore, suggests that evil assumes a number of forms; to the extent that banal actions of routine administration and thoughtlessness can become a normalised part of warfare which 'enabled him to do evil in the guise of doing his job' (Geddes, 2003:108). Here, such arguments suggest that the Holocaust was not typical of a 'descent into barbarism', but rather, it was facilitated by a crude bureaucratic organisation and instrumental reason.

With this in mind, mass murder is not a modern invention; for centuries, violent acts of genocide and barbarism, including torture, slavery and rape, have taken place. However, what set aside the Holocaust from history is due to the notion that it was the rational dimension of modern civilisation that enabled it. The mass annihilation of 'approximately six million Jews' is typically thought to have been underpinned by the 'iron cage' of bureaucracy, capitalism, and technological efficiency (Bauman, 1989:89; Weber, 1930). Contrary to Hobsbawm's 'descent into barbarism', for this reason, it has been noted that, in fact, the Holocaust witnessed an 'advance of civilisation' (Rubenstein, 1975; Cited in Bauman, 1989:10). In referring to the morality and politics of civilisation, Bauman remains highly critical of Hobsbawm's works regarding his sociological analysis of the Holocaust. Following this, it was put forward by Bauman that the Holocaust was not a reversion, or retreat of civilisation, but rather, it was a product of modern engineering and social control. Consistent with such ideas, Bauman argues that Hobsbawm was incorrect in his assumption that the Holocaust represented an aberrant throwback to a pre-existing state of barbarism. Comparatively, Bauman insists that the Holocaust was the product of modernity, facilitated by bureaucratic and technological advancements.

The Holocaust is crucial to modern discourses of bureaucratic modes of modern society in that it demonstrates the morally, and ethically blind nature in the pursuit of efficiency. When discussing Bauman's construction of the Holocaust, which was facilitated by 'social

engineering', it is important to draw upon the 'gardener's vision' (Bauman, 1989:92). For example, the Nazi eugenics program was fortified by Hitler's comments, suggesting that:

> The discovery of the Jewish virus is one of the greatest revolutions that has taken place in the world [...] How many diseases have their origins in the Jewish virus! We shall regain our health only by eliminating the Jew! (Times Higher Education, 1998)

Following this, it is thought that the Holocaust as a mode of modern genocide was demonstrated as a 'gardener's job' (Bauman, 1989:92). In this regard, the Jews were weeded out, segregated and contained in ghettos, in attempt to prevent their 'Jewish virus' from spreading. This is significant in that it draws upon Garland's 'Criminology of the Other', regarding the exclusion, and later extermination of the German Jews who do not fit into the 'gardener's vision' of modern culture (2001a). Bauman further notes that the killing was not based on destructive thought or tendencies, but was based on the notion of creation. Striving for a purer and objectively better modern culture, based on theories of social-Darwinism, ultimately led to the extermination of Jews as a means of social engineering and social architecture. Perhaps, it could be further suggested that Nietzsche's "Übermensch" (1988), translated as the 'overman' or 'superman', influenced such ideas and visions of a modern culture based on progress; however, in reality, the Nazi eugenic program represented a warped bastardization of technology.

Drawing back to Hobsbawm's 'descent into barbarism', it can be suggested that, on the contrary, the advances in technology gave way to the 'hidden possibilities of a modern society' (Bauman, 1989:12). This, for example, was evidenced by the sheer mass extinction of human life during the Holocaust. Bauman argues that the social organisation of modernity played an important role in the facilitation of the Holocaust, particularly noting that the use of a bureaucratised and highly specialised division of labour fetishized the means to an end of the 'Jewish problem' (Bauman, 1989:105). The bureaucratic organisation of the Holocaust ultimately contributed to the perpetuation of mass murder, and went hand-in-hand with the technological developments, characterised by an industrial society. This notion has been supported by the likes of Feingold who suggested that:

> [Auschwitz] was also a mundane extension of the modern factory system. Rather than producing goods, the raw material was human beings and the end-product was death, so many units per day marked carefully on the manager's production charts (Cited in Bauman 1989:8)

Here, it is demonstrated that society is thought to behave like a machine under routine bureaucratic procedures. This is significant in suggesting that modern state bureaucracies are intrinsically capable of genocide if left unchecked by social powers. This, therefore, poses inquiries of uncertainty, questioning whether it is possible to assume that western modern society has a full grasp on the workings of bureaucratic structures, social institution and moral technology.

Significantly, by employing a bureaucratic operation, functional to a division of labour, this hierarchy provided a metaphysical distance, or rather, a distantiation between the perpetrators and the victims. Dehumanisation is, therefore, intrinsic to the instrumental rationality of a modern bureaucracy due to the notion that it enabled and defined human beings as superfluous objects in an ethically neutral way. This is significant in that it reduced the Jews to a quantitate measure, rationalising their deaths as a by-product of modernity, and thus, removing state and non-state actors from the moral responsibility of their actions. This was inextricably characteristic of the Nazi bureaucratic management

following the view to make the territory 'Reichjudenfrei' (free of Jews); the extermination of the German Jews proved more successful and cost-effective as a 'Final Solution', rather than forced emigration (Bauman, 1989:15). However, while it can be strongly suggested by the likes of Bauman that dehumanisation is a rational consequence of modernity, alternatively it could be suggested that the dehumanisation of persons is perhaps a significant regression of civilisation. This, therefore, leads one to question whether genocide is, in fact, a civilised activity, despite Bauman's claims.

On the other hand, in the post-Holocaust age, the promise of 'never again' prompted a revolution in politics, international law and human rights, in conjunction with globalisation. The end of World War II provoked the formation of the United Nations (U.N.), which assumed the role as a 'global peacekeeper' (Sterio, 2008:221). Efforts to reconfigure international law are thought to have stemmed from Kant's 'cosmopolitanism' (1991; Cited in Hayden, 2009:17). The term cosmopolitanism is thought to imply the core assumption of citizenship across the globe, thus, suggesting the formation of a 'universal community [...] where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere' (Kant, 1991:107-8). Subsequently, the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the preamble to the 1998 Rome Statute, among other ad hoc criminal tribunals such as the International Military Tribunal for Nuremberg, can be thought of as a globalising and cosmopolitan effort to prosecute the atrocities of crimes against humanity and genocide. For example, for Lemkin in his documentation of Nazi atrocities, the term 'genocide', was coined in an attempt to distinguish these crimes of extermination which transgressed criminal international law at the time (1944; Cited in Freeman, 1995:209). Increasingly, the evolution of international law thereby recognises that states and non-state actors can be held liable for political and war crimes. For example, such revolutions in international law and politics have led to international conventions, establishing legal action against war crimes, including those of the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. In this regard, it can, therefore, be suggested that the creation and establishment of international law in a global context evidences the progressive tendencies of the Enlightenment.

However, despite this, according to Hobsbawm, 'barbarism has been on the increase for most of the twentieth century, and there is no sign that this increase is at an end' (1994:45). In fact, such claims have been evidenced by the genocidal atrocities which took place in the Bosnia-Herzegovina civil war in 1992 and Rwanda in 1994, among others. These claims have further been supported by the likes of Cohen who suggested that:

> In the half-century since the end of the Second World War, some 25 million people have been killed, mostly civilians and by their own governments, in internal conflicts and ethnic, nationalist or religious violence (2002:287).

One explanation for this, as mentioned by Hobsbawm, is due to the notion that 'total war and cold war have brainwashed us into accepting barbarity. Even worse: they have made barbarity seem unimportant, compared to more important matters like making money' (1994:54). This claim, in the interest of economic gain, was evidenced throughout the early discourse of the US and British-led Iraq War. For example, as suggested by Pearson, 'the CIA and the State Department were very much aware that Saddam Hussein was using chemical weapons, made by and bought from American companies' against Kurdish civilians (2003). This is significant in that it evidences the 'civilised' West's administrative roles in facilitating these crimes against humanity which were in clear breach of the Geneva Protocol of 1925. This, therefore, supports Hobsbawm's claims to acts of barbarism being normalised and justified, in the context of monetary gain.

Similarly, it can also be suggested that Hobsbawm was accurate in his perception of increasing barbarism due to the contradictory nature of advancements in technology, and their moral and ethical implications, especially under the conditions of warfare. Advancements in weapons technology, such as unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) or drones, has led to a means of killing from a distance, by the mere click of a button. As suggested by Benjamin, these advancements in warfare are a 'cowardly form of killing' due to the notion that they reduce humans to concepts such as 'targets', to the extent that the deaths of civilians are relabelled as collateral damage (2013: Cited in Mitchell, 2015:1-4). As evidenced in World War II, there was a 'revolution in the morality of warfare', that saw the erosion of social and moral restraints, and consequently led to a legitimisation and normalisation of the bombing of civilians (Rothe and Kauzlarich, 2014:114). Furthermore, in its own right, the United States' oxymoronic atomic bombing of Hiroshima in the context of a 'humanitarian justification' stands as diametrically opposite to the Enlightenment principles of civility, and to International Humanitarian Law at the time. This, therefore, not only calls into question the morality of modernity and its technological advancements but rather, it questions the legitimacy of privatised violence and the normalisation of killing in the context of state crime and crimes against humanity. In support of such arguments, it has been suggested that 'once "normalised", that is, culturally approved, this form of state terrorism, the "most barbaric style of warfare imaginable" would continue as a significant part of American warfare' (Engelhardt, 2008b:161; Cited in Rothe and Kauzlarich, 2014:116).

Following this, it is essential to draw upon the privatisation of violence; in accordance with the nature of political events and the proliferation of technological advancements, this has led to what Giddens (1991) coined, a form of 'ontological insecurity', and risk. In line with this, according to Delpech and Holoch:

> It was not possible to bury the weapons that were developed or the moral barbarity that was explored in a desert where they could be concealed from the experience and consciousness of future generation […] and weapons have proliferated along with the spread of knowledge and technology (2013:23).

In this regard, it can therefore be understood that the technological revolution has led to a form of instability within the contemporary global realm. Beck's 'reflexive modernization' questions such notions of technological management, and suggests that a 'world risk society of second modernity' has risen as a consequence of human action (1992). Beck, in his conceptualization, therefore, suggests that tensions have arisen regarding state-based efforts to provide security against global threats. Specifically, following the aftermath of the events of 9/11, discourses of barbarism were transposed in relation to the murderous possibilities of global terror, opened up by modernization. Such discussions link to the work of Hobsbawm, who suggested that, the breakdown of the 1980's was due to the fact that 'that the decision makers no longer know what to do about a world that escapes from their, or our control' (1994:47). This, therefore suggests that, technological developments, as a consequence of modernity and globalization, have palpably led to a [monopolized] concentration of violence that aims to safeguard notions of peace, security and conditions of social order in an uncertain and anxious, world risk society. It is therefore clear to assume that the notion of technology-based progress has 'merged with a fear', to the extent that the utopian images embedded within the ideas of the Enlightenment and modernity have shifted towards the likeness of a dystopian future, or rather, a descent into barbarism (Kaye and Strath, 2000:11).

In conclusion, modern culture promotes the conception that civilised society 'as a moral force', implies that a world without modern institutions and order would be a Hobbesian war of unchecked savagery (Freeman, 1995). However, civilised war may be more destructive. As exemplified by the Holocaust, western modern society's workings of bureaucratic structures, social institutions and moral technology, led to the mass extermination of innocent people. Following this, while Bauman claims that modern society is distinctively civilised, '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' (Cohen, 2002:287). This alone supports Hobsbawm's argument that 'there is no sign that this increase [of barbarism] is at an end'. Furthermore, despite the proliferation of international laws, humanitarian efforts of human rights, and the advancement of preventative and protective technologically-based measures, mass atrocities of violence continue to occur in modern day society- be it a terror attack, or the dead silence of unconcern. This, therefore, suggests that Hobsbawm's 'descent into barbarism' remains controversial, but somewhat relevant to ideas of Enlightenment in modern societies.

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What were the main kinds of racial segregation practised in the US throughout most of the 20th century? To what extent were the disadvantages from these forms of discrimination remedied by affirmative action?

Mabel Newton

Racial segregation in the United States was formally implemented throughout most of the 20th century in response to the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" doctrine. The term refers to the separation of facilities and institutions on the grounds of race that were often, in fact, not equal at all. African Americans were denied access to the legal system and voting rights, were separated or restricted on transport, and were also segregated or denied access to 'hotels, restaurants, and places of entertainment'(Lewis and Lewis, 2009: 21). In terms of employment, they were also limited to segregated unions, opportunities, and working conditions (Lewis and Lewis, 2009: 21). Access to housing was also restricted, and even prisons and hospitals were segregated. Interracial marriages were prohibited, particularly in the Southern states (Groves, 1984: 132). However, racial segregation did not merely emerge at the beginning of the 20th century in the U.S. and can be seen to have taken influence from the Black Codes that developed during the Reconstruction era. Therefore, before laws were passed in the 20th century which enforced de facto racial segregation, customs and tradition had already long enforced these regulations. Thus, legalised racial discrimination emerged in the form of so-called Jim Crow laws in the South at the beginning of the 20th century, influenced by the system already present in the Northern states (Hillstrom, 2013: 19). This essay will focus on racial segregation in the key areas of education, employment, and housing during the 20th century. This essay will then discuss how the disadvantages that have occurred for the African American community as a result of the social and institutional racial discrimination and exclusion in these areas have been remedied, or attempted to be remedied, by affirmative action policies in the latter half of the 20th century, but have faced backlash as a result of the controversy surrounding such programmes as unconstitutional and 'reverse discrimination'.

The 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* can be seen as the catalyst for legalised racial segregation in the 20th century. The case was bought to the Louisiana Supreme Court by Homer A. Plessy, an African American man who was found to have violated Louisiana's Separate Car Act (1890) by Judge John Howard Ferguson when he rode in the "white only" section of a railroad carriage in New Orleans. The Supreme Court 'found no Constitutional violation in Louisiana's enforced separation of the races in its 1890 Separate Car Act' and introduced the doctrine of "Separate but Equal" to U.S. law (Davis, 2012: xi). This ruling contradicted the 1875 Civil Rights Act which entitled all U.S. citizens, regardless of race, colour, or previous servitude, the right to equal use of all public facilities and institutions (Douglas, 2005: 82). However, the Court held that 'legislation could not eradicate racial instincts' and 'if one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane' (Litwack, 2009: 22; Davis and Graham, 1995: 51). Furthermore, prior to this case there had been the series of Black Codes passed during the Reconstruction era which intended to 'restrict the rights and freedoms of former slaves and prevent them from gaining any political or economic power' (Hillstrom, 2013: 13). The Black Codes were essentially a method used to bring an order back to society which would address the now free status of former slaves by reinstating the 'relationship between

blacks and whites in the South to something very similar to slavery' (Lewis and Lewis, 2009: 21; Hillstrom, 2013: 15). Legalised racial segregation and the Jim Crow laws, therefore, 'substantiated and made more uniform the racial practices that were already in place' (Berrey, 2015: 143). Both state and local government implemented laws and practices that separated U.S. society by race, fundamentally returning the black community to the 'position of second-class citizenship' (Hillstrom, 2013: 15).

The education system was one of the main institutions that upheld racial segregation until the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling in 1954. In 1868, under the 14th amendment, individual states were prohibited from denying any U.S. citizens privileges and immunities, due process of the law, and equal protection of the laws. Under this amendment, therefore, all U.S. citizens were guaranteed the right to an equal education. However, with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling it was deemed legitimate that schools could be separated into 'black' and 'white' only institutions under the pretence that they would be 'separate but equal' in their education standards; although it is clear that this was not the case and 'in many areas Negro schools were disgracefully behind schools for whites' (Woodward, 1974: 145).

The level of education that African American children received in their 'black only' schools was far from equal to a 'white only' school's teaching standards. For example, in North Carolina and Florida, public schools even required separate text books for white and black children (Woodward, 1974: 102). However, as the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling illuminated, 'segregation of white and colored children in public schools [also] ha[d] a detrimental effect upon the colored children [as it] generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community...in a way unlikely ever to be undone' (Woodward, 1974: 147). This psychological damage is similarly made evident in Anne Valk and Leslie Brown's *Living with Jim Crow: African American Women and Memories of the Segregated South*, where they present the account of Marie Fort, an African American woman who recounts her childhood growing up in Jim Crow Tennessee. Her account depicts the psychological damage that racial segregation in schooling had on African American children. She writes

> I was in second grade and I was sitting with a girl [who was very light skinned]. Mrs. Wilson said to me, 'Get up out of that seat before you get that child black!' I'll never forget it as long as I live...She told me I was so black wax was running out of my ears. Imagine a teacher saying that to a child! I'm telling you, it made black children feel that they were not human for people to say those things (2010: 22-23).

Therefore, racial segregation in education, and other areas, did not merely affect the physical place of the African American community or their education standards; there were also psychological ramifications. Furthermore, racial segregation was not just implemented in the Southern states. As Douglas explains: at the turn of the 20th century, 'many northern whites began to insist on racial separation in various aspects of public life, including education' (Douglas, 2005: 124). This was largely due to the influx of 'southern blacks' to northern cities in search of employment opportunities during and after World War I (Douglas, 2005: 123). Indeed, it is clear that the legacy of racial segregation in education continues to haunt the African American community today, with a vast majority being undereducated and 'thus ill-equipped for many of the opportunities that have become available' through affirmative action policies (Groves, 1984: 138).

In 1954 the Supreme Court decision for *Brown v. Board of Education* ruled against the legitimacy of segregating white and black children in schools due to it being a 'deprivation

of the equal protection of the laws' as stated in the 14th amendment. This court ruling declared that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was not conducive in an educational environment mandating the desegregation of primary and elementary schools; and is regarded as the first step in dismantling segregation in the U.S. (Woodward, 1974: 147). However, many states continued to struggle with the enduring legacy of racial segregation within schools up until the 1970s as the 'Court had set no deadline for compliance', only that the solution would 'require time' (Woodward, 1974: 147).

Another area in which racial segregation was legitimated throughout most of the 20th century was in housing policies and residential areas. As Massey explains, prior to the 20th century 'blacks were not particularly segregated from whites, and although they were overrepresented in the most dilapidated housing and on the poorest streets, their residential status did not differ markedly from that of others in similar economic circumstances' (Massey, 2008: 41). However, in response to the migration of Southern blacks to Northern cities during the early 20th century, 'whites became increasingly intolerant of black neighbours, and a fear of racial turnover and black invasion spread' (Massey, 2008: 50). Residential segregation, therefore, occurred as a consequence of housing restrictions that were implemented prior to and during the era of Jim Crow in response to this growing intolerance; and continues to be an issue today under Section 8 housing laws. Massey and Danton maintain that 'racial residential segregation is the principal structural feature of American society responsible for the perpetuation of poverty and represents a primary cause of racial inequality in the United States' (Massey and Denton, 1993: iii).

In the area of housing, 'Northern cities were generally…more segregated than…those of the South' and in these regions the term 'ghetto' has come to refer to a 'black residential area' (Groves, 1984: 133; Massey, 2008: 39). Moreover, the term not only refers to a black neighbourhood, 'but one that is very poor and plagued by a host of social and economic problems' due to the interdependence of race and class (Massey, 2008: 39). White Americans purposefully manipulated the housing sector to exclude or restrict African Americans from certain majority white areas, subsequently manufacturing the ghetto in order to 'enforce their preferences for racial separation in housing' (Massey, 2008: 53). As a consequence, the black community was isolated into areas such as the 'black belts, darkytowns, Bronzevilles, or Niggertowns' (Massey, 2008: 50). These residential areas are a direct consequence of the system of racialized segregation enforced throughout most of the 20th century in which African Americans were denied 'full access to urban housing' and forced into 'spatial isolation in society' (Massey, 2008: 39).

Furthermore, there is evidence that racial violence by whites on blacks 'living in integrated or predominantly white areas' contributed to the isolation of African Americans to predominantly black neighbourhoods (Massey, 2008: 53). However, Drake and Cayton affirm that the use of restrictive covenants were 'the major device for controlling the expansion of the Negro community' in metropolitan cities (Drake and Cayton, 1993: 179). Restrictive covenants were 'an agreement between property owners within a certain district not to rent or sell to Negroes' (Drake and Cayton, 1993: 179). Consequently, African Americans tend to reside together in segregated neighbourhoods, particularly in larger cities, as a result of the 'restrictive covenants in land deeds forbidding the sale of property in white neighborhoods to black persons' (Groves, 1984: 133).

The use of restrictive covenants was deemed unconstitutional and in violation of the 14th amendment and the right to equal protection of the laws by the Supreme Court in the 1948

Shelley v. Kraemer case. The Court ruled that it was not the covenants that were in violation of the 14th amendment, but the enforcement of the covenants (Groves, 1984: 133-4). However, this ruling did little to counter the patterns of racial segregation as private sellers could still refuse 'to sell property to blacks in white neighborhoods' (Groves, 1984: 134). Also, the majority of mortgage and loan businesses were owned by whites who would often refuse applications by African Americans for loans when they were for property in majority white neighbourhoods. Consequently, 'black ownership of property generally expanded only around the edges from a totally segregated inner core' (Groves, 1984: 134) and many African American communities continue to reside in areas separate from whites today due to the legacy of these restrictive covenants and segregation throughout the 20th century. The final area of racialized segregation that this essay will discuss is in employment. In urban areas and, again, particularly in the Northern states, there was 'competition for jobs [which] brought restrictions regarding trades and professions, with many unions limiting apprenticeships and membership to whites only' (Lewis and Lewis, 2009: 13).

Furthermore, in the private sector of employment, African Americans were predominantly confined to 'menial, low paying jobs by white employers, corporate and individual' (Groves, 1984: 132); this was apparent in Southern and Northern states. These types of employment opportunities were predominantly in the domestic service industry; as servants, cleaners, cooks, dishwashers, and the like. W.E.B. Du Bois commented on the employment situation for the younger African American population in Philadelphia at the turn of the 20th century stating, 'In getting other [non-domestic] work...they were not successful, partly on account of lack of ability, partly on account of the strong race prejudice against them' (DuBois [1899], 1995: 137). There were also few sectors of public employment, for example in the armed forces, where African Americans were employed, but, again, in 'segregated units and with very limited opportunities for advancement, often restricted to non-commissioned grades' (Groves, 1984: 132).

However, some African American communities did respond to this segregation and lack of opportunity in the white sector by developing 'an economy that was somewhat parallel, but almost always necessarily inferior in size and scope to similar white enterprises' (Groves, 1984: 132). Indeed, many African American communities had restaurants and in major cities there were even black run hotels (Groves, 1984: 132). Nevertheless, while some African American communities were able to gain a certain level of independence from mainstream segregated U.S. society; they were still reduced to a second-class level. Employment opportunities for African Americans in the 20th century were also closely tied to the disadvantages faced from housing restrictions and education inequality. Access to certain jobs were restricted due to black neighbourhoods being separated in many major cities and often commuting costs made many jobs inaccessible (Carr and Kutt, 2008: 24). Furthermore, due to the lower standard of education for African Americans, the majority had not gained suitable 'skills, experience, attitudes, [or] referrals' to be eligible for anything more than the menial work already available. Additionally, by the 1950s and 1960s many low-skilled or 'unskilled' jobs, where African Americans were employed in high levels, were becoming obsolete due to automation and technological advances (Woodward, 1974: 192). Indeed, in 1964 some 40,000 workers were being laid off a week and 'the rate of unemployment among [blacks] ran twice or more than that among whites' (Woodward, 1974: 192).

It is clear, therefore, that the segregation of African Americans in education, housing, and employment, are all closely linked and together contributed to the disadvantages that the black population faced during segregation throughout most of the 20th century. The

introduction of the policy of 'Affirmative Action' attempted to remedy these disadvantages in the wake of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and continues to struggle for equal opportunities in these three key areas today.

Affirmative action, therefore, began as a simple government policy to counter the legacies of racial segregation, discrimination, and inequality in institutions throughout the U.S. after the dismantling of segregation laws. However, affirmative action programmes are now often criticised as 'reverse discrimination' due to the perception that they unjustifiably use quotas to 'elevate the opportunities of members of targeted groups' which in turn discriminates 'against equally qualified or even more qualified members of majorities, and perpetuate racial and sexual paternalism' (Beauchamp, 2002: 210). However, as Beauchamp explains, 'the original meaning of 'affirmative action' was minimalist' (Beauchamp, 2002: 209). In their simplest form, these programmes require that 'an intensive and extensive recruitment search be undertaken in good faith… in order to equalize opportunities for employment or study' (Hook, 2002: 224). However, as previously mentioned, today affirmative action policies are often seen as 'preferential policies' that favour minorities and women and are generally 'associated with quotas' (Beauchamp, 2002: 210).

President Lyndon B. Johnson introduced the policy of affirmative action in 1965 as executive order #11246 (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 373). This order required 'federal contractors to take 'affirmative action' in their hiring processes' in response to 'the continuing struggle for equal employment opportunity' (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 373). This order was based on Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and prohibited discrimination in hiring processes and the treatment of employees on the grounds of race, colour, or national origin (Anderson, 2004: 92). In terms of the definition of affirmative action in regard to employment, it takes into account 'what use should be made, if any, of racial and ethnic classifications to promote the hiring and admission of blacks and other minorities' (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 373). Many employment agencies, such as federal contractors, were also advised to 'consider race in…recruitment, selection for training and apprenticeships, upgrading, and rate of pay' (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 373).

During the Reagan era 'many large companies embraced affirmative action as being good for business', in contrast to the administrations attempts to abandon affirmative action requirements (Bonastiam 2010: 140). For example, in 1985 *Organization Resources Counselors* found that 122 of 128 CEO's said they would continue with programmes to maintain the progress of minorities and women in large corporations due to the positive impact on the companies and opposed the attempts to withdraw affirmative action programmes (Bonastia, 2010: 140). However, to say that the disadvantages of racial segregation have been remedied by affirmative action policies in the employment sector seems farfetched. African Americans continue to struggle behind whites for higher paid jobs at considerably large rates. (Associated Press, 2009). Indeed, in 2007 'Blacks who had a four-year bachelor's degree earned $46,502 or about 78 percent of the salary for comparably educated whites' (Associated Press, 2009). Moreover, the African American population continue to have the highest poverty rate among ethnic minorities in the U.S. at 27.4% and this is largely due to the vast income inequality and lack of opportunity in the employment sector (The State of Working America, N.D.). Furthermore, many employers today use affirmative action policies to diversify their businesses as a 'means of offering better goods and services and competing more effectively in a global marketplace', rather

than remedying the disadvantages of previous racial discrimination (Furfaro and Salins, 2012).

Programmes in regard to access to higher education opportunities, such as universities, have been the most controversial of all affirmative action approaches. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination by race, colour, or ethnicity in any college or university which receive Federal funding (Post, 1998: 14). Affirmative action programmes were, therefore, used to encourage minorities to enter into higher education and many universities employed the use of quotas for this purpose. However, while affirmative action programmes in universities would appear to be a positive step for helping African Americans and other minority groups gain access to higher education opportunities, there has been backlash towards the policies and particularly the use of quotas.

The first major affirmative action decision was ruled by the Supreme Court in the 1978 *Regents of University of California v. Bakke* case. In this case, Allan Bakke challenged the University of California's affirmative action policy when he was denied a place at its medical school (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 374). The Davis medical school's programme reserved sixteen out of one hundred places for applicants from four 'minority groups' which included 'Blacks', 'Chicanos', 'Asians', and 'American Indians' (Post, 1998: 14). Bakke's case argued that this quota was racial discrimination and that he would have received a place at the medical school if those sixteen places had not been reserved for minority groups (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 374). The Court ruled 5-4 that 'Bakke had been illegally excluded from medical school', although they did a not all share their basis of judgement (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 374). However, they did uphold 'the use of race as a legitimate consideration in admissions', though the use of specific quotas were deemed unconstitutional (Gamson and Modigliani, 1994: 374).

Furthermore, due to the controversy surrounding affirmative action programmes as 'reverse discrimination', in 1996 Proposition 209 was initiated in California as a constitutional amendment to prohibit public institutions from discriminating on the grounds of race, sex, or ethnicity. Indeed, the impact of this decision can be seen in the plummeting percentage of admissions of black, Latino, and Native American undergraduates at the University of California from 23% in 1997 to 10% in 1998 and both Berkeley and UCLA laws schools saw the number of African American applicants accepted fall by over 80% in the same year (Anderson, 2004: 258).

However, in the 2016 *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin* case the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the university's affirmative action policies as constitutional. The first policy is The Top Ten Percent Plan (1997) which requires the acceptance of 'the top 10 percent of students graduating from every Texas high school as a way to increase the chances of enrolling people of color' (Goode, 2016). The second policy included the recognition of students who 'declared an interest in schools and majors that were broader than those that the TTPP students typically enrolled in' in an effort to further diversify the student body. These policies were deemed constitutional as they did 'not to use race beyond its limited permissible function' and 'that affirmative action in higher education could continue, as long as its goals are clear and measurable' (Goode, 2016); the University of Texas at Austin's goals were simply to end racial stereotypes and promote cross-racial diversity. Finally, residential segregation continues to be an issue for contemporary U.S. society in many cities and neighbourhoods throughout the country due to the legacy of segregation in the first half of the 20th century. However, there is a view that 'if racial residential segregation persists…it is only because civil rights laws passed during the 1960s have not had enough time to work or because many blacks still prefer to live in black

neighborhoods' (Massey and Denton, 1993: 1). This is clearly not the case. The Kerner Commission, under request from President Lyndon B. Johnson, released a report in March 1968 stating that residential segregation was a major cause of the 'growing racial inequality' in the U.S. and that the current residential policies served to 'make permanent the division of our country into two societies'; the poor African American communities in the inner cities and the wealthier white communities of the suburbs (Massey and Denton, 1993: 4).

Under Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, racial discrimination in the housing market was prohibited and a 'policy of 'fair housing throughout the United States'' was affirmed (Rubinowitz and Trosman, 1979). The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was the key enforcer of this policy and 'Congress also imposed an 'affirmative' duty on HUD with respect to the administration of its own housing programs' (Rubinowitz and Trosman, 1979: 493). Therefore, since 1968 housing agencies 'have been under an affirmative obligation to ensure that blacks and other racial minorities…have an opportunity' to purchase their own homes (Rubinowitz and Trosman, 1979: 493). However, Massey and Denton state that, in fact, the Fair Housing Act (1968) served to remove the issue of residential segregation and housing discrimination from the national agenda due to the view that the problem had been 'solved' and that towards the end of the 1970s the issue of residential racial segregation had become 'the forgotten factor in American race relations' (Massey and Denton, 1993: 4).

It is clear, therefore, that the problem of housing segregation remains a contemporary issue not remedied by previous affirmative action policies. Major Northern cities, such as Baltimore and Chicago, continue to have segregated 'ghetto' neighbourhoods and have been the centres of racial unrest in recent years (Badger, 2016). Under the Obama administration, a policy of 'affirmatively furthering fair housing' was introduced with supporters arguing that 'it is essential to remedying the long history of government and private-sector discrimination that has resulted in poor, segregated neighborhoods persisting to this day' (Badger, 2016). However, opponents have criticised the action claiming that it 'amounts to government overreach into the decisions…of individual communities and a free housing market' (Badger, 2016).

Whilst Bledsoe et al state that 'Most American cities are becoming less racially segregated, and many are experiencing an exodus of African Americans into the suburbs' (Bledsoe et al, 1995: 434), it can be seen that residential segregation is perpetuated today in the form of Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937. Section 8 housing permits payment assistance for private rental housing and apartments for suitable low income applicants in the form of housing vouchers (Park, 2015). However, it is the landlord's prerogative to accept or deny renting to Section 8 housing applicants and many decline because of the stigma attached to the low income tenants. Housing vouchers are primarily used, therefore, in poor black communities and serve to perpetuate the existing patterns of racial segregation in these areas, rather than promote diversity (Park, 2015). This programme of housing vouchers can therefore be seen to be a new form of the restrictive covenant.

To conclude, it is evident that the racial segregation that was in place throughout most of the 20th century in education, employment, and housing has had a disadvantageous effect on the African American community that remains prevalent today. In the latter decades of the 20th century, affirmative action procedures were put in place to overcome the results of past institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination and deter employers, education systems and universities, and the housing sector, from discriminating against African

Americans and other racial and ethnic minority groups. The aim was to introduce 'Policies…to ensure more equitable opportunities by counterbalancing apparently intractable prejudice and systemic favouritism' (Beauchamp, 2002: 209). However, due to the controversies surrounding the morality of affirmative action as 'reverse discrimination' its effectiveness in remedying the disadvantages that African Americans face due to the legacy of racial segregation has been limited in the areas of education, employment, and housing. This is seen today in the ongoing court battles against affirmative action in universities, the continuing issue of racialised segregated residential areas throughout the U.S. and under Section 8 Housing laws, and that the African American population continue to have the highest poverty rates among minorities in the U.S. due to employment and income inequality.

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In what ways is sex tourism in the Caribbean similar to ethnotourism in the Andes?

Angus Ross

The mentality behind both sex tourism and ethnotourism stems from the colonial past of the areas in which they take place. Not only do they have similar effects on the people hosting tourists, but they both elicit the same, colonial attitude from the tourists themselves. While the direct interaction between tourists and local people may be quite different between the two types of tourism, they are ultimately both products of the same systems and historical ways of thinking. A reliance on the colonial idea of a passive feminine nature, and the active male attributes of civilization, are the driving factors behind both sex tourism and ethnotourism.

If we are first to examine ethnotourism; ethnotourism is typically described as tourism for the purpose of experiencing other cultures, or, as *Travel Industry Dictionary* states: 'travel conducted in whole or in part to visit and experience primitive cultures and societies' (2017). As will be shown, the inclusion of 'primitive' is the key to understanding ethnotourism and its relationship with sex tourism. Ethnotourism is often combined with ecotourism; tourism for the purpose of experiencing nature. Veronica Davidov describes how ethnotourism trips to villages in the Amazon basin are included within larger 'ecotours' of the jungle, along with other activities such as hikes and white-water rafting (2010: 388). Davidov also describes how traditional Indian meals as well as experiences with Indian shamans are also included within these ecotours, with the emphasis being on the experience of 'pure', 'untouched' nature, with Indians being included in this (2010: 388). By creating an industry around these ethnic groups, tourism agencies are commodifying cross-cultural encounters (Davidov, 2010: 389).

One of the best examples of this is the island of Taquile. Taquile is a small island located on Lake Titicaca in Peru. The island has been a hotspot for ethnotourism since the 1970's and 80's, reaching particular heights in the 1990's (Zorn, 2004: 122). Unlike many other ethnotourism hotspots, tourism on Taquile was, for a long time, managed by local people, following traditional patterns of work and community in order to develop in a way familiar to the people as well as beneficial to them. For many years, this was particularly successful; traditional networks of reciprocity as well as joint ownership of much of the infrastructure of the industry allowed the economic benefits to reach many of the inhabitants of Taquile. This not only bought economic benefits to Taquile but social benefits too. Being a tourist attraction meant that Taquilans became more valued within the region where they had previously been discriminated against. Despite the traditional nature of the tourism industry created in Taquile, the commodification of their culture bought some major changes. There were certain aspects of Taquilean life which were more interesting to tourists, certain events as well as art forms or rituals were often of interest. These aspects would be played upon in order to increase tourist interest. Taquilans started to perform traditional folk music specifically for tourists, often traveling to do so; Taquileans also created a 'Festival Fair', taking place at the end of their festival calendar for the specific purpose of showcasing cultural artefacts and practices to tourists (Zorn, 2004: 125). This has been criticised for hurting the legitimacy of the cultural experiences being offered to tourists, as well as leading to claims of Taquileans selling out their culture. It is certainly true that tourism has changed their culture, placing more importance on aspects which

most appeal to tourists. This is not a phenomenon specific to Taquile. Davidov (2010) describes similar occurrences within the Amazon basin, with large numbers of 'new shamans' who, while not considered real shaman by locals, will perform shamanistic rituals for tourists at a cost, commodifying their culture as the Taquileans have.

An important factor for tourists in both cases is authenticity, or at least the appearance of authenticity. As noted by Davidov, tourists are usually unable to determine cultural authenticity; she uses the example of a shaman, in tourist's eyes, being a person who presents themselves as such, performs or convincingly mimics shamanistic practices and has access to ayahuasca, a psychotropic mixture used in certain practices (2010: 399). Many of the individuals' who claim to be shamans for tourists, are considered 'new shamans' by local people and are not seen as true shamans; some locals also feel that tourism promotes a lack of quality control among shamans, as there is high demand for them among tourists (2010: 396). Authenticity can pass into the way the tourists themselves behave. Davidov writes that 'cultural immersion' was important for many tourists and would often involve tourists using local medicines in place of medicines brought with them, preferring to do things 'the native way' (2010: 400). It was noted that even tourists who were hyper conscious of risks of disease while in urban areas or in transit would be willing to use local medicines (2010: 400).

Tourists search for authenticity, yet the desire to see interesting cultural practices is ironically what causes much of the cultural change among the communities being visited. What this means, is that communities are expected to 'freeze' their culture in order to match the expectation of tourists (Zorn, 2004); the driving sentiment behind this being that these cultures live closer to nature, something made clear by the inclusion of ethnotourism as a facet of ecotourism (Davison, 2010: 388). This is where the colonial histories and attitudes incorporated within ethnotourism become clearer. Pierre van den Berghe describes ethnotourism as the last wave of exploitative capitalism, 'rediscovering' peoples pushed into reserves by colonists and commodifying them as tourist attractions for wealthy westerners (1994: 9-10). The idea that these other cultures are closer to nature than western cultures is carried over from colonial history, whereby European countries in particular would 'civilize' other parts of the world. This was very much true of Latin America and has been suggested as the reason for wanting to preserve certain native cultures as they are. As Korstanje writes, colonized cultures are seen to be 'pristine, primitive and irrational', resulting in the west wanting to both preserve the culture as well as wishing to re-educate it and incorporate western values (2012: 181). Korstanje further suggests that this treatment is ethnocentric and colonial itself, creating a paternalistic relationship as it attempts to 'protect' indigenous cultures, preserving them for tourism by outsiders who believe they know what it best for the indigenous people (2012: 192). This mimics the colonial possession of indigenous people, as their culture is still seen as available as a commodity to the more civilized west (Konstanje, 2012: 182). The active, male role of civilization is also a key feature, as it provides the rational for the wests duty to 'protect' the cultures it is putting on display.

Sex tourism follows a similar logic to this, as shall be shown. Sex tourism, as the name suggests, is tourism for the 'purpose of taking advantage of the lack of restrictions imposed on sexual activity and prostitution by some foreign countries' (Oxford Dictionaries | English, 2017). The Caribbean is a popular sex tourism location; many tourists who are involved with sex tourism visit specifically for the sexual reputation of the region, while some of those involved will travel for other reasons but become involved due to circumstance. Julia O'Connell Davison speaks that there are organizations set up with the specific goal of aiding in sex tourisms, generally for men (2001: 8). Davison notes that

many of the establishments which facilitate the sex tourism in the Dominican Republic's major tourist areas are run by generally European or North American expatriates, or as Davison calls them, sexpatriates (2001: 7). These sexpatriates are often involved with travel organizations within Europe and North America with the specific goal of advertising and facilitating sex tourism. While sex tourism is often considered to be predominantly male dominated, romance tourism is set up as a female alternative. The sex tourists and sexpatriates described by Davison are somewhat upfront about their sexual intentions and activities. This is less true of female sex tourists however; less than 5% of whom define their sexual encounters as purely physical or 'just about sex' (Kempadoo, 2004: 128). Local men and women who are involved with sex tourism also identify differently; women often identify as prostitutes or sex workers, whereas, men used terms such as 'beach boy' or 'beach bum'; this appears to be in keeping with a distinction between sex tourism and romance tourism (Kempadoo, 2001: 49). The distinction between sex tourism and romance tourism however, has been suggested to be in part due to hegemonic constructs of female sexuality within the western world, painting women as more passive and valuing intimacy and tenderness over sexual intercourse (Kempadoo, 2004: 128). I would argue that the rationale behind traveling to these locations for such an experience is based in the same ideas as sex tourism. Davison suggests that many male sex tourists and sexpatriates are dissatisfied with what they perceive to be an overcivilized western world which they see as infringing on their natural rights (2001: 10-11). These men do not have the same sexual access to women in their home countries as they do in the Caribbean, due to age, looks or economic position, or the increased political and sexual freedom of women in the west; in many respects the same is true of women engaging is romance tourism. Importantly, while many of the locals involved in sex tourism will label themselves as such, many of the tourists will not admit to paying for sex, likely out of a genuine belief that this is not what they are doing. Instead they would suggest that they were helping these people financially by buying meals or drinks (Kempadoo, 2001: 50). This is important for the idea of westerners practicing their natural rights as it implies a given access, rather than a service.

The idea of natural rights and over-civilization of the western world is key to understanding sex and romance tourism. Davison suggests that the liberalism which western societies are based upon is rooted in the freedoms of white men, specifically their freedoms and control over women and people of other races. White men give the power of law making to a central government with the purpose of allowing them to retain their own power whist being protected from others taking this power (Davison, 2001: 9) She goes on to suggest that legal measures taken to grant self-sovereignty to other groups, and therefore the rejection of white men as having power over these groups, is seen as a direct attack on the 'natural rights' of white men and a betrayal of their governments (2001: 13). The civil state has infringed upon their freedom, hence over-civilising the west. Sex tourism locations provide an environment where these 'natural rights' are still afforded to white men; these cultures are more natural than the civilised west. This is why it is important that much of the time they do not feel that they are paying for sex. Access to these women's bodies is their right, they do not have to pay for it and they do not feel like they are paying for it; instead, they are helping them get by. The 'natural' sexuality of the Caribbean is open for consumption by western men.

This does not explain romance tourism however, after all, these 'natural rights' are for men and not women. The thinking behind sex tourism goes deeper than the infringement upon the natural rights of men specifically. Sex tourism locations being seen as closer to nature, has repercussions for western women too. The natural rights of men are given to the west in general as its civilising power is seen as active over nature. To return to Kempadoo's

earlier comment on the hegemonic constructs of women as passive and vulnerable (2004: 128) - these attributes are given to nature in general, with active roles given to culture and civilization. This allows western women, as belonging to a 'more civilised' culture, to take advantage of the same natural rights supposedly given to men. Ultimately, women engaging in romance tourism are taking part in the same power relations between the west and the Caribbean, as men; while they may be conceptualizing their own sexuality differently to the men engaging in sex tourism, they are nevertheless 'equal to their male counterparts in the consumption of Caribbean sexuality' (Kempadoo, 2004: 129).

Both sex tourism and ethnotourism rely on a colonial, gendered notion of power and access of the civilised west over nature. The appeal of ethnotourism lies in the 'natural' way in which the host cultures live. The search for 'authentic' experiences forcing cultures to freeze in what are considered un-civilised states, which westerners are then given access to. The paternal sentiment of wanting to preserve these uncivilised cultures further reinforces the masculine power of the civilised west and the power it wields over the cultures it commodifies through ethnotourism. This commodification of culture cements the colonial notion of the wests access to 'nature'; cultures are open to the west to experience and consume for leisure. This access is made more blatant by sex tourism, which grants access not only to less civilised cultures but to the bodies of less civilised people. Classical liberal ideas of the natural rights of men are manifested in the freedom of westerners over the bodies of Caribbean men and women. Colonial tones of masculine civilization allow this freedom to extend to women as well as men, meaning sex and romance tourism operate within the same colonial framework with this extending also to ethnotourism. As suggested by Kempadoo, black and brown bodies are positioned as the site of constructing power for white, western cultures (2001: 558). Both sex and ethnotourism allow this to happen through the access granted to western cultures.

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Are subcultures still important? Consider the implications for sociology and criminology as part of your answer.

Ellie Sannerude

A postmodern society, infiltrated with rapid, diverse proliferation of images, fashion, consumption and lifestyles, poses difficulties in recent sociological and criminological debates, with regard to defining 'subculture' and 'pigeon-holing' individuals within a specific cultural group that deviates from mainstream society. The loosely defined group of 'hipsters', who pride themselves from being different to mainstream culture, yet accompany unconfessed identity, pushes the concept of 'subculture' to its limits (Alfrey, 2010). With hipster-clothing now being mass-produced in stores such as 'Urban Outfitters', the incorporation of their style and consumption patterns raises questions as to whether anyone can claim to be a 'hipster' in the twenty-first century and whether 'tribes' continue to 'contradict the myth of consensus' in a complex social landscape (Hebdige, 1979: 8) as suggested by the cultural hegemony.

This essay aims to explore the extent to which subcultures are still important today, firstly through examining the revolutionary literature composed in the US and consequently, by British Marxists and the Birmingham School (CCCS). With the essay presenting a UK focus, internal criticisms within the CCCS will give way to McRobbie's (2006) acknowledgement of the underreporting of female subcultures. Cultural criminology and Lyng's (2005) concept of 'edgework' will be discussed, regarding how feminist subcultures remain, yet vary on emotional purpose, exemplified through the 'Pussy Riots' in Russia. Discussion of 'post-subcultural theory' will present a question of framework: If subcultures are not formed around class, where does it leave the politics of youth culture and subcultures today? Exploring Britton's (2015) publication 'YouthNation', will display the movement from counter culture to a 'commodity culture', condoning the demand of youth taste and millennial aspiration. Youth 'taste' will be examined through Young's (2005) and Thornton's (1995) works on club/drug cultures (noting that both scholars take quite different approaches), alongside recent examples of 'virtual subcultures' and the ways in which identity can be constructed on a new digital platform, rather than making outward allegiances and interests. This will demonstrate that while subcultures are still important, they are constructed in a less spectacular way, transforming from 'the strict distinction between middle-class radical countercultures and working-class "heroic" subcultures that are no longer tenable' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 15).

'Subcultures' refer to a group of people that tend to be represented as marginal through their distinct image, interests and beliefs, and that are apart in terms of their relationship with the broader social system of society (Gelder, 2005). Subcultural theory views deviant behaviour as a rational means of solving the problems aroused by mainstream culture, acting in response to incompatible demands through various delinquent solutions, in resistance to the class-based system (Gelder, 2005). Subcultural theory formally evolved from the empirical fieldwork conducted by the Chicago School on marginal social types (e.g. gang members), which dominated sociological theory and practice in the US during the mid-1930s (Gelder, 2005). Their aim was to understand the motivations behind subcultural gang activity, where scholars such as Thrasher used Merton's 'strain theory' to explain the ways in which deviant behaviour in subcultures is a way of overcoming the strain experienced, through wanting to attain similar life chances as the dominant culture (in Carrabine et al, 2014). However, Miller's 1958 ethnographic study on working-class gangs proposed that subcultures were not wanting to adopt the 'parent culture', instead they presented a resistance towards traditional middle-class ideals (in Gelder, 2005).

Some of the UK work is based upon the US model of the work on gangs. For example, in his 1966 book 'The Delinquent Solution' Downes studied the Southend of London, highlighting the

structural, socio-economic factors that motivated gang activity (in Gelder, 2005). Cohen provided a general theory of subcultural identity, promoting the idea that delinquent subcultures 'express and resolve, albeit "magically", the contradictions which remain hidden or unresolved in the parent culture' (1972: 23), as was later anticipated by the revolutionary work of the Birmingham School. During the 1970s and 80s, the CCCS adopted a Marxist critique and began taking the working-class culture seriously (Gelder, 2005). The CCCS were profoundly known for analysing the 'spectacular' (culture, fashion and music), in relation to symbolically attempting to resolve hidden problems within class positions (Carrabine et al, 2014). Groups that were analysed compromised of those that were dominating media coverage during the 1960s and 70s, such as the 'mods' and 'rockers', whereby links were drawn between their style being shaped by class consumption, in comparison to 'skinheads' who echoed a working-class culture based on manual labour and production (Cohen, 1972).

Reading behaviours and styles as expressions of class identity, whether lost or imagined, contemplated the work of Hebdige and 'symbolic forms of resistance', expressed through a semantic disorder of texts (e.g. clothing, make up and dancing). He notes that 'the communication of a significant difference … is the point behind the style of all spectacular subcultures' (Hebdige, 1979: 102), arguing that style is an intentional communicator. Hebdige highlights how each text is seen to construct a potentially infinite range of meanings, such as 'the fundamental tension between those in power and those in subordinated positions' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 86) and 'gives itself to read' (Hebdige, 1979: 101), allowing subcultures to symbolically separate themselves from the mass culture. While this was a revolutionary finding, in modern day subcultures it can be argued that cultures no longer accompany clear uniforms of style, but instead there is an overlap between subcultural signifiers. Shields elaborates by describing cultures as 'the multiple masks of a postmodern persona who wear many hats in different groups and surroundings' (1992: 16), arguing that 'spectacular' subcultures are not so prominent today.

Notably, while the CCCS produced pioneering scientific work, much criticism has been applied to their structuralist approach, presenting a neglect of choice (Bennett, 1999). Muggleton and Weinzierl argue that the CCCS 'no longer appear to reflect the political, cultural and economic realities of the twenty-first century', as working-class subcultures 'heroically resisting subordination through semiotic guerrilla warfare' are long gone (2003: 4-5). They argue that a more pragmatic approach appears more prominent in recent subcultural literature, in comparison to the romanticising of the CCCS through radical, symbolic changes that no longer appear so 'hard-edged'. Additionally, internal feminist critiques within the CCCS highlights how subcultural literature predominantly focuses on young men and public space, as famously discussed in Willis' (1977) ethnographic study on male 'anti-school subcultures' that reveals how male working-class teens' socialisation, consequently results in them occupying working-class jobs. McRobbie and Garber confess that 'the absence of girls from the whole of literature in this area is quite striking, and demands explanation' (2006: 177). McRobbie and Garber attempt to create a new, positive way of perceiving girls and subcultures, to disregard the stereotypical image of 'dumb, passive teenage girls, crudely painted' or commented upon their degree of sexual attractiveness (2006: 1). Fyvel's 1963 study of Teddy boys has contributed to the work conducted on youth subcultures, as he discusses the ways in which gangs defend their territories and are engaged with stylised warfare with similar gangs, expressed through adopting middle class styles of dress (in McRobbie and Garber, 2006: 1). McRobbie and Garber (2006) acknowledge how girls accompany a 'sexual taboo' within working-class culture, alongside engaging in less street-corner involvement and more experimentation with make-up, listening to music and reading magazines, within the 'bedroom culture'. Arguably, this is not a 'spectacular culture'. Nevertheless, it should be noted that McRobbie and Garber (2006) are not stating that girls only express subcultural identity in the private space of the bedroom, instead they present one explanation of girls' absence in subcultures, providing an alternative view to the male dominated literature that creates a subjective disposition in a male-defined culture.

Acknowledgment of girls became apparent with the rise of Feminist cultural studies, actively played out by 'Pussy Riot'- a Russian feminist, pro LGBT punk rock group who were jailed in 2012 for

staging an unauthorised guerrilla 'punk prayer' performance in a cathedral in Moscow (Seal, 2013: 293). The prayer demanded the Virgin Mary to help unseat president Putin from power and exhorted him to 'become a feminist' (Seal, 2013: 293). Feminist Lizzie Seal (2013) uses 'Pussy Riot' to analyse and portray positive and supportive media coverage on feminist political consent, whilst confounding Alison Young's (1990) prediction that groups of women will always be presented negatively in the media. Pussy Riot's political protests share similarities with 'hooliganism' and the application of 'edgework' (risky behaviour for excitement and thrill), as explored by the cultural criminologist Lyng (2005), whereby voluntary risk taking exerts the edges that exist along cultural boundaries. Therefore, it can be noted that girls and subcultures are still evident beyond the 'bedroom culture'. However, youth cultures vary across the world and are more centred around emotive thrill. They also present a distinct contemporary subculture that continues to perform a political protest dimension of youth culture, despite being fuelled by demographic factors such as gender, rather than resistance to class structures (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003).

Post subcultural studies are often critical towards the work of the Birmingham school and their Marxist analysis of class resistance through rituals, however Bennett (2011) argues that those who support this, are ignoring the existent ongoing economic and social inequalities. Although Pakulski and Waters (1996) suggest that class is 'dead' in post-modern society, Bennett (2011) highlights that class cannot simply be disregarded as unimportant. The post subcultural turn has informed discussion of youth cultures in the twenty-first century (Bennett, 2011). Two main strands can be identified. The first attempts to challenge the theoretical apparatus of the CCCS and establish a new framework. This is followed by the second strand that goes even further by outright rejection of the continuing usefulness of the term 'subcultures' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003), arguing that subcultural identity is 'now more or less a thing of the past' (Gelder, 2005: 1). In an attempt to re-formulate youth style and taste, the French sociologist Maffesoli (1996) acknowledges subcultures as 'neo-tribes'. This presents a shift in terminology, whereby 'neo-tribe' is used analytically by Bennett (1999) to recognise the fluidity and hybridity in today's urban club-scene, by which Ueno and Perasovic (2001) argue that it implies a kind of 'Urban Tribal Studies'. Through the concept of 'tribus', Maffesoli (1996) argues that group identities are no longer formed along traditional structural determinations (i.e. class, gender, religion), rather the fluidity of consumption patterns enables contemporary sociality to be created around fragmented identities that are not fixed, but part-time. For example, 'hipsters' persistently avoid categorisation, highlighting how in a global climate, 'opportunities for self-expression are richer and more diverse' (Alfrey, 2010: 1).

A key criticism of post-subcultural theory is that it essentially adopts a celebratory stance regarding the role of cultural industries in shaping the identities and lifestyles of teens (Bennet, 2011). Subcultural-related practices appear to play a vivid role, as 'entrepreneurial engines for the new media, fashion and cultural industries' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 8), by which subcultures serve as a functional tool for capitalism 'by making stylistic innovations that can become vehicles for new sales' (Clark, 2003: 229).

Britton's publication 'YouthNation' discusses the idea of how modern business landscapes are driven by youth taste and consumption. Youth culture is not perceived as a 'counter-culture, instead as a source for driving investment in a technological revolution that results into living in a YouthNation' (Britton, 2015: 1). Polhemus' (1997) concept of 'supermarket styles' addresses groups who cohere around certain events and bring together a range of styles, highlighting how marketisation is largely focused around the young worker 'who chooses to invest their attention, time and money in leisure' (in Thornton, 1995: 101). Arguably, the gap between school dropout and marriage allows teens to possess disposable income, as they have no family to support. They buy the 'spectacular' and are free to spend money on clothes, music and drugs which forms 'the nexus of teenage gregariousness outside the home' (Thornton, 1995: 103). Evidently, 'businesses have to embody the ideals of YouthNation' (Britton, 2015: xxiv), demonstrated through the marketisation of music festivals that reveal blurred boundaries between both youth and parent culture in mainstream society (Britton, 2015). Additionally, youth further rejects to be a fixed phenomenon, contradicting Bourdieu's discussion of 'social ageing', whereby one resigns one's position in a highly stratified society (Thornton, 1995). Arguably, youth no longer represents an age, rather it is

'a commodity that is available to everyone', fluctuating in the rapid cycle of production and consumption in a youth-driven economy, allowing anyone to claim a 'distinct' identity (Britton, 2015: xxiv).

Regarding group identity and drug consumption, a foundational study conducted by Jock Young *'The Drugtakers'* (1971), allowed many sociologists and criminologists to study the social meanings behind drug use. Influenced by Becker's publication 'Outsiders' (an analysis of the drug culture of jazz musicians), Young explores the factors that determine the social valuation of drug taking, which produced 'normative values' on the one hand and 'subterranean values' on the other - 'the kind of values that license drug taking' (Young, 2005: 144). He concludes that 'if a drug either stepped up work efficiency or aided relaxation after work, it was approved of; if it was used for purely hedonistic ends it was condemned' (Young, 2005: 154). Visibly, social reactions towards drug use, depends on the social context in which they are taken, as to whether it appears 'normal'. The 'normalisation thesis' constructs the recreational leisure of drug use as 'normal for young people', revealing that most teens 'will have tried an illicit drug by the end of their teens' and in parts of the UK 'a quarter may be regular recreational drug users' (Aldridge et al, 2011: 202-3). However, many strategies appear to have adopted the normalisation of drugs in youth culture by promoting 'safe use' of experimentation. For example, in a bid to cut crime, Durham police recently introduced a scheme to supply heroin addicts with 'diamorphine' (medical grade heroin) in the belief that treatment lowers offending levels (BBC News, 2017). Additionally, through a charity set up by Fiona Measham, musical festivals have seen a rise in 'front of house testing', whereby users can test their substance before consuming a potentially dangerous drug (Connolly, 2016). This shows how the normalisation of drugs is accepted in youth culture, although harm reduction continues to be publicised.

An example of a study that evolved from Young's work, whilst also critiquing the 'standard' subcultural frameworks, was Sarah Thornton's 'Club Cultures' (1995). Thornton evidently moves away from the CCCS conceptualisation of subculture as a rigid entity rooted in underlying class relations, and, instead, focuses on youth cultures that revolve around clubs, adopting what Evans refers to as a 'flight from fixity' (Evans, 1997: 179), whereby club cultures are mobile in taste. Thornton's (1995) aim is not to map 'taste cultures' firmly back onto socio-cultural determinations, rather she focuses on how 'clubbers' use 'sub-cultural capital' as an ideological resource to possess a 'hip/cool' status and authenticity. Thornton draws upon Bourdieu's links between taste (as a marker of class) and social structure, conceiving that 'hipness' is a form of 'subcultural capital'- referring to 'being in the know, using current slang and looking as if you were born to perform the latest dance styles', arguing that 'in many ways it affects the standing of the young like its adult equivalent' (Thornton, 1995: 11-12). Thus, youth culture is not about resisting the dominant culture but about being 'in the know' and what is 'in' or 'out', when measured against the alternative cultural worth of mainstream society (Thornton, 1995: 11). Thornton's use of 'subcultural capital' has limitations in the adaptations for youth cultural studies, as her mode of analysis 'effectively robs youth cultures of any macro-political dimension' whereas 'they are merely trying to accumulate subcultural capital at the expense of the unhip' (Gilbert and Pearson, 1999: 159-60).

Although post-subcultural theory suggests the end of subcultures, it can be argued that online space provides new opportunities for signalling identity. Online technology serves to 'consolidate and strengthen the boundaries that both internally define their subculture and render it extinct from other formation' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 9). Various collective aspects of subcultures remain evident on digital platforms, as Boyd uncovers some of the predominant myths regarding teens' social interaction displayed through social media forms. Boyd adopts a socio-constructivist approach and explains how 'social media- and especially MySpace, Facebook and Twitter- sharing information and connecting to friends online became an integrated part of daily life' (2014: 7), acting as a 'release valve' from parent culture. She discusses how teens participate in their online identity by developing a sense of identity that controls access to meaning through 'social steganography', which relates to the encoding of 'messages that are functionally accessible but simultaneously meaningless' (Boyd, 2014: 66). In other words, mainstream culture is unaware of

the hidden meanings displayed through in-jokes and code-words facilitated by youth culture. Youth culture is also conferred through 'Vloggers' and 'haul video-makers' on YouTube, whereby individuals upload footage of their clothes or beauty purchases, as a means of displaying their style. Duplantier highlights how these videos are very much 'an expression of post-modern consumer subjectivity', presenting a 'relational interplay' between the producer and audience, whereby 'like-minded' tribes can intimately unite, rather than identify as 'spectacular' (2016: 132). This again, can be linked to 'YouthNation' and the representation of youth as a commodity.

A recognisable link with criminology and a concerning issue in contemporary society, is that sites such as YouTube provide an operating space for gang activity. The act of deviancy within subcultures remains evident on an online platform that shares similarities with the old-style 'spectacular' gang subculture (Storrod and Densley, 2016). Storrod and Densley analyse the uploading of 'trap rap' videos that are created by drug dealers and gang members to display real-life footage of the origins of gang activity. They examine how videos 'serve an expressive purpose in terms of reputation building, but also shed light on the instrumental business of gangs – specifically, illicit drugs sales via country lines' (Storrod and Densley, 2016: 1). Irwin-Rodgers and Pickney elaborate on how young people's use of social media acts as a catalyst triggering youth violence, whereby 'young people are exposed daily to social media content that displays or incites serious violence in real-life' (2017: 4). Video-based social media is disrespectfully being used as a space where gangs can promote their violent activity, goad rivals and recruit future gang members. Although this does not necessarily present a delinquent solution to class resistance, it advocates how the large, global accessibility of the internet allows the audience size to participate in 'violent retaliation, more likely because of the unprecedented potential for disrespectful online activity to undermine young people's perceived status and reputation' (Irwin-Rodgers and Pickney, 2017: 3). This provides an alternative view to the 'soft' levels of intimacy created through 'haul videos' on YouTube. Ultimately, 'trap rap' videos are cultural artefacts intimately connected to youth culture (Storrod and Densley, 2016), that actively perform, promote and re-shape mainstream audiences.

In conclusion, the reality of today's technological innovations appears to be redefining possibilities in youth culture. Movement away from traditional subcultural theory examining 'counter cultures' revolting against mainstream society, has gave way to 'subcultural capital' which involves youths 'being in the know', rather than youth culture striving to get their voices politically recognised. Interestingly, shifts in terminology proved that groups prefer to avoid being labelled as 'subcultures', exemplified through 'hipsters'' distaste towards categorisation. Maffesoli's use of 'neo-tribes' suggested a reconsideration of the relationship between youth and style, presenting the argument that subcultures are still important, yet in agreement with post-subcultural theory, are not formed around structural class determinations. The internet provides a digital platform that allows youth culture to appear 'apart' from the 'parent culture', as demonstrated through Boyd's analysis of 'social steganography'. In contrast, the argument surrounding 'youth as a commodity' in YouthNation counters the importance of subcultures, because marketisation that is driven by a youth-economy presents blurred boundaries between youth and parent culture. This led to the assumption that subcultures have become less significant. Examination of drug consumption in 'club cultures', reinforced the idea that deviant behaviour is expected within certain social contexts and instead of decriminalising such acts, recent developments have attempted to regulate the 'normalisation' of experimentation through promoting safety in 'front of house drug testing'. Also, literature produced on virtual subcultures, exemplified through gang activity, has provided a new frontier in subcultural theory, much of which needs to be adopted in future youth research. In agreement with Bennett (2011), a call for recombining subcultural and post-subcultural studies would appear effective, as 'a new, dominant paradigm has yet to develop in place of the old' (Muggleton and Weinzierl, 2003: 5). Despite the acknowledgement of an apparent gap in the literature, around the intimacies of contemporary youth cultures, the intermission needs to be addressed swiftly because unforgettably, in 'YouthNation', 'everything happens in real time, and in the blink of a Snapchat' (Britton, 2015: xxv).

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The plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty reads: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!" Has US immigration policy reflected these aspirations? Answer your question with reference to specific policies.

Gemma Threlfall

> When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.
> (Trump, 2015)

Introduction

Liberty Enlightening the World, more commonly referred to as the Statue of Liberty, is often regarded as a symbol for the core values of the United States. The inscription at the Statue's base invites the poor and downtrodden of the world to travel to America, the "golden door", on the other side of which awaits a better life, filled with opportunity. It promises sanctuary and protection for those who need it. These aspirations of opportunity, protection and happiness for those who yearn for them ought, then, to have been reflected in US Immigration policy. This, however, has not been the case. These aspirations are not open to the tired, the poor or the "huddled masses". Instead of opportunity, poorer immigrants to the United States have been offered inconsistency, uncertainty and mistreatment by US federal immigration policies and institutions. In particular, immigration policies adhering to Mexican immigrants have been grossly inconsistent, their goals ranging from exploitation and economic gain to discrimination and persecution. These inconsistencies have not followed a direct pattern; they have instead interchanged erratically throughout history.

This essay will explore how US immigration policy pertaining to Mexican immigrants has consistently contradicted the promise made by the plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty, and has therefore failed those who attempt to emigrate to the United States to improve their quality of life. This is because US immigration policy concerning Mexican immigrants has generally been driven either by institutional nativism and racism or neoliberal exploitation. Particular focus here will be on policies in the mid to late 20th century, particularly the Braceros Program, Operation Wetback and Operation Gatekeeper, with reference to 21st century policies such as President Trump's recent Executive Orders pertaining to immigration. Each of these policies was motivated by either the wish to exploit Mexican workers or by nativist and racist perceptions of Mexicans and other immigrants that have arisen in times of fear and uncertainty. These perceptions are often exacerbated by US immigration policy, such as Operation Wetback. This being said, it is important to consider that although federal US immigration policy has failed to uphold the

values that the Statue of Liberty represents, there have been small-scale policies in certain US cities that pledge to protect refugees and undocumented immigrants. These cities often adopt policies to not cooperate with federal US immigration authorities and allocate funding to provide housing.

A Brief History of US Immigration Policy and Border Control

The United States is famously a nation of immigrants. In the centuries since the establishment of the first colony in 1607, the US has received immigrants from around the globe. The initial arrival of Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries, mark not only the beginning of American immigration, but the beginning of America's legacy of cruel hypocrisy regarding immigration policy. The establishment of a nation against the will of the existing occupants of the land is lamentable in itself. For that nation to then invite the poor and downtrodden of the world to its shores and present itself as the home of freedom and opportunity, only to implement exploitative and nativist immigration policies throughout history is hypocritical to say the least. This hypocrisy does, however, illustrate the nature of US immigration policy throughout history, particularly policies pertaining to Mexican immigrants and border control. This is because immigration, from different viewpoints, is both desirable and undesirable in the United States. Joseph Nevins says, 'While labor has at times favoured strong immigration restriction, capital has largely championed an "open door"'. (2002: 97). These conflicting positions, that yet exist simultaneously, formulate what Joseph Feagin considered the schizophrenic nature of American thought about immigration, and in turn, US immigration policy (1997:14).

US immigration policy has varied considerably since July 1776. In *The "Huddled Masses" Myth,* Kevin R. Johnson described US immigration policy as historically having 'moved from crisis to crisis', and having 'reflected biases towards and stereotypes of immigrants who were unpopular during particular eras' (Johnson, 2004: 174).These racist and nativist trends have been reflected in specific pieces of legislation, such as the self-explanatory 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, or the 1924 Immigration Act which banned the immigration of Asian people and those from the Arab states. In recent years, this focus has been on Mexican immigrants and in the present day, Middle-Eastern and Muslim immigrants have begun to share the focus of US immigration policy, as both groups are currently being targeted by President Trump's recent Executive Orders. Mexican immigrants, however, have been subjected to exploitation in the form of the Bracero Program, as well as persecution and the enforcement of unconstitutional immigration policies in the form of Operation Wetback, Operation Gatekeeper and ICE raids, to name a few.

The Great Depression and the Bracero Program

In the aftermath of the 1929 Wall Street crash, Mexican immigrants, as well as American citizens of Mexican origin, were persecuted and scapegoated as the cause for the economic downturn (Navarro and Mejia, 2004: 23). Between 1929 and 1936, Mexican immigrants, citizens of Mexican descent and their children were deported en masse as part of the Mexican Repatriation Movement. Repatriation, officially, was a movement that involved urging Mexicans to return to Mexico, but in fact involved the deportation of an estimated 500,000 people (Gratton and Merchant, 2013). The term 'repatriation' disguised the unconstitutional nature of the mass deportation (Valenciana, 2006: 5), and instead insinuated that the movement was representative of American values. Yet, the Repatriation Movement was entirely adverse to the values displayed by the plaque on the Statue of Liberty, supposedly the definitive symbol of American values, because it both physically

and socially marginalised Mexican immigrants. The Statue of Liberty's inscription offers a message of welcome and insinuates a promise of protection, notions that the Repatriation Movement failed to uphold. This movement was in the volatile interwar period. However, the outbreak of the Second World War and America's newfound desperation for manual labour seemed to entirely invert the agenda of US immigration policy pertaining to Mexican immigration. Therefore, in 1942, the Braceros Program was launched.

The term *Bracero* originates from the Spanish *brazos,* meaning 'arms'. This encapsulates the exploitative nature of the Bracero Program, which was advertised as a mutually beneficial program; from Mexican workers, the US received the labour it so desperately needed from, and Mexico's wartime employment needs would be satisfied (Weissbrodt, 1998:13). The Program, therefore, appeared to be an incarnation of the 'golden door' that the Statue of Liberty's inscription describes, but in actuality it manifested as a system of exploitation and mistreatment. Workers who entered the US through the program were not provided with opportunity or freedom, but instead were greeted with temporary manual labour jobs, labour camps where the living conditions were poor, and the risk of deportation if they lodged a complaint about mistreatment (Mize and Swords, 2010). The program, initially intended to be an emergency wartime program, ran until 1964. However, in the late 1940s and early 1950s there was a shift in public opinion which was reflected in policy; from mass legalisation to mass repatriation (Mize and Swords 2010: 32). In 1954, the peak of the Bracero Program, Operation Wetback was launched. These coinciding policies and their contradictory natures sent a message from the American government to the Mexican people: Mexican people were not welcome in America as whole human beings, merely as arms. This hostile sentiment is not at all representative of the welcoming message inscribed on the Statue of Liberty.

Operation 'Wetback'

In May 1954, US Attorney General Herbert Brownell announced the implementation of Operation Wetback, which aimed to aggressively confront a rise in illegal border crossings. Over the summer of 1954, through a series of road blocks, raids and mass deportations, the operation orchestrated the deportation of over a million people, mostly Mexican nationals, some of which were US-born citizens with Mexican ancestry (Johnson, 2004: 28; Hernández, 2006: 421). The Operation has been widely considered as unconstitutional. In *The "Huddled Masses" Myth,* Kevin R. Johnson comments on the irony of Operation Wetback being implemented in the same year as the historic *Brown v. the Board of Education* Supreme Court decision, which rested on the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution:

> At that time, it was far from clear that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment on which Brown rested offered any protection to Mexican Americans. During a period when the law promised (although perhaps failed to deliver) new legal protections to African Americans, a legally sanctioned deportation campaign struck with a vengeance at persons of Mexican ancestry.
> (Johnson, 2004: 30)

Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees US citizens the right to due process of law and equal treatment under the law. Because a significant percentage of the deported were US-born citizens, Operation Wetback was not only aggressive and inhumane, but was unquestionably unconstitutional. Policies that violate the US Constitution are, in theory,

unrepresentative of American values. It is therefore unrepresentative of the aspirations written on the Statue of Liberty, a widely recognised symbol of American values. The operation not only violates the values that the Statue of Liberty represents, but violates the notions of welcome and protection for those in need of sanctuary, those who yearn for freedom, and those who are poor and defenceless, that the inscription on the Statue articulates. These were the people targeted by Operation Wetback, the very name of which embodies the nativist hostility toward Mexicans that existed in the United States at the time. Naming the operation after a racial slur not only dehumanised those that it targeted but validated widespread use of the offensive expression within American society. The racial epithet therefore became widely used (Peralta, 2015). Furthermore, the operation proved fatal in many cases. In *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America,* Mae Ngai describes the deadly consequences of Operation Wetback: 'Some eighty-eight braceros died of sun stroke as a result of a round-up that had taken place in 112-degree heat, and [American labour official Milton Plumb] argued that more would have died had Red Cross not intervened' (Ngai, 2004: 156). This operation, therefore, did not protect or welcome those in need. Instead, it persecuted them, and in some cases was fatal to them.

NAFTA and Operation Gatekeeper

In November 1993, President Bill Clinton signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). His signature sat alongside that of Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Mexican President Carlos Salinas, and the agreement came into effect in January 1994. The agreement promised a trilateral elimination of trade and investment barriers, creating a free market between the three nations. However, because NAFTA subsidised US crop exports, such as corn, agricultural prices in Mexico dropped, which resulted in job losses in agriculture (Audley et al, 2004). Therefore immigration to the United States from Mexico, much of it undocumented, rose because migration offers more jobs for Mexicans than NAFTA has (Martin, 1998), meaning Mexican farmers who could no longer compete with subsidised American competitors migrated to the United States (Fernandez-Kelly and Massey, 2007). This migration was therefore caused directly by the United States and the NAFTA agreement.

Ten months to the day after NAFTA came into effect, on October 1st 1994, Operation Gatekeeper was launched. Operation Gatekeeper involved the provision of additional funding to the United States Border Control, and doubled the budget of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to $800,000,000 (Nevins, 2002). The operation, along with similar operations along the US-Mexico border, was reactionary to the rising rates of undocumented immigration that was a direct consequence of NAFTA. In *Operation Gatekeeper: the Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the US-Mexico Boundary* (2002), Joseph Nevins describes the reactionary nature of the Operation:

> Gatekeeper was ... in part a reaction to growing regional integration along the U.S.-Mexico boundary, a growing integration that has led to an attempt to enhance separation between the United States and Mexico, at least in terms of unauthorized immigration. Thus, in this particular instance, growing trans-boundary integration seems to go hand in hand with increasing nationalization of territory.
> (2002: 11)

The ultimate goal of separation that Nevins here describes is reminiscent of previous US immigration policies, but is certainly embodied in Operation Gatekeeper and similar

operations that coincided. Gatekeeper strengthened an existing physical barrier, and solidified a social one, as it assisted with the construction and perpetuation on human illegality (Nevins 2002: 13). Separateness is the reverse of the unifying sentiment of the Statue of Liberty, and yet seems to have been a consistent theme of US immigration policy, and remains to be in the present.

The Future of US-Mexican Immigration: Sanctuary Cities, ICE and the Trump Administration

Considering the evidence discussed above, it is therefore fair to say that up to the present day federal US immigration policies have failed to uphold the promises made by the plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty. However, the policies of several individual cities throughout the United States do uphold these promises, to varying degrees. These cities are colloquially known as sanctuary cities, as they hold policies which offer varying degrees of protection to refugees and undocumented immigrants. Sanctuary cities in the US include, but are not limited to, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York City and Boston, and many smaller cities also consider themselves to be sanctuary cities, such as Hartford, CT and Jersey City, NJ (Marcin, 2017). Research has shown that sanctuary cities experience lower crime rates and stronger economies (Wong, 2017). Despite this, President Trump's recent Executive Order, entitled *Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States,* declares that, in the interests of national security and crimes prevention, sanctuary cities can be refused Federal grants at the discretion of the Attorney General and the Secretary, that a list of criminal actions committed by 'aliens' must be made available to the public and that the Director of the Office of Management and Budget must 'obtain and provide relevant and responsive information on all Federal grant money that currently is received by any sanctuary jurisdiction' (White House Office of the Press Secretary, 2017: Section 9). The reason for these policies is cited as national security and crime prevention, despite crime rates being found to be lower in sanctuary cities, the majority of undocumented immigrants entering the US with the sole goal of employment (White, 2016), and the fact that the perpetrators of the last major terrorist attack on American soil entered the country legally (Borch, 2003). These policies use shame tactics to discourage sanctuary jurisdictions from offering protections to vulnerable people and those in need of protection, which is contrary to the notions of opportunity and welcome that the inscription on the Statue of Liberty proclaims.

In addition to defunding and shaming the jurisdictions that offer sanctuary to America's undocumented immigrants, Donald Trump's executive orders have put pressure on Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to enforce the US's immigration laws, with particular focus on undocumented immigrants, even those who pay taxes, hold employment and have no criminal record. Donald Trump took office on 20th January 2017. In January 2017, there were 18,378 people deported from the United States, of which roughly 48% did not have a criminal record. This percentage is also true of the deportations in February 2017 (Shepherd, 2017). The aggressive and intimidating raids in which many of these arrests were made have become more and more commonplace during the Trump presidency. Although ICE raids have increased following Donald Trump's inauguration, the targeting of undocumented immigrants, rather than those who employ them, is not a new phenomenon. One such example occurred in 2008 during the final months of the Bush administration, in Postville, IA. Of those arrested, almost 300 people were convicted in just four days following the raid (Preston, 2008). The Fifth Amendment to the US Constitution states that 'No person shall ... be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law ...' (U.S. Const. amend. V, 1789). The speed of the convictions

was not due process of law, and therefore is unconstitutional, which implies it is unrepresentative of core American values. These practices are, in the present day, becoming commonplace following President Trump's early Executive Orders. Despite being entirely contradictory to the supposedly quintessentially values embodied by the Statue of Liberty, President Trump's presidency has already become synonymous with intolerance and separateness, because of his inarguably racist comments during his Presidential campaign, and his famous promise to build a physical, and metaphorical, wall between the US and Mexico.

Conclusion

In the infancy of the Trump administration, it is difficult to predict the changes in immigration policy in the US that we will see in the near future. One thing that is almost certain, however, is that the future federal immigration policies of the Trump administration will not break tradition by reflecting these core values of opportunity and sanctuary for those in need that the Statue of Liberty conveys. They will instead, follow the trends of exploitation, marginalisation and nativism that have existed throughout the history of US immigration policy. These trends have motivated US immigration policy erratically inconsistently; policy has switched from one to another, back and forth. The key motivators for policy makers, it seems, have been economic interest and public opinion, the combination of which seems to have determined US immigration policy up until the present day. Erratic changes in the US economy therefore explain the erratic nature of immigration policy. In the first sixty years of 20th Century, public sentiments toward Mexican immigrants in the United States seemed to change back and forth between welcoming and hostile. The anti-Mexican sentiments of the 1920s and 1930s being followed by the Braceros Program in the 1940s, which appeared to welcome Mexican workers, would have suggested that public sentiment towards public opinion was improving. However, at the mid-point of the twenty-two year Braceros Program, Operation Wetback was launched. Thus, Feagin's analogy of the American approach to immigration policy as schizophrenic in nature is certainly fair (Feagin 1997: 14). It does seem however that, in the late 20th Century and early 21st Century, US immigration policies pertaining to Mexican Americans had more consistent themes: marginalisation, separation and nativism. In the present day, US immigration policy shows no sign of reverting back to the notions of welcome that were, on the surface, reflected in the Bracero Program, which despite its sinister reality did to an extent extend welcome to those in need. Both the physical and metaphorical separations created through policies such as Operation Gatekeeper and Donald Trump's promise to build a wall along the US-Mexico border are indicative of the reality of US federal immigration policy, which has defied the promises made by the Statue of Liberty with staggering hypocrisy.

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The plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty reads: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!" Has US immigration policy reflected these aspirations? Answer your question with reference to specific policies.

Chloe Ward

> Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* American history (Handlin 1951: 1)

The opening lines to Oscar Handlin's book *The Uprooted*, cited above, represent a commonly held sentiment in the United States of America; that it is a 'nation of immigrants' (Weeks 2008: 220). The plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty gives an inspiring message for any potential migrant, implying that the country is ready and willing to receive anyone who might be dissatisfied with their current living situation, those who are economically disadvantaged, politically persecuted, and displaced. However, many argue that these sentiments, shared on one of the great US cultural icons, have not been entirely realised by US immigration policy. The notion of the US being a nation of 'immigrants' is also not entirely supported by social theorists, with many arguing that there is a divide between those defined as 'immigrants' and those defined as 'emigrants'. This essay will be discussing the history of US immigration and the policies that have worked to both encourage and discourage immigration into the US, while considering their relevance to the philanthropic message emblazoned at the base of the Statue of Liberty. We will also be examining this issue in regards to questions of refugees and undocumented immigrants, given the image of 'homeless, tempest-tossed' people being welcomed by the Lady Liberty. King et al argue that we live in an 'age of migration' due to higher levels of migrants 'on the move' than ever before (2010: 13). Information from the United Nations (UN) Population Division reveals that there were 244 million international migrants in 2015, an increase of 30 million compared to five years earlier (King et al 2010: 13). The demographic composition of migrants is constantly changing and diversifying, as the desires of immigrants and needs of receiving countries change. In terms of the United States, more than 58% of all immigrants come from Latin America and the Caribbean (Weeks 2008: 1999), and these are less frequently the single young men who utilised the *bracero* program in the 1940s, and increasingly parents and their children, who use policies such as the Central American Minors program (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 187), as well as Obama's Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and Deferred Action for Parents of Citizens and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) plans.

These plans made it possible for around 5 million people to 'attain lawful, albeit temporary, status and employment authorisation' (Kamasaki et al 2015: 283). DACA in particular targets a young population with high levels of education, proficiency in speaking English and good literacy relative to the overall unauthorised population (Kamasaki et al 2015: 288). This may make it seem as though the US government has started to be more welcoming towards immigrant families and young people; the 3400% increase in the

number of beds in family detention centres in 2014 alone suggests otherwise (Musalo and Lee 2017: 182). Lawful means of entering the United States are few and far between; despite many critics arguing against unauthorised immigration and desiring a 'tighter border' (Hayes Gries 2016: 30), making claims that 'illegal aliens' should 'wait in line' (Johnson and Trujillo 2011: 16), social theorists state that there are few legal opportunities for Latin American people to enter the United States. There are 140,000 work visas allocated each year, which include spouses and children of workers. However, there is no 'systematic queue for low-skilled workers' (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2012: 267), which means that they have to take alternative 'backdoor' measures in order to access the US (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2012: 255). The only means of access for these low-skilled workers is to obtain a visa through the 'other worker' category, which provides only 5,000 visas each year. Tallman estimates that at that rate it would take around 1,200 years to 'regularise' the current undocumented immigrant population of the U.S (2005: 874).

The issue of undocumented workers, or 'illegal aliens', to use more controversial terminology (Johnson and Trujillo 2011: 4), is highly polarised and well publicised. Musalo and Lee discuss media outlets using terms such as 'surge' (2017: 6), while Massey and Pren go on to present evidence of marine metaphors being used in order to dramatise the situation, pointing to terms such as 'rising tide' and 'tidal wave' (2012: 6) being used in order to create what Cohen calls a moral panic. In this situation, immigrants become a 'folk devil' looking to 'drown' American culture (Ngai 2013: 1) with their foreign language and values. Ngai discusses the terminology used to discuss the migration of white people to the United States, noting the positive connotations associated with the term 'emigrant' over the negatively perceived 'immigrant'; emigrants are associated with 'acts of pioneering, colonising, and settlement'. Ngai argues that the term immigrant is often used to describe people settling in already established societies (2013: 1); one could argue that immigrant is the correct term for the situation given the history of indigenous people living in the Americas long before colonisation by Europeans began.

This 'emigrant' narrative fits well with what Spickard calls 'the Ellis Island version of immigration history', which treats white Americans as 'quintessential natives' (2007:8). Spickard notes that white Americans were welcoming to those from Western Europe, such as the English and Germans; they were seen as 'natural Americans' and given immediate rights of citizenship that were denied to immigrants from Asia (2007: 101). Asian people have been the victim of much exclusion throughout the history of US immigration law; in the 1917 Immigration Act they were considered 'inadmissible' aliens, alongside alcoholics, prostitutes and the insane (Wasserman 1954: 66); Chinese labourers had been inadmissible since 1882 (Wasserman 1954: 65). Immigration law prior to 1921 focused on forbidding certain kinds of people from entering the US but had no restrictions on immigration levels. The 1924 Immigration Act, signed by President Coolidge, divided people arriving at the country's border into three categories; firstly, those ineligible for citizenship, including those from Asia and Africa; second, those who were permitted to enter and were distributed in quotas according to desirability based on origin (2013: 2), and those from the Western Hemisphere, religious ministers and professors, who were not restricted in their movement (Wasserman 1954: 67-68). The act was denounced as racially biased, statistically incorrect and as a 'clumsy instrument' that did not consider personal qualifications when it came to immigration quotas (Wasserman 1954: 69). Only 8 million immigrants entered the US between 1924 and 1965, which stands in stark contrast to the 20 million that arrived in the forty years prior to the 1924 Immigration Act (Ngai 2013: 2).

1965 saw a new act, known as the Hart-Celler Act, introduced in an attempt to 'purge immigration law of its racist legacy' under Lyndon B Johnson (Massey and Pren 2012: 1). It allocated visas based on family reunification and labour force needs, shifting immigration away from Europe and towards Asia and Latin America (Massey and Pren 2012: 1). Latin Americans had comprised a significant part of the U.S workforce since the late 1950s and Mexican migrants had become 'deeply embedded in employer practices'. The curtailment that occurred under the Hart-Celler Act resulted in a rise in undocumented immigration, as the migratory flows did not just stop; instead, they continued without documentation and authorisation (Massey and Pren 2012: 5). Unauthorised immigration from Latin America had been near zero in 1965. Attempts to restrict the number of workers from this region saw this rise to 9.6 million by 2008 (Massey and Pren 2012: 2). Massey and Pren argue that 'illegal immigration' rose after 1965 because of both the end of the Bracero guest-worker program under Public Law 78 and the capping of the number visas available to Latin Americans. The numbers of people who would be going to the US through these previously available pathways did not change; instead, they started entering the country using alternative, unauthorised methods (2012: 5). They argue that the 'largely invisible circulation of innocuous workers' was transformed into a 'highly visible violation of American sovereignty by hostile aliens' by the Hart-Celler Act (2012: 8). Furthermore, the increased difficulty in entering the country resulted in more undocumented immigrants choosing to settle instead of work seasonally and return back to Mexico periodically (Massey and Pren 2012: 17). This was exacerbated by inconsistent policy whereby the border was strictly controlled but interior policing was weak (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 184).

In 1986, under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was introduced. It granted legal status to 2.7 million unauthorised immigrants and allowed their family members to join them through what came to be known as 'green cards'. Although purported to be unlimited, it soon became apparent that there were not enough green cards available to meet rising demand; long wait times to enter legally resulted in an increase in illegal entries (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 183). The demography of immigrants also changed; instead of itinerant male workers travelling to and from Mexico to work, immigrants were largely families who stayed settled in the US (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 184). The failure of IRCA to reduce unauthorised immigration was crucial in the enactment of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) in 1996 under President Clinton. This resulted in a doubling of the Border Patrol agents to 10,000, the erection of a 14-mile long fence along the border between the US and Mexico and imposing harsh penalties on those who overstayed their visas by banning them from reapplying for three years (Weeks 2008: 207). Weeks points out that the effort made to slow down unauthorised immigration has resulted in more illegal activities such as smuggling of people and falsifying of documents (Weeks 2008: 207).

Falsified documents are a common means by which undocumented workers are able to work. It is not unusual for workers to use false social security numbers (SSNs) to give off the impression that they are authorised. They therefore make contributions towards Social Security and Medicare which they will never be entitled to receive benefits from; Camayd-Freixas states that they are subsidising the retirement of native-born Americans at a rate of $8.9 billion per year (2008: 13). The Social Security Administration (SSA) keeps track of payroll tax deductions made by those with mismatched SSNs and by 2006, this 'Earnings Suspense File' had reached over $586 billion, representing an increase of nearly 50% in a 15 year period (Camayd-Freixas 2008: 12). By 2015, this figure was over $1.2 trillion (OIG

2015: 1). Such a significant amount of money being held in suspense is but one of the smaller impacts of falsified SSNs being used. Camayd-Freixas shares his account of working as an interpreter during the largest Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raid in history, with 900 agents descending upon a slaughterhouse in Postville, Iowa and detaining 400 undocumented workers (2008: 1). He describes how the courts prosecuted many workers using nonexistent SSNs with Social Security fraud, resulting in deportation, but also presented the situation of the more unfortunate workers who used numbers belonging to someone else; they were charged with identity theft and incarcerated (2008: 10).

Camayd-Freixas argues that 'never before' was undocumented immigration so criminalised (2008: 11), stating that ICE chose workers 'who pose no threat' in order to 'beef up' the numbers of 'criminal and fugitive aliens' the department reports each year (2008: 12). This reporting, however, helps to feed into pervasive views of undocumented immigrants as a threat, and as Donald Trump controversially stated during his presidential candidacy, 'criminals and rapists' (2016). Johnson and Trujillo are highly critical of the use of the term 'alien' to describe undocumented foreign workers. Accusing it of being dehumanising (2011: 7), they claim its popular usage serves to make the wider public view of unauthorised immigrants a negative one. To think of workers as 'hard-working and 'good'' means it is difficult to treat them punitively; to treat them as 'faceless masses of aliens' and 'criminals who take 'American' jobs' is to justify their harsh treatment by the law (2011: 7). A further bill proposed during the presidency of George W Bush was H.R.4437, which came to be known as the Sensenbrenner Bill. It would have imposed what Tafelski called a 'burdensome and highly technical system' on employers, where they would have to check the legal status of their workers on a national database (2005: 742) as well as making it a felony to be 'unlawfully present' in the US, instead of a civil violation (2005: 743). The bill did not pass Senate but it did result in the subsequent passing of S.2611, the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006, which allowed the authorisation of 3 million undocumented workers who had remained in the US continuously for the last 5 years, provided they paid a $2,000 fine and back taxes (Congress 2006).

Looking again at the words on the Statue of Liberty, the terms used, such as 'homeless' and 'tempest-tossed' suggest that the country is a safe haven for the politically displaced. The UN defines a refugee as someone who has been forced to leave their country because of 'persecution, war, or violence' (UNCHR 2017). Kysel cites evidence that where at the end of 2014, there were more than 20 million refugees and asylum seekers worldwide (2016: 29), an increase of nearly 5 million since the end of 2012 (Brown and Scribner 2014: 102). Since the passing of the 1980 Refugee Act, the US has resettled nearly 3 million displaced people (Kerwin 2015: 205); in fact, the US has resettled more refugees each year since 1994 than all other members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development combined (Brown and Scribner 2014: 102). However, receiving communities often experience strain as a result of a lack of resources being offered to assist in refugee integration (Brown and Scribner 2014: 101) and Brown and Scribner argue that the US has not fully lived up to its legal obligations (2014: 102). Kerwin argues that while family reunification is a 'fundamental right' and an 'essential ingredient' in refugee integration, the system separates families and defines family in a narrow way, for instance not including stepchildren or grandchildren, and if a refugee does not apply for their family member to join them within two years of admission, they will not be allowed to join the refugee (Kerwin 2015: 226). The restrictions placed on refugees have suggested that some have a fear of them; how else, asks Helton, can 'the world turn away from people made homeless by political evil?' (Helton 2002: 1). He claims that not only do refugees 'evoke images of the world's losers' but they 'frighten the world's winners' as well (Helton 2002:

7). According to Helton, this is due to a fear of change among ordinary people, where they become worried that they will lose their jobs, privilege or identity if their communities accept refugees (Helton 2002: 13).

To be cynical, we could argue that they are afraid that refugees will behave like the European settler 'emigrants' instead of the alien 'immigrants' that dominant society has portrayed them to be. Hays Gries argues that immigrants and refugees are perceived as a threat to 'WASP cultural values'; that is, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant class hegemony (2016: 36) Hays Gries argues that it is American conservatives who are most likely to exhibit these fears; using a scale to measure degrees of 'warmth' individuals felt towards certain countries, he presents evidence that while liberals felt lukewarm to warm in regards to Brazil, Haiti and Mexico, conservatives were 'cool to downright frigid' towards them (2016: 25). The introduction of the Central American Minors program in 2014 is perceived as well intentioned yet 'incoherent' (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 187). The program allows for parents legally residing in the US to bring their children over as political refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. This was to be an important step in limiting the number of unaccompanied minors 'undertaking perilous journeys north' in order to seek asylum. However, these minors were only able to qualify for the program if they had a parent in the US who was lawfully present; many either were travelling alone or had a parent who was undocumented (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 187). Furthermore, the program only grants lawful status for a two year period under the form of Temporary Protected Status (TPS), not citizenship. Policymakers are often reluctant to enforce the limited TPS timeframe, leading to confusions about 'perceived amnesties' in home countries (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017 :187).

Inconsistency and incoherence in US immigration policy is a serious limitation, making policies less effective. A lack of alignment between temporary and permanent visa programs can also increase incidence of unauthorised residents due to 'disjointed and confused' responses (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 181). Orrenius and Zavodny argue that cohesive, coherent policies have the potential to result in increased public support for immigration (2017: 182) while the legacy of previous, failed policies to curb immigration have done little more than result in the goalposts being moved and 'illegal' immigration rising as a result, such as in the case of the Hart-Celler act in 1965. It is impossible to ignore the fact that immigration is highly responsive to the demand for it; this is of course the reason for the Bracero program, which brought 4.5 million Mexican individuals to the US as 'guest-workers' to work on farms (Craig 2015: 2). Weeks describes the demand for Latin American workers as the result of 'an insatiable thirst' for cheap, hardworking labour and an 'addiction' (Weeks 2008: 208) to a workforce that makes fewer demands than native-born workers (Weeks 2008: 218). Theorists note that periods of increased desire for cheap labour tended to correspond with authorities relaxing border enforcement (Orrenius and Zavodny 2017: 182).

It is clear that immigration has not always remained in close alignment with the message at the base of the Statue of Liberty. The message there seems to be one of selflessness and philanthropy, no questions asked. The realities of immigration since the 19th Century show an alternative reality where the white and the educated were welcome, and policies since the 1960s have had a tight-fisted approach to Latin Americans, now that the US is not expanding as rapidly as it once was. Donald Trump vowed in his presidential candidacy that he would deport all undocumented residents; after being elected, he moderated his position, instead pledging to deport up to 3 million undocumented criminals (Warren and Kerwin 2017: 1), a greatly exaggerated number; Landgrave and Nowrasteh present

evidence that the population of undocumented criminals is between 820,000 and at most around 1.9 million, based on ICE reporting. They also argue that immigrants, documented or not, are less likely to cause crime than their native-born peers (Landgrave and Nowrasteh 2017: 1). Warren and Kerwin claim that deportations on the scale that Trump is proposing would be incredibly damaging to the US economy; the median income of mixed-status households would plunge by 47%, the housing market would become unstable due to the significant number of mixed-status households having mortgages, and GDP of the wider economy would be reduced by 1.4% in the first year, a total of $4.7 trillion over 10 years (Warren and Kerwin 2017: 2). However, we should not ignore his other policy proposals; he proposes the building of a 2,000 mile long wall along the US-Mexico border.

The border between the US and Mexico is already a very dangerous place. An estimated 5,600 migrants have died attempting to cross the border since Operation Gatekeeper began in 1994 (King et al 2010: 76); one of the most dangerous places to cross is in the Sonoran desert near Tucson, Arizona, where 171 individuals died in 2008 (King et al 2010: 77). The danger of the border itself is but a consequence of failings in US immigration policies, and is generally not an effective way of preventing unauthorised immigration (Massey and Pren 2012: 17).

The Ellis Island narrative stands in stark contrast to the realities of the US-Mexico border, which is used by individuals from all over Latin America. The idea of the US as a welcoming refuge for the 'huddled masses yearning to breathe free', for the 'tired' and the 'poor', is not reflected in the closely patrolled border. One must question the legitimacy of these statements given the failings of the US to successfully welcome even the politically displaced, 'homeless', 'tempest-tossed' individuals through their current Refugee Act. Until the US Government can successfully execute assistance for even the most downtrodden of the world, it is unlikely that they will be able to generate comprehensive and coherent immigration reform. In conclusion, the United States has a varied history of immigration that is as inconsistent and incoherent as it is insensitive. Weeks argues that even though the US is supposedly a nation of immigrants, the 'huddled masses' of today do not necessarily find open arms when they arrive (2007: 220).

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The plaque at the base of the Statue of Liberty reads: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!" Has US immigration policy reflected these aspirations? Answer your question with reference to specific policies.

Graziana Zito

For centuries, the United States of America has been the emblem of a long-standing tradition of integration and multiculturalism. The aspirations of welcoming the "tired", "poor" and the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" engraved on the famous plaque inside the Statue of Liberty have made the land a refuge where those oppressed could live in liberty and start a new life. Nevertheless, positive attitudes towards the acceptance of migration flows to the United States have not always prevailed among the U.S. Congress and federal agencies (Hing, 2004). In fact, acts of terrorism, religious war and persecution occurring throughout the twenty-first century, have given rise to a profound immigration racism, nativism and xenophobia that strongly embittered the relations between American citizens and foreigners (Koulish, 2010). Moreover, the ever-increasing rate of migration from countries such as Latin America and Asia, have led to a deep social ferment over immigration, as well as to an overall transformation of the contemporary American social framework into a culturally and racially different melting pot. In particular, the manifold non-white immigration flows occurred since the 1980s had become the dominant source of new immigrants in the United States, both legal and illegal. These changes have rapidly intensified the agenda of immigration policy from lenient to more enforcement-related, especially towards undocumented, illegal immigrants. For this reason, it should not be surprising that illegal immigration is among the foremost subjects of debates and legislative actions on a regular basis, which proves that race and cultural difference is still strictly intertwined in the sphere of national law (Kretsedemas, 2012).

The purpose of this essay is to discuss how US policy has tackled the issue of immigration, mainly illegal, as a response to the enormous migratory flows that have occurred from the twentieth century onwards. By analysing some of the main acts enacted during the Clinton and Bush administrations, it will be shown that the problematic relationship between race and the nation has made American law more inclusive, but also more exclusive towards those who chose the United States as the land wherein to start a new life.

> The credibility of immigration policy can be measured by a simple yardstick: people who should get in, do get in; people who should not get in are kept out; and people who are judged deportable are required to leave (US Commission on Immigration Reform, 1994).

Throughout the past decades, numerous migratory flows have sowed the seeds for a growing realization that the United States is an increasingly diverse and multiracial nation (Koulish, 2010). However, such acceptance was not devoid of obstacles, as various issues of immigration and nationality have rapidly become controversial and difficult to tackle. In particular, the intense migratory flows from Mexico to the United States are worthy of attention, since they have led to deep tensions between the two countries; one considered

highly developed, the other profoundly disadvantaged (Weintraub, 1997). According to the Pew Research Center (2016), Mexicans constituted 52% of all undocumented immigrants in 2014, living in the country as low wage workers. Since 1965, the constant friction between the two countries has raised concerns over whether all those incoming foreigners deserved full admittance to the U.S. territory (Weintraub, 1997). This translated into the enactment of manifold federal policies which attempted to redefine and rebalance the incoming of Mexican migrants, as well as to reinforce the law against those illegal aliens already residing in the US. What made this goal more challenging was that the nation was also populated by a high number of lawful immigrants, mostly from the Spanish-speaking nations of Latin America, living and working lawfully, and contributing to the advancement of the US market (Johnson, 2004). According to Hing (2004), low wage, undocumented Mexican workers have contributed to an increase in profits by taking on jobs that the average American worker would never dare to do, such as farm work. In doing so, immigrants have caught the attention of manifold employers, who authorized the integration of undocumented Latino labour across the US border to enhance the market of the nation (Johnson, 2004). However, it is worth pointing out that the approach of US markets towards foreign workers has often been contradictory. As discussed by Koulish (2010), the American market demands were not steady: in some cases, employers were in desperate need of the skills, knowledge and resources of foreign workers, particularly from Latin America and Asia, whereas in other cases those same workers were forced by the law to be deported from the country. Indeed, according to Calavita (1998), evidence has been found that the Immigration and Naturalization Service has actively tolerated undocumented immigration during periods when it was a critical source of farm labour. Moreover, in one of his famous articles entitled *America risks losing its immigration advantage*, Zakaria (2011) asserted that immigration has kept the US economically vibrant in the past decades not only in its social diversity, but also in the constant replenishment of workforce. It can thus be concluded that the massive flow of Latino workers was not only caused by the absence of jobs in the immigrant 'sending' nations of Latin America, but also by the needs of the American employer of foreign workforce endowed with essential skills at lower costs.

Given the circumstances outlined in the previous section, it was necessary to implement policies that did not affect law-abiding residents, but that prevented the flow of illegal, undocumented aliens across the border. These needs translated into the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, which, according to Calavita (1998), are mainly seen as a compromise between the need to control and prevent unauthorized immigration, while approving the entrance of foreigners as integrant part of the American workforce. As explained by Schrag (2010), before the act was made official, an intense compromise had occurred among businesses, who wanted more workers, immigration rights advocates, who were seeking amnesty to legalize those already in the country, and restrictionists, who, on the contrary, demanded tighter controls of those who were in the country without documents. The result was an act that granted amnesty only to those illegal residents who could document that they had been working in the United States for at least five years (Schrag, 2010). In addition, IRCA attempted to establish an employer sanction program by penalizing those American employers who hired unauthorized workers (Johnson, 2004). In addition, the Immigration Act of 1990 ensured the regulation of the immigration of ever-larger numbers of highly skilled workers by creating five distinct employment based visas, categorized by occupation, as well as allowing the admission of immigrants from some countries where their citizenry was underrepresented in the U.S. (Hing, 2004). Ironically, the enforcement of deportation laws against Mexicans did not cease with the enactment of IRCA and the Immigration Act. Instead, fighting illegal immigration became a

priority for the US immigration policy. For instance, the narrative of illegal immigration reform must consider Proposition 187, approved by California voters in 1994. Also known as the 'Save Our State' initiative, this policy denied illegal aliens access to health and public benefits, as well as making them ineligible for receiving public education (Johnson, 2004). Proposition 187 did not only have legal purposes; it also proved to be a symbolic expression of frustration with illegal immigration and with the growth of the immigrant population in the US in general (Martin, 1995). One would not blame such feeling, given the rapid growth in the number of immigrants in the United States from 14 million in 1980 to 38 million in 2007 (Fortuny, Chaudry and Jargowsky, 2010). In addition, more recent data reported the presence of 11.1 million unauthorized immigrants in the US in 2014, accounting for about 3.5% of the nation's population (Pew Research Center, 2016). Therefore, one should not be surprised that US immigration policy has enacted ever stricter strategies against newcomers; such immigrant enforcement turned out to be necessary to ensure that immigrants enter the country legally and in accordance with government norms.

The anti-immigrant hysteria was not only limited to Proposition 187 in California, but was also matter of debate throughout the entire Clinton administration. This was demonstrated by the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, or IIRIRA, a law signed by President Bill Clinton in 1996, authorizing the detention and deportation of immigrants, including legal permanent residents; it also made it much more difficult for refugees to apply for asylum (Schrag, 2010). The '96 law was not an end in itself. According to Lind (2016), IIRIRA laid the groundwork for the massive immigration enforcement implemented today, showing that immigration could easily be criminalized by the law. Moreover, Koulish (2010) has pointed out that the relative ease with which an immigrant could be detected and prosecuted was due to a complex system of social control technologies of which the government benefited from in the criminalization of immigrants. This should not be surprising, given the enormous distrust of immigrants following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. It can thus be said that both Proposition 187 and IIRIRA clearly symbolized an intense wave of restrictionist and anti-immigrant sentiments prevailing in the United States during the mid-1990s, which allowed for a greater policy of control on the part of Congress.

Although the Clinton administration sowed the seeds for a major enforcement of control at the border and in the interior, a great number of policies against 'aliens' and undocumented residents received their most impetus under the action of President George W. Bush. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks widely changed the scenario of immigration and homeland security, expanding government's authority towards controlling immigration and preserving civil liberties against terrorism (Hing, 2004). Some of the policies enacted by President Bush were major cornerstones of the United States immigration system, since they aimed at passing a reform policy that would help put illegal aliens on a quick path to legal immigration (Kerr, 2003). In fact, as with many other previous presidents, Bush's goal was twofold: supporting the millions of illegal immigrants already living in the United States by providing them with temporary work status, while tightening border security with Mexico and imposing sanctions on those employers who knowingly hired illegal aliens (Freeman and Bean, 1997). Such needs translated in a comprehensive reform named the Uniting and Strengthening America by Provided Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act, also known as The Patriot Act of 2001. Enacted immediately after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the act was soon rushed into action by Congress, who allowed the government vast powers to exercise antiterrorism surveillance over the territory as well as over the internet (Kerr, 2003).

Moreover, it enhanced immigration provisions by granting the US Attorney General the power to detain foreigners indefinitely if they were reasonably considered to be a national security threat (Marrero, 2012). It is worth asserting that the Patriot Act has always been considered a highly controversial law through which the government could investigate citizens and foreigners alike by expanding the gathering of domestic intelligence, especially in relation to Latino populations (Marrero, 2012). Mexicans have long since been 'the quintessential illegal aliens...the perennial pariahs' (Gonzales, 2014: 41). Therefore, one should not be surprised to know that major attention was paid on Latinos, particularly those immigrants from Mexico that resulted undocumented or not living in compliance with legal norms. Even though all migrants were considered potential threats to the homeland security, the focus on Mexicans was much deeper, and exposed the underlining racism that characterized the anti-immigration ideology (Freeman and Bean, 1997). In other words, Latinos were seen as a group that could never assimilate into the melting pot of American culture due to their alleged racial differences from the populations of Western European heritage. Ironically, this incessant racial paranoia over Latino populations was undermined by the continuous growth of the Mexican community in the United States. The Patriot Act laid the groundwork for the Immigration and Customs Enforcement's aggressive immigration campaigns of 2006 aimed at protecting American communities from the threat of criminal aliens, fugitive aliens and all those who allegedly endangered the citizens' wellbeing (Camyd-Freixas, 2008). Several further attempts have been made to secure the US-Mexico border against illegal entries and security threats, among which Operation Gatekeeper and the Secure Fence Act represent a striking example. Implemented during the Clinton administration, Operation Gatekeeper of 1994 has been seen as the onset of the creation of the illegal immigrant as a threat to the national socio-political fabric (Nevins, 2001). Aimed at halting illegal immigration at the US-Mexico border near San Diego, California, the operation has proved successful in creating the basis of a more or less fictitious boundary against the flow of illegal newcomers. The same idea of protecting the nation by means of a fence, a physical boundary, has been resumed by George W. Bush, who approved the Secure Fence Act in 2006. The act was directly aimed at reinforcing the borders by authorizing the construction of thousands of miles of fencing along the Southern area of the country (Schrag, 2010). The Secure Fence act was a clear attempt to enforce immigration laws inside America, while facing the reality that millions of immigrants were already within the United States territories, thus proving that little could be done to effectively interrupt the phenomenon of immigration.

This essay has attempted to shed a light on some of the most notable immigration policies which came into force in the past three decades to counterbalance the enormous migratory flows to the United States, especially from Mexico. Moreover, attention has been paid to the role of illegal immigrants, and the way they have been welcomed to, or sent away from, the so-called 'land of the free'. For a very long time the United States has been a nation of immigrants, but for various, often complex, reasons it has also been a nation of immigration restrictionists. Undoubtedly, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 transformed the entire country's attitude towards immigrants, with Americans becoming less open to foreigners and to their contribution to the country's workforce. At the same time, terrorism and racial paranoia towards immigrants have led to more intensified debates over the way immigration in the United States should be tackled by the law. For instance, all foreigners, both legal and undocumented, ended up being subject to a more intense scrutiny, often followed by immediate expulsion or deportation if the market did no longer need foreign workers to fulfil specific job positions. Ironically, the American government itself was the first in line to request back foreign workforce to satisfy market demands. The result is an asymmetry between demand for labour and the legal means of satisfying such a demand. Therefore,

drawing negative conclusions about the degree of acceptance and welcoming of immigrants into the United States would be just as inaccurate as coming to pure positive ones. The aspirations of freedom of entry inscribed on the famous Statue of Liberty might not reflect the current situation in regards to admission of immigrants and asylum seekers. The disproportionate growth in illegal immigration and the need to preserve the nation's safety are some of the main factors for which the United States law is more cautious towards allowing foreigners inside the country. However, there are sectors of the American economy that still depend on the labour provided by undocumented migrants, meaning that the illegal status of these individuals is simultaneously a gain and loss for the US economy. Therefore, there will always be space for the 'tired', 'poor' and the 'huddled masses', though under stricter conditions and higher degrees of responsibility.

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