



University of Essex

# IDEATE

The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology



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# 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: the relationship between rurality and availability of psychiatric services; Freud's theory of personality; Gramsci's contributions to the Marxist school of thought; mass incarceration as a criminological concern; worker flexibility under post-Fordism; genocide as a crime of obedience to authority; and international migration.

All of the work published here has achieved a grade of 85%+ (1<sup>st</sup> year students), or 80%+ (2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> year students).

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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# **In Which Ways Does Rurality Affect the Availability of Psychiatric Services in New York State?**

**Nasim Vargha**

## ***Background***

The topic of mental health has become increasingly relevant in the United States over the past couple of decades. Up until more recently mental health had been deemed less important by medical professionals and ultimately had been 'underestimated because of inadequate appreciation of the connectedness between mental illness and other health conditions' (Prince et al., 2007: 1). With awareness and treatment options expanding and becoming more normalized, it is expected that the availability of these resources would also grow. But as demand increased, it is evident that the supply of services has not responded.

Psychiatrists provide a number of different services that lie at the core of mental health treatment. As defined by the NHS (2018), a psychiatrist is a doctor who works 'as part of community mental health teams (CMHTs)'. Additionally, specialized psychiatrists can provide treatment for conditions ranging from anxiety to schizophrenia to addiction (NHS, 2018). As a profession, psychiatry plays a vital role in treatment and recovery for individuals struggling with various aspects of their mental health.

Although widely explored, the specific condition of rurality has never been clearly defined within sociology. Willits and Bealer (1967: 166) state that in order to define rurality, a researcher must either 'determine a single specific aspect that can be assessed and take this as *the* defining criterion of "rural"' or 'specify a composite definition wherein measurable component parts are combined and the nature of the combination explicitly rationalized'. In order to make the definition of rurality explicit, this study will use the description of rural provided by the United States Census Bureau. This definition states that rural areas 'comprise open country and settlements with fewer than 2,500 residents' (USDA, 2019). In addition to population density, this study will also take note of median household income when considering rural areas.

As reported by the American Medical Association in 2018 there were 41,133 actively practicing psychiatrists in the United States (Beck et al., 2018). This population has been distributed throughout 1,397 counties across the United States which only accounts for 44.4% of the total number of counties (Beck, 2018). Much of this deficit can be found in rural counties where isolation and socioeconomic issues deter individuals from seeking help (Bachrach, 1983).

The challenges that accompany rurality have been seen to have a severe effect on mental health.

For example, suicide rates in rural areas are higher and individuals are less likely to seek psychiatric help (Gamm, 2010). Additionally, many people living in rural communities have been diagnosed with more than one mental disorder (Gamm, 2010). Without the availability of appropriate psychiatric services, treatment often becomes the responsibility of the local primary care practitioner who cannot provide adequate healing. Despite the fact that their expertise and education does not extend far enough to provide sufficient treatment, primary care practitioners often remain the only option in a rural area (Gamm, 2010).

### ***Aims and Objectives***

The overall aim of this study is to successfully prove a need for additional psychiatric services in rural New York and therefore influence an increase of those services.

#### Objectives:

- Use focus groups to identify the key issues that are making it difficult to access psychiatric services in rural New York.
- Obtain an idea of what those living in rural communities would find helpful regarding the expansion of psychiatric services.
- Distinguish between community-specific problems and problems that are found in all rural areas by holding focus groups in three different rural counties in New York.

### ***Literature Review***

#### *Psychiatric services in rural areas: A sociological overview*

In this sociological review, Bachrach (1983) examines the various factors that characterize rural America and how these factors affect the availability of psychiatric services. The author describes the 'physical isolation and frequent lonesomeness' (Bachrach, 1983: 215) that accompanies the rural lifestyle and how this often contributes to the mental isolation that many individuals feel. Bachrach (1983) recognizes a distinct urban bias regarding the distribution of psychiatric services. Between extensive travel times and understaffed offices, finding a psychiatrist in a rural area is difficult. To examine the issue more closely, Bachrach (1983) identifies five broad factors that affect the availability and quality of psychiatric services in rural regions. These factors include nonsocial, demographic, socioeconomic, interpersonal, and ideological. To broadly summarize, the isolation and remoteness of rural areas creates great barriers when it comes to adequately providing services. Individuals are less likely to seek care if they must travel a great distance or if the price of treatment is too high. Additionally, offices are often lacking resources or even trained personnel. This lack of suitable care in many cases can lead to relapse or even worse outcomes. Bachrach (1983) concludes that in order to properly provide psychiatric services to rural areas there must be an awareness and a willingness to adapt to these factors.

Bachrach's work is highly informative and concisely outlines the challenges faced by rural communities. By highlighting these barriers, it becomes clear why there is a lack of psychiatric services in these areas. This study will reexamine these ideas but in a contemporary way. While Bachrach provides critical findings, they are somewhat dated. Since the 1980s, when Bachrach published this paper, there has been a definite increase in mental health advocacy even in rural areas and therefore it would be beneficial to revisit the relevancy of the five factors that she mentions.

*Scratching the surface of psychiatric services distribution and public health: an Indiana assessment*

This quantitative study done by Moberly et al. (2019) intended to assess the distribution of psychiatric services in the state of Indiana. This was done by means of a voluntary survey that identified active psychiatrists that were renewing their physician license. By accessing additional data provided by the Indiana Professional Licensing Agency they were able to identify 365 active psychiatrists throughout the state. They then categorized rural and urban counties by their demographic characteristics using the U.S. Census. This data was combined using ArcGIS and the group was able to create a spatial analysis. The spatial analysis allowed them to 'visualize the distribution of psychiatrists in relation to population size and rurality' (Moberly et al., 2019; 270). Moberly et al. (2019) found that there was a significant lack of services being provided in rural counties. Of the total number of Indiana counties, less than half contained an active psychiatrist. In addition to this, a majority of these counties were found to be mainly rural. Moberly et al. (2019) determined that this lack of psychiatric services forced many to commute long distances or even opt out of treatment altogether.

This study done by Moberly et al. (2019) is current and succinct. They successfully prove, through quantitative research, that rural areas are being deprived of psychiatric services. While the use of quantitative research proved to be effective in this case, there is a strong need for a qualitative study dealing with the same subject. A qualitative research design would bring a new perspective to this subject and allow for a more personal and in-depth look at the experiences of the sample population.

***Research Design***

The research design will be a comparative case study. This decision was made based on the intimacy of the topic and the lack of prior qualitative research. This approach was chosen over others due to the fact that an individual's experience with mental illness and mental health services is unique to them and should be considered in more depth. By comparing data in three different locations, this study intends to identify common issues that exist as well as practical ways to resolve them.

Focus groups will be used to collect data and will take place in three rural counties in New York. This method was selected based its ability to provide the researcher with a wider understanding of the topic. The group dynamic allows for a diversity of opinions as well as a more intimate discussion of the issue (Denscombe, 2017).

The aforementioned focus groups will be held in Yates County, Allegany County, and Otsego County. These counties are all classified as rural, based on the definition provided by the United States Census Bureau. The median household incomes of all three counties, which stand at least \$11,000 lower than the average for New York state, range between \$47,033 and \$54,343 (United States Census Bureau, 2018). When comparing population densities, the three rural counties show a much smaller population per square mile. While the average for New York is slightly over 400 residents per square mile, the three rural locations range from 47 to 75 residents per square mile (United States Census Bureau, 2018). In addition to these statistics, Yates, Allegany, and Otsego County possess a higher number of agricultural-based businesses that are often associated with rural areas.

The sample for this study will be obtained through snowball sampling. The sampling process will begin by initiating contact with an organization such as the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI). This organization provides support for not only those with mental illness but their families as well (National Alliance on Mental Health, 2020). Because of the organization's emphasis on education and advocacy it could provide access to the sample population. The sample would not only be individuals with mental illness but their family members as well. Because the study is focusing on the challenges associated with finding a psychiatrist in a rural area, the experiences of family members are just as beneficial. Snowball sampling will be cost effective and will give access to the desired population.

### *Ethics*

The decision to use a qualitative research design warrants a close consideration of ethical guidelines. The involvement of human subjects and sensitive topics signifies that extensive measures will be taken to protect the participants from any form of harm.

Firstly, the structure of the focus groups will need to be approved by an Ethics Committee before proceeding (Denscombe, 2017).

When initiating contact with the intended sample, the participants will be made fully aware of the aims of the study and participation will be completely voluntary. In order to eliminate deceptiveness, informed written consent will be collected from each participant before they take part in the focus group.



In the interest of protecting the participants' privacy, they will be made aware that their statements could be used as part of the reported results but no personal or identifying information will be included.

Participants will be provided with an overview of the topics to be discussed before they decide whether or not they wish to take part in the study. They will be made aware that the topic may be sensitive in some respects. To protect the interests of the participants, no questions will be invasive, and participants can choose not to answer.

To ensure that all participation is completely voluntary, those taking part in the study can choose to withdraw at any point.

### *Challenges*

Any version of qualitative research carries its own challenges. Without the rigid framework that often accompanies quantitative research, there becomes a great deal of room for change and unexpected problems.

The use of snowball sampling has risk associated with it as well. While it gives access to a different type of sample, it can be time consuming and unpredictable. It becomes significantly more difficult for the researcher to control the sampling when it is dependent on networking. This is also less time effective because it may take longer for the interactions to occur. Relying on an organization, in this case an organization like NAMI, can take some time and carries the risk of being ineffective.

Qualitative research, particularly when using interviews or focus groups, can become quite expensive. In some cases, particularly when using tools such as interviews or focus groups, it is expected that the research team provides the participants with lodging or coverage of travel expenses (Denscombe, 2017). These expenses must be anticipated before beginning the research.

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# **The Origins of Stress: What are the Consequences of Stress in Relation to a Doctor's Ability to Work?**

**Saif Bodhee**

## *Introduction to Topic and Research Question*

Stress has been psychologically defined as a concept that arises when 'individuals perceive that they cannot adequately cope with the demands being made on them' (Lazarus, 1984: 11). Research highlighting such 'demands' has primarily focussed on the impact of 'occupational stress', claiming that the workplace significantly contributes to the numerous 'stressors' that doctors encounter daily (Firth-Cozens, 1998). In other words, difficult patients, pressure from colleagues, and unruly job-demands are all stressors which doctors are often subjected to (Firth-Cozens, 1998). The importance of such stressors has resulted in researchers associating doctors with the 'burnout phenomenon,' an experience often defined as 'feelings of emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and reduced personal accomplishment' (Wu et al., 2008: 144). This, coupled with the fact that doctors 'consistently experience a high intensity of work, conflicting time demands, and heavy professional responsibilities,' means that they have a limited number of ways to escape from, and cope with, the significant amount of occupational stress that they encounter (Riley, 2004). It was Jones et al. (1988) who acknowledged that 'stressed doctors may make considerably more errors than those whose sense of wellbeing is high' (Jones et al., 1988: 728). In essence, much of the existing literature on doctors and their ability to work focuses on the impact of occupational 'stressors', emphasising that this profession is riddled with significant struggles (Riley, 2004).

However, alongside occupational origins of stress; stress can also be socially induced (Martin, 1965: 63). Regarding the broader sociological constructs that contribute to stress, Martin (1965) has argued that family commitments, financial status, motivation, and pressure from colleagues and relatives have a significant impact on the amount of stress that individuals face (Martin, 1965). The author goes on to highlight the factors that society often attributes to success, and also recognises that these sociological stressors can define a person's position within society – something which existing research on medical performance has not thoroughly explored.

Although the aforementioned literature provides an interesting account into the different origins of stress, it is without a doubt that there are gaps in the literature when it comes to exploring how the sociological origins of stress contribute to a doctor's ability to work. Thus, the research question entails:

The origins of stress: *'what are the consequences of stress in relation to a doctor's ability to work?'*

This research will be conducted with retired male doctors, whose wide-ranging experiences in the medical field, and livelihood, altogether will be advantageous to the understanding of how sociological stressors impact a doctor's ability to work. The proposed research topic has been chosen as a result of the researcher's first hand observation of the stress that doctors are subjected to, due to having relatives who work in the medical field. The researcher found this observation difficult to overlook, especially when considering the prestigious nature of the medical profession. Therefore, the researcher believes it is important for researchers to not only acknowledge and analyse the effect of occupational stressors, but also sociological stressors in relation to the consequences they have on a doctor's ability to work. This research shall therefore focus on the participants journey towards becoming a doctor and how this has shaped their overall approach to working in the medical field, as well as, how far the participants lives have changed whilst working as a doctor. Ultimately, the researcher's own personal experiences have greatly influenced the choosing of this research topic, and hopefully the data garnered will add to the current sociological discussion of stress and its effects on a doctor's ability to work.

## ***Methodology***

### *Research Strategy and Design*

According to Rubin and Rubin (1995) the ideal qualitative interview is 'on target while hanging loose' (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 78). In order to achieve such a model, this research will be conducted using in-depth semi-structured interviews; a method of data collection whereby the researcher will have prepared an interview guide prior to the interview, but will not strictly adhere to it (either in terms of the precise wording of questions, or the order which they are asked) (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 78). In this respect, participants are given the opportunity to discuss issues that are important to them and that the researcher has not anticipated, or are not on the interview guide (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 78). This means that the researcher's interpretation of the participants lived experiences can successfully merge in order to provide a 'thick meaning' to the discussion between the interviewer and interviewee (Ponterotto, 2006: 547). Existing research on medical performance has highlighted that stress can negatively impact a doctor's behaviour, specifically their abilities to communicate (Sharma, 2005). Thus, it can be assumed that the language used by participants to express their lived experiences is also subject to the social nature of the interview (King, 2019). Overall, this research aims to uncover whether sociological origins of stress influence a doctor's ability to work. Ultimately, the semi-structured interviews allow for probing to develop insights into the 'thick meanings' the participants provide when outlining their experiences (Ponterotto, 2006). Therefore, the semi-structured interview is a suitable method to produce rich, thick data.

### *Ethical considerations*

The researcher will be required to not only follow the ethical guidelines set out by the University but the British Sociological Association (BSA, 2017) also. Ethical approval has

therefore been submitted for this research to the class tutor - Dr. Róisín Ryan-Flood. According to Shaw, (2003) the ethics of qualitative research place distinctive demands on the principles of informed consent, confidentiality, privacy, and security (Shaw, 2003 24). The BSA (2017) makes note of the requirement whereby researchers are to 'explain in appropriate detail, and in meaningful terms to the participants, what the research is about' (BSA, 2017: 5). Thus, the participants will be given an information sheet prior to the interview which will summarise the research process, the significance of the participants involvement in this project, and how their information will be used.

Alongside the information sheet, a consent form will also be given to the participants before the interviews begin. This will outline that the participant's contribution to this project is entirely voluntary, and they will be able to withdraw at any time of the project without reason. The participants will also be reassured that any personal information which may reveal their own identity, or that of anyone they mention, will be replaced with pseudonyms, in order keep such information private and confidential. Furthermore, if participants wish for certain information to be omitted in the official research report, it will be edited out of the transcript and remain confidential. In compliance with the BSA and Data Protection Act 1998, the data will be securely stored by the researcher, accessible only to the members of the research team directly involved in the project, and destroyed upon completion of the project (DPA, 1998).

As the participants will be interviewed about sensitive topics (the impact of stress and other hardships presented in life), the researcher is aware of the possibility that participants may find parts of the interview emotionally challenging. In order to minimise this risk, it will be made clear at the beginning of the interview that the participants are under no obligation to respond to any question which they may feel uncomfortable with answering. In addition to this, the researcher will extend great deference when asking overtly sensitive questions, especially with regards to questions about the impact of stress on mental health and how this affects a doctor's ability to work.

The researcher would like to let it be known that the participants have been recruited through personal networks as a result of also having family members in the medical profession who have contacted their acquaintances in regards to this study. Thus, regarding researcher safety, since the researcher is already familiar with the participants, the interviews will be conducted at the participants' respective homes. Nevertheless, the researcher will still exercise a great deal of professionalism in order to minimise researcher bias.

### *Access and Sampling*

The participants are two retired doctors, whose ages range between 65 and 68 respectively. They have been recruited primarily through purposeful sampling, since the researcher believes the large amount of experience that these former doctors have as a result of their time in the medical field, will hopefully reveal how significant the impact of stress is on a doctor's ability to work. As a result of the researcher being acquainted with the participants,

contact prior to the interview will be achieved via e-mail, through which the participants will be able to view the information sheet. It should also be noted that a time frame of forty-five minutes has been put on the length of the interviews.

*Timescale*

<b>Duration</b>	<b>Event</b>
<b>January 15<sup>th</sup> – February 15<sup>th</sup> 2020</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Collect and read literature</li> <li>• Plan and design the study</li> <li>• Complete ethical approval form</li> <li>• Start drafting literature review</li> </ul>
<b>February 16<sup>th</sup> – March 15<sup>th</sup> 2020</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gain ethical approval</li> <li>• Recruit participants</li> <li>• Collect data for research report</li> </ul>
<b>March 16<sup>th</sup> – April 24<sup>th</sup> 2020</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transcribe the interviews</li> <li>• Analysis of collected data</li> <li>• Write research project</li> </ul>

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# **Present and Critically Assess the Main Contributions of Freud's Theory of personality to Sociological Analysis**

**Freya Harvey**

Sigmund Freud (1856 - 1939) is known as the founding father of psychoanalysis for his pioneering work on the study of the unconscious mind and theory of personality. He believed that events that occur during someone's childhood have an immense influence on their adult lives, which shape an individual's personality. Freud's personality theory is based around his concept of the 'pleasure principle' which he argues seeks immediate gratification for all needs, wants and urges. This made his work controversial due to his constant relation of personality to sexual drives and urges. Maltby, Day and Macaskill (2017) categorised Freud's theory of personality into four sections: the development of personality, the structure of personality, the levels of consciousness and human motivation. Therefore, I will begin this essay by presenting Freud's first contribution, the development of personality, which consists of five stages. Freud believes the stages which occur during an individual's childhood leads to the formation of an individual's adult personality. Subsequently, in this essay, I will present Freud's structure of personality, which he says consists of the id, the ego and the superego. Thereafter, I will present Freud's work on the unconscious and dreams. Lastly, I will present Freud's theory of human motivation which argues that motivation is determined by the way an individual's personality is structured. Throughout this entire essay, each contribution will be critically assessed and justified according to how they contribute to sociological analysis. I will conclude this essay having presented Freud's theory of personality, critically analysing his theories and applying each of them to sociological analysis.

Firstly, Engler (2014: 37) states that Freud's development of personality is a significant contribution to the theory of personality. In which, Freud (1962 [1905]) explains how personalities are created by 'passing through a series of psychosexual stages in which different erogenous zones are important, children move from autoeroticism to reproductive sexuality and develop their adult personalities'. Therefore, Freud believes that personality is something that is achieved through cumulative experiences and socialisation. Freud's development of personality theory is split into five psychosexual stages. In this sequence, the oral stage is the first stage which begins from birth and lasts until age one. Engler (2014) explains that during this period of a child's life their mouth is their primary source of pleasure (receiving nourishment, a close bond with the mother through breastfeeding and they use their mouth to discover new objects) and conflict (biting mothers' boob during breastfeeding). Therefore, ingestion and biting are the first character types that children develop.

The second stage is the anal stage which Freud believes occurs during a baby's second year of life when toilet training begins. It involves the child having to change an involuntary



activity, going to the toilet in their nappy, into a voluntary one. This represents a child's first attempt at regulating their instincts and impulses. Engler (2014) explains that conflict arises when the parent becomes angry with the child for being unable to control when and where they go to the toilet. Early attempts at discipline result in the buttocks being a frequent site of pain. Therefore, as the area produces pleasure and pain, masochistic (pain-receiving) and sadistic (pain-inflicting) patterns of behaviour emerge.

Engler (2014) highlights that the third psychosexual stage of Freud's development of personality is the phallic stage which occurs to children aged between three and six. It is a time where children begin to experience pleasure in autoerotic activities and spend a vast amount of time examining their genitalia. They also become curious to understand sex intellectually. Freud points out that children experience fantasies which help shape their personalities. Though Freud does recognise that negative sexual experiences such as incest or sexual abuse can adversely affect a child's personality. Furthermore, the pleasures of masturbation and fantasy life set the stage for what Freud considered one of his most significant discoveries, the Oedipus complex. This theory was based on a Greek tragedy about a son who killed his father and married his mother but was unaware and unconscious of the motives behind his actions. Freud believes that this Greek myth symbolises each child's unconscious desire to possess the opposite-sex parent and do away with the same-sex parent. Many critics argue that his theory is ludicrous for suggesting that children have murderous impulses and sexual impulses towards their parents at this age; therefore, this theory needs to be looked at in an unliteral way. During this stage, a child sees love as a quantitative thing, so when attention is given to the same-sex parent, they receive less and get frustrated with the father and consequently want him to leave. This cannot be achieved, therefore the Oedipus complex is resolved by the child beginning to identify with the same-sex parent in terms of gender and by beginning to adopt their moral codes and injunctions. In the future, the child will look for a woman or man with similar traits to their mother or father to fulfil their unconscious desire.

The penultimate stage is the latency period, which occurs from around age seven to puberty. This is a period when psychic forces develop that inhibit the sexual drive and narrow its direction. Freud didn't believe much happened in this stage and that sexual impulses were channelled through sports and hobbies. However, Engler (2014) argues that critics believe that children continue to express their sexuality during this stage but hide it from their parents.

The final psychosexual stage is the genital stage, where infantile sexual life is transformed into its adult form. During puberty, the genital organs mature, and rebirth of sexual and aggressive desires occur. In this stage, the sex drive changes from autoerotic to being sexually interested in others of the opposite sex. After breaking down Freud's development of personality theory, it is clear why, in sociological analysis, the nuclear family is dominant and considered the norm due to children being socialised throughout their life to believe their partner must be the opposite sex.

Therefore, one criticism of Freud's development of personality theory is that it is heteronormative. Although, it is essential to note that Freud was writing during a heteronormative period in history (early 20th Century) where nuclear families were the most popular family structure and same-sex relationships were illegal, which could provide reason as to why he wrote this way. However, this theory is now outdated and statistics reveal that family diversity has increased rapidly in the 21st Century. Statista (2019) highlight that in 2000, the first country to legalise same-sex marriage was the Netherlands and as of May 2019, 27 other countries have followed suit. Alike, advances in science have made it possible for same-sex couples to have their own biological child through the route of insemination and surrogacy. These changes reveal significant growth in equality for same-sex couples within the last two decades, which will hopefully continue in the future. Also, as a result of a rise in secularisation and individualisation in today's contemporary society, divorce rates are increasing and, in parallel, new family structures such as blended families are becoming more common. Accordingly, Freud's focus on the nuclear family through the development of personality is out-of-date and needs revision. Another criticism of Freud's development of personality is that overemphasises that personality growth only occurs during childhood. However, Erikson (1986), a student of Freud's daughter, Anna, built on Freud's work and claimed that development of personality does not stop at adolescence. Instead, Erikson (1986) believes it is a lifelong process based on the ability to overcome crises which relate to specific age groups, and failure to complete the stages leads to an unhealthy personality.

Another aspect of Freud's theory of personality is the structure of personality, which was published in his book *The ego and the id* (1960 [1923]). In this book, Freud argued that the psyche, the human mind, comprises three parts (i.e. a tripartite) that every individual has - the id, the ego and the superego. Firstly, the id refers to instincts, which are universal needs and desires that all animals have (including humans), such as food, water, shelter and sex. The id is the only component of this apparatus which is present from birth and is entirely unconscious. Secondly, the ego is the reality principle which recognises that traumas and experiences form as part of an individual's socialisation. It also helps individuals realise the goals that are rooted in the id. Lastly, the superego is the morality principle which internalises wider cultural norms about what is acceptable and what is not. The superego can make you feel guilty for thinking in a way that is not culturally and morally acceptable. A real-life example of this apparatus is a hungry manager who sees food on a colleague's desk; their id is telling them that they are hungry and need that food to fill their craving. Additionally, their ego is telling them that if they are hungry, they can eat it especially because they have hierarchy over the colleague, however their superego rationalises their actions by realising that it is not socially acceptable to steal the person's food without asking, just because you are hungry or their manager. This links to sociological analysis as it explains why some people conform to society's norms and others do not based on their experiences and socialisation during their childhood. Socialisation experienced during a child's upbringing can vary as a result of certain cultural and social influences such as race, class and gender.

As mentioned above, Freud's structure of personality is useful in explaining why people act differently based on how they are socialised. However, this aspect of Freud's theory lacks

scientific evidence. Since, science has revealed that the id, the ego and the superego have no physical part in the human brain. Therefore, it is difficult for other researchers to build on this theory as Freud based his theory on individual assessments through a case study of one patient. Therefore, his theory lacks reliability and validity.

Thirdly, Freud's levels of consciousness concept are another contribution to his theory of personality. He believes there are three stages of consciousness that everybody has - conscious, preconscious and unconscious. Firstly, the conscious mind comprises of things we are actively aware of in the moment. For example, for me, writing this essay, and for you, reading it. Secondly, the preconscious mind includes things we are unconscious of in the moment but can easily be recalled in the conscious mind - such as what we had for dinner the night before. Lastly, the unconscious mind comprises things that are kept in the unconscious part of the mind because of their unacceptable nature. Freud argued that we do not actively think about the unconscious part of the mind, often because of its disturbing nature. He believed it was a place where we hide evil and negative experiences and thoughts which impact our daily behaviour and emotional state. Freud (1965, in Strachey, 2010) argues that feelings in the unconscious mind are repressed such as sexual urges which are found in our dreams. Freud's (1965: 604) book, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, brought him into professional recognition in which he elucidated that 'the interpretation of dreams is the royal road to knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind'. Therefore, he instructed his patients to keep dream diaries which he would dissect and discover the meanings of. According to Freud (1965: 367), the symbols found in dreams are often sex-related, for example:

All elongated objects, such as sticks, tree-trunks and umbrellas (the opening of these last being comparable to an erection) may stand for the male organ [1909]—as well as all long, sharp weapons, such as knives, daggers and pikes [1911]. Another frequent though not entirely intelligible symbol of the same thing is a nail-file—possibly on account of the rubbing up and down. [1909.]—Boxes, cases, chests, cupboards and ovens represent the uterus [1909].

Therefore, Freud's contribution assists sociological analysis in beginning to understand how the unconscious influences an individual's actions and behaviours in society. Additionally, sociologists, such as Georg Simmel and Talcott Parsons, have a keen interest in the structure and agency debate which they reflect upon in their work. Barker (2016: 448) defines structure as a 'recurrent patterned arrangement which influences or limits the choices and opportunities available', this can include rules or laws on a global, national or domestic level. In contrast, Barker (2016: 448) defines agency as 'the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices'. Therefore, Freud's research on the unconscious mind enlightens sociologists to recognise the power of irrational, driven biological instincts vs sociology's emphasis on autonomy and free will.

However, critics argue if the unconscious is intangible and includes thoughts and desires that we are unaware of, as Freud suggests, how are they measured and observed? Although Freud

suggests that these are measured through dream analysis, his theory exaggerates sex as sex dreams do not account for all dreams and that dreams can have other motives which are a form of innocent imagination while sleeping. For example, Engler (2014: 368) highlights that May, an American Psychologist, 'believed that dreams reflect how we perceive, cope, and give meaning to our world' which reflect our 'deepest concerns'. Also, Engler (2014: 368) explains that according to May, 'the goal of dream analysis is not to understand what the dream means but to expand the individual's consciousness so that what is going on can be more fully and deeply experienced'. Nonetheless, May (in Engler, 2014: 368) and Freud (1965) both believe you can get an accurate picture of a person and their personality from the symbols and myths created in their dreams.

Lastly, human motivation is another significant contribution to Freud's theory of personality, which he believes assists in shaping an individual's personality. Freud (1901 [1965]) believes that motivation is determined by the way an individual's personality is structured. Freud was writing during the time that Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory was dominant, which is why his theory discusses similarities between humans and animals. Hunger and sexuality, which are rooted in the id, were observed to be the most important drives for other animals which is why he applied it to humans. Freud argues that every individual has two types of drive: a life-preserving drive and a sex drive. Maltby, Day and Macaskill (2017) highlight that life-preserving drives included hunger and pain. Whereas, the sex drive is created from the libido (a fixed amount of mental energy) that each child is born with, over time. Therefore, Maltby, Day and Macaskill (2017: 25) explain that 'human motivation is explained by our attempts throughout our lives to satisfy these basic instinctual drives'. Freud's human motivation theory supports sociologists in understanding why some people exceed expectations while others do not as a result of the way their personality is structured and the way they were socialised. This links to the social system of meritocracy, a term commonly used by sociologists, which claims that success and status in society are dependent on how hard an individual works for it.

However, radical sociologists, specifically Feminists and Marxists (i.e. radical sociologists), argue that meritocracy is a myth and that society is not equal and determined by hard work and motivation, as factors such as race, class and gender heavily influence an individual's success. Additionally, Bourdieu's (1986) capital theory argues that cultural, economic, symbolic and social factors contribute to people's success and motivations, not just your personality. Therefore, Freud's human motivation theory is effective in suggesting that the way your personality is structured affects your motivation, however he ignores the external factors which impact human motivation like radical sociologists and Bourdieu do.

To conclude, Freud had some important theories which were credible and widely adopted by sociologists, contributing to their own theories. However, it is important to note that his theories are almost a century out of date. Therefore, it is essential to look at recent literature by sociologists to see if they still believe Freud's theories are valid in the 21st Century. For example, in a society where nuclear families are no longer as dominant, Freud's pioneering theory, the Oedipus complex, is not as convincing. Freud's theory of dreams and the

unconscious mind are his most significant work, however the constant sex connection lessens its authenticity. Aside from the sex, his theories are conveying an important message: that the unconscious, part of the mind that we are unaware of, influences our lives every day.

Although Freud's work was in the psychoanalysis field, his theories have helped sociologists to understand society, as mentioned during this essay.

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# **Identify the Main Tenets of Gramsci's Work that Locate Him in the Marxist Tradition and Next His Original Contributions to This School of Thought**

**Eloise Keeble**

When posed with the question of who had really attempted to build upon the work and ideology formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the French philosopher Louis Althusser responded by stating 'I can only think of Gramsci' (1969: 114). Born in 1891, Antonio Gramsci had an unusual and deeply fascinating life. During Gramsci's lifetime he witnessed the rise of the Bolsheviks and Lenin, leading to the establishment of the communist Soviet Union. He also witnessed, perhaps more importantly, the development and formation of fascism in his own Italy under the leadership of Mussolini. These historical and social changes of Gramsci's life played an important role in influencing his politics, philosophy and ideology. However, one of the most prominent events in Gramsci's life was his incarceration for inciting class conflict in 1926 (Joll, 1977). During his time in prison Gramsci wrote what is now referred to as *The Prison Notebooks* (Pozzolini, 1970). There were 32 notebooks written by Gramsci in total, discussing a variety of different topics and debates in depth, including the political position of Italy, history, culture, education and philosophy (Boggs, 1976). Gramsci desired to understand why attempts for socialist revolution had failed in Italy, even though under the work of Marx all key components were in place (Boggs, 1976). Gramsci as a consequence built on the Marxist tradition and proposed a new way of thinking about the establishment of culture, ideological class struggles, and revolution. This new way of thinking challenged the established Marxist tradition of culture being determined by the economic structure of society (Jones, 2006) and as such dominated by those who own the means of production. Instead Gramsci stated that culture was more than simply part of the superstructure, culture could influence and affect the economy as much as the economy can affect a society's cultural norms (Jones, 2006).

This essay will identify and explain Gramsci's key ideas and how they coincide with the established Marxist tradition. This will be achieved through exploring Gramsci's theories concerning class struggles, the exploitive system of capitalism and revolution. This essay will also discuss Gramsci's original contributions to the Marxist school of thought including the concept of 'hegemony' and 'civil society', 'common sense' and the role of intellectuals in society.

One main tenet of Gramsci's work which locates him in the Marxist school of thought is the belief that capitalist societies exploit and control the working-class masses. Both Gramsci and many Marxist scholars highlight the significance of the unequal relationship between those who rule society and those who are subjugated to their control (Jones, 2006). Marx stated that in capitalist societies there is a class division between those who own the means of production, commonly referred to as the bourgeoisie, and those who do not, otherwise known

as the proletariat (Jessop, 2008). The lack of capital of the proletariat leaves workers vulnerable to economic exploitation of their labour by the ruling class. According to Marx, the ruling class are enabled to exploit the working class through force (1983 [1844]), as the proletariat do not own the means of production, they are compelled to sell their labour as a means of staying alive. Consequently, becoming no more than wage slaves (Marx, 1983).

Through his theory of hegemony, ideology and culture Gramsci examines similar themes of the exploitative nature of capitalism as highlighted in traditional Marxist thought. Marx stated in the *German Ideology* that ‘the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas’ (Marx and Engels, 1977: 176). Consequently, for Marx those who have control over capital and production also have control over the ideological and cultural beliefs of society (1977). Therefore, the economic base is the most crucial level of social life determining the structure and role of the superstructure which includes ideology, culture and morality (Jones, 2006). Gramsci built upon and expanded these earlier ideas of Marx, putting more importance on how ideological control by the bourgeoisie can exploit workers separately from the economic base (Mouffe, 1979). Gramsci portrays the method of the ideological exploitation used by the ruling class through the key concept of hegemony (Jones, 2006). Hegemony according to Gramsci is society’s consensual acceptance of a ruling class’s approved beliefs and culture which is achieved through a range of different agency forces and structures in the civil society (Boggs, 1976). These are structures in society which socialise members into a particular set of norms, values and beliefs. However, as noted by Gramsci, the ruling class have control over these ideological structures in society which enables them to circulate and popularise their own ideology and culture until it becomes normalised (Mouffe, 1979). Consequently, the ruling class can maintain their position of power and status in society unchallenged (Mouffe, 1979). The ruling class through the control of ideological institutions can, therefore, exploit and maintain exploitation of the proletariat as the ruling class can normalise class inequality (Jones, 2006). This ideological control pacifies the working class into accepting the unequal nature of society as just, therefore blinding them from their own exploitation and preventing them from revolting (Boggs, 1976).

Another tenet of Gramsci’s work which locates him in the Marxist tradition is his socialist revolutionary undertones and the belief that revolution is the solution for the oppression generated primarily by the capitalist system. Gramsci was concerned with the reasons why socialist revolutions had failed in his own country of Italy when there had been successes of similar movements in various other countries such as Russia (Boggs, 1976). Gramsci wanted to develop the Marxist thought further and cultivate an understanding in how to achieve and create successful revolutions in countries like Italy. Consequently, Gramsci can be referred to as a theorist of revolution (Boggs, 1976). One of the Marxist school of thought’s key foundational beliefs is the importance and significance of a revolution. Gramsci to a certain extent does agree with this tenet concerning the importance of revolution, however Gramsci’s vision of the method of revolution differs from traditional Marxist thought. For Marx, a class revolution would be achieved through the working class seizing the means of production from the Bourgeoisie (Marx, 1983[1844]). With the means of production being owned by the masses, this will liberate the once subordinate class from the alienating and exploitative



system of capitalism (Marx, 1983 [1844]). This traditional conception of class revolution, which is highly popular with Marxist theorists, primarily focuses on revolution through an economic deterministic approach, whereby solving the issue of the unequal ownership of economic activities and production will lead to the class conflict-based issues in the superstructure dissolving as a consequence (Boggs, 1976).

Gramsci developed very significantly the Marxist theory of the revolutionary process (Simon, 2015) away from the distinct focus on the economy and the two-tier class system as defined by Marx. Through his analysis surrounding the failures of socialist and working-class revolutions in Italy, Gramsci noted that for socialist revolutions to be successful they need to attempt to transform the dominant ruling class's hegemony (Simon, 2015). Gramsci stated that a revolutionary movement cannot simply impose socialist ideology onto the working majority in society, expect that they accept these new and unfamiliar beliefs and values, and immediately develop socialist consciousness (Boggs, 1976). Instead a revolution can only be successful when the socialist movement creates an ideological struggle through the production of their own counter-hegemony which opposes the norms, beliefs and values of the established ruling hegemonic class (Simon, 2015). Through the influence of counter-hegemony, the ideological bond and domination can be broken between the ruling class and the subordinate classes, consequently creating both ideological and structural changes in society (Mouffe, 1979).

Gramsci noted, unlike Marx, that the working class can only become the dominant hegemonic class in society if they manage to form class alliances with various other groups such as the peasants and the intellectuals. This will then mobilise the working majority against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist system they control (Gramsci, 1994). As such Marxism should become an integrated culture, incorporating many beliefs and values of those various groups which oppose the unequal capitalist system (Boggs, 1976). Therefore, this will create a powerful counter-hegemony in society which has the ability to bring a successful revolution against the ruling class.

One of Gramsci's most famous original contributions to the Marxist school of thought is his concept of hegemony. As stated earlier, hegemony is a form of ideological power which is achieved through the persuasion and consensus of a particular set of cultural ideals; those which tend to solely benefit the activities of the ruling class (Gramsci, 1985). The idea of hegemony highlights how a respective class can establish cultural and moral superiority in society without depending upon direct political power and repressive force (Joll, 1977). Therefore, establishing a form of stable and substantial hegemony is incredibly important in order for the ruling class to maintain control over society's subordinate classes; this is just as, or even more important, for establishing power in society than owning the means of production and property (Jones, 2006). However, unlike the power which comes from dominating the means of production, hegemonic power according to Gramsci is not static (Joll, 1977). The hegemonic class, and consequently the established culture and ideological norms approved by society, can change and develop; no one-class group can establish hegemonic control permanently without negotiation with the classes which it seeks to rule

(Jones, 2006). Therefore, 'Hegemony is a process without an end' (Jones, 2006: 48). The ruling class will always be exposed to their authority being challenged and overthrown. The ruling class must be able to adapt to the changing situations and in some cases the crises which will occur in society. They must also be flexible enough to respond to the changing wishes made by those they rule over and incorporate these beliefs into their own worldview in order to survive (Boggs, 1976). Consequently, by incorporating the wishes of those the hegemonic class seek to control, the ruling class can then exercise its power to its own benefit by allowing the working class to believe that the culture and ideological norms they adhere to are a free expression of their own thoughts and desires (Jones, 2006).

Another major original contribution Gramsci has made towards the Marxist school of thought is the application of civil society as the institutions which maintain and reproduce the dominant hegemonic ideology in society. Civil society is the set of institutions which are primarily ideological and cultural in nature, however Gramsci does note that civil society also includes political institutions such as political parties (Jones, 2006), which represent and reproduce a complex network of social practices, norms and values (Simon, 2015). Gramsci had defined the concept of civil society as 'the ensemble of organisms commonly called private' (1971: 12). Gramsci's interpretation of civil society, therefore, includes all ideological cultural relations but also society's spiritual and intellectual life, which are distinct from the direct influence of the state and the economic system (Mouffe, 1979). Some examples of the institutions which are part of the civil society are the education system and religious organisations such as the church (Jones, 2006). These institutions operate in society through consent rather than repressive force (Jones, 2006). Members of society accept the ideology being expressed as prominent by these institutions because the civil society appear to hold the same values and cultural norms as themselves. Consequently, the ruling class use the civil society to spread and reproduce their own hegemonic ideology, making them in practice, unchallengeable and appear as the societal norm. The ruling class can then manipulate society's attitudes, beliefs and values through these ideological institutions (Boggs, 1976). This makes it incredibly difficult for individuals to acknowledge that civil society has any connection to the operation of power and the unequal control of power in society (Jones, 2006). Aforementioned civil society operates through consensus. Gramsci also noted that society and societal members can be dominated through repressive force or through the threat of force; this is what he defined as political society (Simon, 2015). The judicial and criminal justice system are apparatuses which belong to the political society, these institutions can legally force individuals to consent to the approved norms and values established in society through the use of discipline (Jones, 2006). However, Gramsci stated that a ruling establishment cannot establish hegemony only through the use of force, this can create more opposition and conflict to their authority leading to their position being challenged (Jones, 2006).

Civil society is heavily associated with, and dependent upon, another major original contribution Gramsci has made towards the Marxist school of thought: the concept of common sense. Institutions which comprise the civil society, such as the education system, seek to normalise and maintain the hegemony of the ruling class by portraying these beliefs

and values as common sense, and as inevitable (Jones, 2006). Gramsci's common sense is generally interpreted as the thoughts and ideas which the majority of the members in society hold in common (Crehan, 2016). Common sense is the taken-for granted knowledge which the majority of society have been socialised into by the civil society (Crehan, 2016). As such 'common sense creates a folklore of the future, that is as a relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge at a given time and place' (Gramsci, 1971: 362). Common sense enables the reproduction of the established bourgeois hegemonic ideals by limiting the working class's ability to challenge the norms of society.

A final contribution Gramsci has made to the Marxist school of thought is the role intellectuals have in overcoming the unequal capitalist system. Gramsci stated that all men are intellectuals, however only a minority of individuals can function as one (Jones, 2006). The role of intellectuals is very significant. Many major institutions require intellectuals to successfully function (Jones, 2006). Intellectuals are a form of cultural intermediaries. We can think of intellectuals as artists or philosophers who shape culture but also as groups that exercise directive capacities in society (Ramos, 1982). According to Gramsci intellectuals are not their own distinct class, instead every major social class has their own stratum of intellectuals or construct their own intellectuals within that social class (1971). Gramsci noted for socialist revolutions to be successful the working class must develop their own intellectuals. This is what he termed organic intellectuals (Crehan, 2016). Social groups such as the working class must produce their own intellectuals as the vast majority of the proletariat are oppressed by the economic system of production as they cannot free themselves from the ruling class's hegemonic ideology and worldview which permits their exploitation (Crehan, 2016). Organic intellectuals who come from and are the theoreticians of the working class can provide leadership, organisation and counter-hegemony which will break the ideological bond between the ruling class and the subordinate classes (Jones, 2006). Consequently, organic intellectuals must persuade and convince the proletariat that the ideology they see as common sense is actually a form of exploitative control manipulated by the bourgeoisie and provide an alternative set of hegemonic ideals which in turn creates class consciousness (Jones, 2006). With the leadership of organic intellectuals there can be a successful socialist revolution.

To conclude, Gramsci's work has been significant in the development of the Marxist tradition. Gramsci's work, especially in the prison notebooks, expanded upon the main tenets of Marxism, such as through identifying the exploitative nature of the capitalist system and the methods which the ruling class adopt to maintain their authority and class position. Gramsci's theories of the significance of a class revolution corresponds also to one of the most important tenets of Marxism (Boggs, 1976). As well as expanding on the existing theories and ideas of Marxism, Gramsci expressed and identified some incredibly valuable original understandings of the Marxist school of thought. The most momentous new contribution being Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Though Gramsci's work is incredibly impressive and has had a major influence on both Marxist theorists and wider sociological scholars, some issues do arise such as the elitist nature underlying the role of the intellectuals guiding the working class. Another issue which arises is with the concept of hegemony itself:

Is hegemony actually achieved through consent? If individuals cannot comprehend or understand the practice of producing hegemony how can they truly accept the cultural norms and values which are produced as a consequence? The working class's unawareness of hegemony and the institutions of civil society which unwillingly exposes them to such hegemonic beliefs is not a form of consent, rather it is a form of repressive indoctrination.

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# Observation Exercise

**Jade McCarthy**

The observation study I decided to conduct was in a café, on a Saturday around 1pm to 2pm, a busy time for somewhere that serves food, meaning that there were more individuals to observe and compare. The café was located in South-East England. The observation itself was focused around the idea of personal space in public. By investigating this I wanted to determine whether certain patterns occurred and if there was a gender factor implicating the results.

I ensured the study was ethical by asking the barista if he consented to me observing the customers as it was a busy and noisy public setting so it would have been impractical to receive consent from everyone involved. As well as ordering food, sitting a comfortable distance away from the till to avoid creating emotional anxiety/harm for the participants and following acceptable cultural norms, I did not include anyone below the age of 18 in my research.

First by observing the queue at the till I noticed three males, all approximately middle aged, medium height and white, who were stood waiting for their orders, spread out within the waiting area. While they were waiting a male, of shorter height, younger and white, moved in between them to ask for something at the till and they all took steps further back. However, not long after when a woman, middle aged, white and short in height, approached the till, the three men did not move to let her through. I felt confused by this as the area was fairly crammed, so considering practicality, I presumed they would have moved regardless of the person's gender. This suggests that perhaps men give each other more personal space in comparison to women because of masculine intimidation recreated through social and cultural norms, rather than convenience as they only moved out the way for the male approaching the till.

In contrast, two female strangers made general conversation and faced each other whilst waiting, meaning they were moving into one another's personal space. An issue I came across was determining whether they were strangers. After they received their food, they did not say goodbye and sat at different tables, so I concluded they were meeting for the first time. Reaching this conclusion was time consuming and distracted me slightly from my main observation task. In future observations I will make an effort to focus less on individuals and more on the whole surroundings, so I do not get distracted from the main topic. Communicating with strangers was something none of the males observed partook in. A reason for this could possibly be because they were both females of similar cultural backgrounds, so they felt more comfortable around each other making it socially acceptable to overstep the 'average' amount of personal space.

Anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1963) opened up the discussion of personal space in sociology so I wanted to observe it in contemporary society. Drawing on the evidence collected there is a clear sense of gender infliction on the likelihood of individuals allowing strangers past their public space zone. I believe my study was successful in finding useful evidence through the examples given to support my questioning behind gender. However, despite a pattern occurring in my findings, I think it is important to note that racial factors were ignored as all the actors observed and mentioned were white.

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## **‘Lesbian parent families are no different to heterosexual parent families.’ Discuss with Reference to Theoretical Discussions of Sameness and Difference.**

**Amy Williams**

The statement ‘Lesbian parent families are no different to heterosexual parent families’ has various opposing arguments surrounding it. As understanding and acceptance of same-sex parenting continues to grow, assumptions surrounding capabilities of lesbian parents have begun to change in a positive way. However, there are still factors that people use to argue heterosexuals make better parents. To evaluate the statement successfully, I will discuss and critique both the sameness and the difference approach, that both represent the ability and opinions of lesbian parent families. I will argue how these approaches can be both successful and limiting as responses to the claim ‘Lesbian parent families are no different to heterosexual parent families.’, and by using them in context to the current stance of queer parenthood I will conclude it is in fact an accurate statement.

There are a number of places globally that still challenge homosexuality, with it being illegal and considered ‘wrong’ in numerous countries around the world. However, there has also been noticeable growth in the acknowledgement of same sex partnerships in many places, as well as growing acceptance, with many areas legalising not only homosexuality itself but activity such as same-sex marriage and parenting (Pennington, Knight, 2010). This increase in acknowledgement of same-sex partnerships and parenting, along with improvement in reproductive technologies, has inevitably led to an increase in same-sex parent families and their opportunities. Beforehand, many lesbian parents became parents before coming out, from previous heterosexual relationships. There were far more limits to lesbian parenting, as it was once almost impossible to have children after ‘coming out’. However, as views on queer parenting have changed and scientific advancements have made it possible for lesbian couples to have children together, there is less of a contrast between lesbian parent families and heterosexual parent families. With sexual orientation no longer having such an impact on the possibility of having a family, it could be argued that lesbian parent families are now no different to heterosexual parent families. The ‘sameness’ between homosexual and heterosexual parents focuses on what they share, what is similar, and what can be seen to be the same between both types of parents. Both lesbian parents and homosexual parents experience a strong desire to have a child, which arguably is even more dominant in those that have to use said reproductive technologies to aid it happening. Lewin argues from research that the lesbian mothers who tried hard for children felt they had more in common with heterosexual mothers than childless lesbians as the desire beforehand and the sameness between those who have a child is so strong (Lewin, 1993). The difference between mothers and non-mothers was so significant to them that they could associate themselves more with people who did not share the same sexual citizenship. Thus, said shared experience and relatability indicates equal capability, which Pennington argues is what is most important



when raising a child. Rather than sexual orientation, it is the quality of the parenting that is most important for a child's development (Pennington, 1987). Three decades of research shows having homosexual parents is in no way detrimental to a child's health or development, and thus if one's sexual orientation does not affect their children and there are now ways for these lesbian couples to have children in ways other couples do, it is difficult to find any differences between lesbian parent families and heterosexual parent families.

The sameness approach between lesbian parent families and heterosexual parent families is academically supported and beneficial for showing that homosexual parenting is not detrimental to children, and as proof that lesbian parents are equally as capable as heterosexual mothers. However, the emphasis on the lack of difference between these parents rules out showing any positive differences in lesbian parenting, and ultimately reinforces heteronormative beliefs surrounding parenthood. Stressing the sameness between queer and straight parenting emphasises the ideal family structure being a 'nuclear' family, typically explained as children living in the same house as their mother and father. Measuring a lesbian parent's ability to raise children by comparing to the styles and children of heterosexual parent families suggests they are not considered equal, implying that the heterosexual family is how all should aim to be. Ryan-Flood argues this type of measurement can be seen in various other places globally, even forward-thinking countries and she gives the example of Sweden, where it is only legal to recognize two parents (Ryan-Flood, 2009). Thus, there are problems for lesbian parent families that still have an active, inclusive father involved. In this type of situation, families that do not fit into the nuclear family description can be made to feel inferior, abnormal or unimportant. With sexual laws having heteronormative foundations, it appears that heterosexual parent families are in some circumstances considered more preferable, or 'normal'.

Another way the sameness approach encourages the heteronormative view of parenting that lesbian parents are measured against is through considering it necessary to reassure heterosexual people that children of lesbians are no more likely to be gay than the children of heterosexual couples. Clarke discusses this point and other arguments used for why lesbians should not be parents, including the argument that they are more likely to raise gay, unnatural children or that they don't consider their children's best interests (Clarke, 2001). Though reassuring straight people that lesbians are no more likely to have gay children in order for them to be considered acceptable is not done with harsh intentions, it has a severe homophobic basis. Ultimately, the worry that their children would be gay suggests being gay is a negative thing. It is incredibly unlikely that anyone would have to reassure people about the child of a heterosexual couple, and thus homosexual parenting is not considered the same.

However, alternative views surrounding the way lesbian parent families are expected to behave also exist, with a key difference between lesbian and heterosexual parent families being lesbian mothers' ability to change the gender norms and regular approaches to parenting, including how work and domestic support is designed within a relationship. Dunne argues lesbian motherhood is not an inferior, judged family life but rather a representation of a genuine challenge to existing gender structures (Dunne, 1998). It challenges the success and

expectation of a nuclear family, and Dunne argues each parent receives more support through equally shared domestic work. Both members of the couple, if they remained in part-time employment, could split their time between work, domestic chores and childcare equally (Dunne, 1998). Thus, this could be used as response to those that argue heterosexual parent families are 'better' or 'more successful', as, though it may not mirror what many argue to be typical and beneficial for a child, it has the opportunity to provide even more support and equality to children. In this sense, the statement 'Lesbian parent families are no different to heterosexual parent families.' can be proven accurate, as many studies prove there would be no higher chance of children being gay purely because their children are, nor that it would be detrimental to them if they were (Pappa, 2012). Furthermore, if lesbian parents are able to support each other even more than expected, there would be no reason for their children to be negatively affected. Clearly it is a privilege to be able to design your workload in this way and would most definitely require financial stability, and not having to have one parent at work and one at home full time like many expect is both lucky and beneficial. Ultimately, the factor that affects children is the quality of parenting rather than who that parent is or who that parent loves, and the way one designs their family dynamic does not determine what type of parenting is better.

Another way the discourse of difference is highlighted between lesbian parent families and heterosexual parent families is how lesbian parents often have a distinctive approach to kinship (Weston, 1997). Lesbian parents and their way of becoming parents are a challenge to heterosexual norms surrounding families and their identities but they are also met with various criticisms. Previously, many members of the LGBT community were excluded by their biological families, and thus created new relationships with friends, lovers and ex-lovers and no longer considered biology as a signifier of kinship. This was criticised and it was argued that these families were not 'real' as biological kinship was often considered the most important factor of a family. This type of criticism is now being used against lesbian parents, who challenge reproductive norms when only one mother is biologically related to the child/children (1997). This type of family structure is therefore sometimes considered illegitimate, particularly because it challenges the expectations of a nuclear family, that affects many aspects of life such as the situation in Sweden where only two parents are legally considered. In this sense, lesbian parent families are often considered different, illegitimate or 'worse' due to their biological situations that challenge heterosexual norms, but this in no way proves they are not successful parents. Ryan-Flood argues members of the LGBT community are now less likely to be excluded from their family of origin due to social change, and as retaining connection with their children is particularly important to some cultures (2014). This means the anxieties faced due to missing biological kinship are reducing and that there is less reason for these families to not be considered 'real'. Furthermore, these new founded ways of having children should be seen as a positive development, but many argue this disruption to reproductive norms is unsettling (Weston, 1997).

Comparatively, Clarke (2001/2002) discusses the possibility that lesbian mothers have to improve upon these norms that many argue they should be measured against. She identifies four different 'difference' categories within lesbian parenting, one of which is lesbian

parenting being different from homosexual parenting and transformative (Clarke, 2002). This suggests the heterosexual parenting styles and methods that historically have been relied upon are not necessarily the best or only options; there is a chance these could be improved upon by lesbian parents to create even better parenting methods and techniques. Thus, these reproductive advancements and varied approaches to kinship clearly should not be a cause for concern, and these developments within lesbian parenting can have positive developmental effects. As Hicks has discovered, academic research on lesbian motherhood is divided completely between those who support it and those who believe it is a negative thing (Hicks, 2005). These ideas also encourage divided views from people in general, but it is clear that not following heteronormative patterns does not result in bad parenting or illegitimate families; it allows parenting traditions to be improved upon.

In conclusion, it is clear through research and vast amounts of evidence that sexual orientation in no way effects the ability to parent successfully, and thus there is no reason lesbian parent families would be different to heterosexual parent families. It is incredibly hard to define a 'normal' family, or 'normal' parenting, and therefore we must rely on the quality of parenting as an effective factor to a family. Though all families are individual and unique, this is not due to the sexual orientation of the parents, but the quality of parenting provided to the children. The statement 'Lesbian parent families are no different to heterosexual parent families.' implies neither type of family is *better* or *worse* than the other, which is ultimately true. With improved reproductive technologies and no difference in the intense desire and love for a child from a heterosexual or lesbian couple, it cannot be argued that the biological aspect of parenting means a family is superior or more successful. Furthermore, though the sameness approach appears to enforce heteronormative parenting as a form of measuring parenting ability, the increase in research surrounding the understanding of lesbian parenting suggests this is beginning to change and different types of families and parents are beginning to be considered as a norm, rather than being measured against the heteronormative nuclear family standards. The differences discussed may suggest both heterosexual parent families and lesbian parent families have aspects that make them more preferable, such as the re-design of the division of labour within a lesbian parent family allowing shared workload in terms of both childcare and part-time employment. However, factors like these are privileges and do not occur within all lesbian parent families, in the same way that not all heterosexual parent families have an active father that provides as much as many argue is necessary. This emphasises the fact that all families differ due to many different reasons, and a family with lesbian parents does not differ to one with heterosexual parents due to sexual orientation. Neither should be considered a better alternative and there are various ways to be a healthy, happy, 'good' family. This ultimately does not rely on the sexual orientation of the parents but on the quality of their parenting, and we are beginning to see this be considered as the most important factor rather than comparing everything to heteronormative patterns.

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# **To What Extent Should ‘Mass Incarceration’ Become a Criminological Concern?**

**Weronika Dolna**

There are a few factors which render the American prison system truly exceptional. Garland (2017: 3) describes the imprisonment rates as one of the main distinctions in which the use of penal power in the United States differs from the rest of the world. As noted by Walmsley (2016), the incarceration rates in the United States are eight times higher per capita than in Western Europe. In fact, prisons in the United States accommodate nearly 25% of the world’s prison population (American Civil Liberties Union, 2020). This phenomenon is called ‘mass incarceration’ and is considered specific to the American system. Wildeman (2018) provides other names for this development such as ‘mass imprisonment’, ‘the carceral state’, ‘hyperincarceration’ and ‘the prison boom’, all of which will be interchangeably used throughout this essay. Pager (2007: 11) additionally notes that the hyperincarceration ‘experiment’ began around 1970s and has been officially recognised as a drastic increase in the rates of imprisonment. Despite the enormous magnitude of the mentioned phenomenon, arguments can be found both in favour and against whether criminologists should discuss mass incarceration. To answer this question, criminology must first be defined. Carrabine et al. (2014: 4) describe criminology as a study of crime and criminal laws – why they are created, why and how they are broken, as well as how the ones who violate them are punished. It seems then reasonable to say that criminological dispute should also be engaged in estimating which penal system works best and is most successful at reducing recidivism. In contrast, some authors included in this paper would argue that this is not always the case. Therefore, the main aim of this essay is to assess to what extent – and more specifically, whether at all - ‘mass incarceration’ should become a criminological concern or matter. Firstly, two arguments in favour of mass imprisonment as a subject of criminological discussion will be demonstrated - racial disparities in prisons’ demographics and the incarceration’s ineffectiveness in reducing reoffending. Secondly, two arguments against will be presented - the new penology with actuarial justice and the incapacitation theory with the ‘prison works’ view. Consequently, this paper will try to confirm the hypothesis that the carceral state should indeed be a criminological concern.

The first argument in favour of mass imprisonment as a subject of criminological debate is the racial discrimination that is inevitably linked to the prison boom. In the 1970s, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973: 121) recommended reducing the growing use of prisons as they were ineffective in reaching goals like rehabilitation of the offenders. As it is known today, an opposite approach has been undertaken, giving rise to contemporary hyperincarceration. However, there remains a question of what could – and still can – motivate the mass imprisonment’s unstoppable development. Thus, it is necessary to examine the statistics regarding the prison population. For instance, Pastore and Maguire (2003: 486) found that in 1980, 0.9% of white men were in prison, in contrast to 4.8% of black men (aged 20-40). The authors further report that in 2000,

the incarceration rates increased to 3.2% for white men and 11.5% for black men. Although not as extensive, a similar expanding difference was observed between Hispanic and white men's distribution in the prison population (Pastore and Maguire, 2003: 486). These statistics document not only the advancement of the mass incarceration in the general population but also the persistence of the disproportionate imprisonment of black and ethnic minorities compared to white men. Some could argue that the disparities could arise from the differences in offending rates between black and white men. On the contrary, Western (2007: 35, 40) states that black men were much less engaged with crime in the late 1990s (2000) than before and during the 1980s. Hence, the increase in black men's incarceration seems unfounded.

It is then important to explore why the consequences of the presented trend of racial differences in mass imprisonment should be a criminological concern. For example, discharged men will have limited opportunities to find jobs which could provide them with employment history and wages (Western, 2007: 5). As criminal behaviours recede with age (Western, 2007: 5), most people are confined in their youth, which means they will miss important education on how to get and maintain a job. As Western (2007: 5) further demonstrates, when released from prison, those men will be left with stigma and lack of preparation for any employment. Thereby, they might have to turn to the only option they know – crime. This mainly affects black and ethnic minority men, as besides the stigma caused by mass imprisonment, they already experience disadvantages due to social inequalities (Western, 2007: 4). Moreover, African American children whose parents were incarcerated are additionally deprived by factors such as lack of proper education, the economic instability of the family, as well as living in poor neighbourhoods (Wakefield and Wildeman, 2014). It can be suggested that these factors could drive them, not unlike their parents, into criminality. Another, more radical argument of why black people are overrepresented in hyperincarceration is that prisons aim to racially define and physically control African Americans (Wacquant, 2002: 41). In other words, penal institutions are portrayed as forms of slavery or caste systems that serve the racialised dynamics (Alexander, 2010: 7). Thus, as hyperincarceration is a source of racial and social inequalities, it should be identified as a criminological concern. To put it differently, the negative and discriminatory consequences of mass imprisonment can be solved only through including this topic in the criminological discourse.

The second point why mass imprisonment should be a criminological concern is because it is highly ineffective in meeting one of its objectives - reducing recidivism. There are many sources which argue against the successfulness of prisons in lowering reoffending rates. For instance, Cullen et al. (2011) examined different studies and claims involving the post-prison recidivism and concluded that there is little evidence for the reduction in reoffending. One of the analysed studies belonged to Langan and Levin (2002), who assessed that within three years of being released in 1994, 67.5% of prisoners were rearrested for a new offence. Furthermore, Cullen et al. (2011: 52S) explain why some of the data shows results in favour of the incapacitation experiment. In essence, it 'compare[s] how many crimes are prevented if offenders are locked up as compared with doing nothing to them' (Cullen et al., 2011: 52S).

Moreover, this data does not consider the fact that if the perpetrators were not incarcerated, a noncustodial penalty (not including the deprivation of liberty) would be used instead (Nagin and Mellon, 2016: 108). Besides, Chiricos et al. (2017) found that having a formal label of the 'former prisoner' increased the likelihood of recidivist behaviour. Surprisingly, the same labelling used in juvenile justice is reported as even more ineffective in reducing recidivism than fully discharging the criminal deviant (Petrosino et al., 2010: 6). Thus, the evidence demonstrated so far in the essay has proven that the mass imprisonment bears no significant benefit for the public, the criminal justice system, as well as the offender's rehabilitation. Cullen et al. (2011) discovered that the impact of the carceral state is not neutral either – on the contrary, prisons might themselves be criminogenic. Jonson's (2010) meta-analysis of 57 studies determined that the use of a custodial (including deprivation of liberty) to noncustodial penalty increased the reoffending rates by 14%. One of the reasons why this happens is because prisoners often associate with fellow offenders while having little contact with the 'outside world' (Cullen et al., 2011: 53S). Likewise, undergoing the pain of incarceration together bonds the inmates (Cullen et al., 2011: 53S). Hence, the imprisonment is not only an individual experience but also a social influence that shapes one's 'attitudes toward crime and violence, peer networks, ties to the conventional order, and identity' (Cullen et al., 2011: 53S). In like manner, Feeley (1979) argues that the offenders encounter more pain in the processes before the incarceration, for example, during the arrest or detention, than during the incapacitation. Although some could argue that this argument is outdated, The Secret Barrister (2018) presents that the course before the imprisonment is just as distressing nowadays – even in the United Kingdom. Thus, the demonstrated evidence of the hyperincarceration's ineffectiveness expresses a strong need for a criminological discussion. As suggested by Simon (2017: 10), to assess how the state can serve those who were harmed, protect others from being victimised and reduce the incarceration rates, criminological studies must be involved. Additionally, one of the aims of criminology is to assess which methods of crime control are and are not successful in meeting goals such as decreasing reoffending rates. Hence, this initially confirms the hypothesis that hyperincarceration should be a criminological concern.

Despite the above-mentioned problems with mass imprisonment, some scholar argue that it is unchangeably the most effective method of punishment and should not be a criminological concern. Those statements mainly apply to the supporters of actuarial justice and new penology, which will be discussed in this paragraph. Firstly, actuarial justice involves the mathematical models of probability used to assess risk or 'dangerousness' of offenders (Kempf-Leonard and Peterson, 2000: 6). In other words, it is a quantitative measure that is not concerned with individual responsibility, rather the scale of the damage caused by a crime. Secondly, as Brown (2006: 108-109) puts it, new penology includes the measures of actuarial justice to control crime through statistics and technology. Those measures include identifying and managing 'high-risk' groups and individuals, mainly by creating classification systems that detect and follow the potential or actual criminals (Brown, 2006: 108-109). In practice, the advised specialised means of risk analysis are mostly present in the upper management, while lower-level officers instead refer to more intuitive methods of 'personal assessments' (Lemert, 1993: 453-454). Notwithstanding, the new penology's

primary goal is not the rehabilitation of perpetrators but managing risk through ‘removing potentially dangerous individuals from society’, mainly by the use of mass incarceration (Brown, 2014: 3283). Two of the most influential authors on the topic, Feeley and Simon (1994: 173), add that actuarial justice does not intend to deliver retribution of the offenders, determine their responsibility or even try to change them. Instead, it de-emphasises the perpetrator and aspires to control ‘dangerous’ groups by keeping them away from society (Feeley and Simon, 1994: 173). Therefore, the new penology rather regulates than explains criminal behaviour or changes the offenders (Simon, 2007). Consequently, its advocates deny the usefulness of including hyperincarceration in the criminological discussion as it is merely a measure to provide social order. However, if the practicality and effectiveness of this system are not regularly reassessed, it is difficult to examine whether it can be fully trusted. For example, Simon and Feeley (1995: 106-107) state that due to its goal of imprisoning as many ‘threatening’ individuals as possible, the new penology seems to detach itself from the concept of humanity. Additionally, the system’s supporters proclaim its effectiveness at deterring hypothetical offenders (Schichor, 1997: 477). Yet, as shown in the paragraph above, the association between deterrence and incapacitation – especially concerning reoffending– is debatable. Despite that, the new penology’s advisors express their scepticism regarding particularly harmful offenders, such as sex perpetrators, to be able to lead lawful lives (Logan, 2000: 595). Thus, the proposed structure is supposed to be more efficient and safer as it protects the public from the ‘high-risk’ offenders’ possible recidivism (Logan, 2000: 602). Hence, the new penology and actuarial justice’s supporters would argue that mass imprisonment should not be a criminological matter. Alternatively, even if regarded to hyperincarceration as a problematic subject, actuarial system advocates could maintain that incapacitation is justified for high-risk offenders. Nonetheless, due to the unhumanitarian approach and lack of significant evidence of reducing crime and reoffending rates, this view seems rather unconvincing, implying a need for a criminological concern.

Another argument against the hypothesis that hyperincarceration should be a subject of the criminological debate is the ‘prison works’ and incapacitation theories. Beginning with the former, Ellis and Lewis (2013: 117) present two main assumptions behind the ‘prison works’ reasoning. The first one is that ‘high prison numbers cause crime to fall’, while the second one is that ‘high prison numbers give greater security to the general population’ (Ellis and Lewis, 2013: 117). The authors also mention another point of the ‘prison works’ approach, which is the correlation between the increase in the number of incarcerated individuals and the fall in crime rates (Ellis and Lewis, 2013: 119). This correlation between the higher number of inmates and crime rate reduction is also the central element of the incapacitation theory (Stahlkopf et al., 2008: 253). For instance, Mauer (2001: 12) demonstrates that between 1991 and 1998, the number of prisoners increased by 58%, while the crime rates decreased by 22%, including a 25% decline in violent crime. As the scholar continues, ‘murder rates in 1998 were at a 30-year low’ (2001: 12). Nonetheless, the author also admits that the considerable proportion of the overall crime recession was caused by the decline in property offences, especially burglary (27% decrease between 1980 and 1990; 2001: 13). Despite that, the evidence must have been sufficient for the incapacitation theory to influence policies and further increase incarceration. However, it should be remembered that



correlation does not indicate causation, and there might be other reasons for the decline in crime numbers. Firstly, Pager (2007: 12-13) clarifies that indeed, there is some level of success in mass imprisonment. For instance, as potential and actual criminals are no longer physically able to commit offences, the crime levels naturally decline (Pager, 2007: 12-13). Besides, as previously mentioned, criminality recedes with age, hence, individuals incapacitated during their most 'crime-prone' years might be less likely to engage with criminal acts post-prison (Pager, 2007: 12). Cullen et al. (2011: 51S) explain that this is what 'incapacitation' refers to – constraining individuals from committing crimes by locking them in prison. Secondly, the 32% decline in crime between 1993-1994 and 22% between 1994-1995 was disproportionately caused by the powerful changes in New York City (Blumstein and Rosenfeld, 1998: 1202). For example, more aggressive and assertive 'zero tolerance' policing was introduced (Cunneen, 2018). Contrarily, some authors argue that it was the shrinkage of New York City's cocaine market that contributed to the fall in crime rates, mostly including the decline in murder (Bowling, 1999). Referring to these statistics, the theory that 'prison works' in decreasing the number of criminal offences seems questionable. Notwithstanding, another point advocated by the supporters of this theory is that imprisonment has a deterrent effect by teaching the inmates that 'crime does not pay' (Cullen et al., 2011: 48S). This logic draws on the assumption that contrastingly to noncustodial sanctions, the custodial ones are undoubtedly more painful and exert a higher cost to the offender. However, the potential deterrent or anti-recidivist effect of prisons has already been disproven in the paragraph above. Thereby, although the 'prison works' campaigners claim that mass imprisonment causes a positive change and hence does not need criminological attention, there seems to be more evidence against this hypothesis than in favour. It appears that because of the immersive flaws in the 'prison works' and incapacitation theories, hyperincarceration should be even more strongly considered a criminological concern.

To conclude, this essay has presented arguments in favour and against whether mass incarceration should be a criminological concern. The first demonstrated point in favour is the racial disparities visible in the prisons' demographics. There is clear evidence for a higher proportion of black and ethnic minorities to white male inmates in the incarcerated population. This divergence persists along with the growth of hyperincarceration, even though statistics have shown that the actual number of black and ethnic minority offenders is declining. The second argument for the carceral state being included in the criminological discussion is the lack of evidence confirming its actual effectiveness in reducing reoffending. As presented, incarceration not only does not seem to decrease recidivism but also may be criminogenic. Moreover, prisons do not seem to successfully deliver the retribution of the offenders as they are designed to. On the other hand, the arguments against this essay's hypothesis include the rationales of actuarial justice and new penology. Their main objective involves capturing the potential 'high-risk' offenders even before they commit a crime. The logic here is based on the assumption that prisons remove the 'dangerous' individuals from society and thus protect the civilians from victimisation. Additionally, supporters of the mentioned approaches claim that some kinds of perpetrators, such as sex offenders, will never be able to maintain lawful lives. However, as already shown, the new penology's lack of regards to humanitarianism and its overemphasis on the prisons' deterrent effect is

unsettling. Another type of reasoning which advocates the use of mass imprisonment is the 'prison works' and incapacitation theories. The primary assumption behind them includes a causal correlation between the growing number of inmates and a decline in crime rates. Still, the claimed causation effect is debatable, as the statistics do not acknowledge the influence of other factors on the alleged relationship. Notwithstanding, it is undoubtedly correct that individuals who are incapacitated will not be able to victimise civilians, which will, to some extent, result in a decrease in crime levels. Nonetheless, the arguments against the use of mass imprisonment seem to outweigh the ones in favour, which means that it should be a criminological concern. Studying and proposing the most successful and efficient ways of punishment that will satisfy not only the victim and state, but also help the offender to rehabilitate, should be one of the primary goals of the criminological discourse. Drawing on the demonstrated evidence, mass incarceration seems to work as a quick but inefficient solution to the crime problem. Not only it does it not explain, change, or deter, it can further incentivise individuals to commit crimes. Moreover, hyperincarceration has a stigmatising effect on the former perpetrators, and as it does not transform their behaviours, they have no other option but to reoffend. In summary, mass imprisonment should unquestionably be a criminological concern that needs to be continuously addressed in the academic discussion.

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# **To What Extent Was the Rwandan Genocide the Result of Various Types of Colonial Influences?**

**Morgane Sabatini**

After the assassination of Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye in 1994, the Rwandan Tutsi minority was tortured, raped and massacred by members of the Hutu community (Straus, 2006). According to Straus (2006), in the period of a hundred days, a little over eight-hundred thousand Tutsis were killed, therefore eliminating an estimated seventy-five percent of the resident Tutsi population and becoming what Straus calls 'the 20th century's fastest genocide' (41). The 1994 Rwandan genocide was, however, preceded by years of racial discrimination and distinction between the Tutsis and the Hutus. Such demarcation is believed to have been introduced by the 19th and 20th centuries' colonial rule, which then predominate into political instability, the revolution, independence, the Rwandan civil war and finally the 1994 Rwandan genocide (Mamdani, 2001). According to Prunier (2009), the aftermath of the genocide was even more catastrophic. Indeed, the genocide resulted in more than 150,000 homes devastated, and more than 300,000 children orphaned.

This paper shall discuss to what extent the Rwandan genocide resulted of various types of colonial influence. To do so, this paper shall firstly examine how the 19th and 20th centuries' racial distinction under colonial rule influenced the Rwandan genocide. Secondly, this paper shall look at the international intervention's failure as an additional influence of the Rwandan genocide. Finally, this essay shall examine how the disinclination to label the Rwandan genocide as such by leaders all over the world affects one's aptitude to thoroughly understand and suitably answer to a genocide.

Europeans started colonising Rwanda in 1894, in order to extricate its natural resources as well as for labour and land. Under the Belgian's indirect colonial rule, the Belgians entrusted the Rwandan government in the hands of Tutsis, seen as a specific local bourgeoisie that Fanon (2004) calls 'the comprador elite', also known as:

[A] relatively privileged, wealthy and educated elite... introduced by colonial domination, and who may, therefore, be less inclined to struggle for local cultural and political independence (Ashcroft et al., 2001: 55).

This comprador elite would then adapt to the values, rules and norms of the colonisers in such a way that the occupiers' white culture will proceed to "mask" their black skin (Fanon, 2004). Both Mamdani (2001) and Strauss (2006) have argued that the 1994 genocide could not be thoroughly comprehended without acknowledging both the colonial rule and the colonial power Rwanda was under at the time. As Strauss (2006: 20) argues, the Europeans did not create the terms of Tutsis and Hutus, however their colonial rule radically changed what each category meant and 'how they mattered'. Indeed, Europeans started comparing the Tutsis, which they considered to be of a 'superior race of natural-born rulers', to the 'inferior

race of the Bantu negroids' (Strauss, 2006: 20). This European race thinking therefore became the foundation for apportioning power, and under such colonial rule, race resulted in becoming the principal determinant of power. Race thus became a symbol of oppression, used during the colonial rule to politically and socially differentiate the Tutsis and Hutus to gain more power and subjugate the nation.

A lot of this racially-based differentiations made under Belgian colonial rule between the Tutsi and Hutu communities seem to be heavily embedded with the Western understanding of race, its hierarchy and roots. Indeed, Mamdani (2001) states that under the Belgian colonial rule, the identities of the Tutsis seemed to be altered radically by the Hamitic myth; a racial myth, that contributed to turn the Tutsis into settlers. By doing so, a native/settler tension was put in place, which reached its pinnacle in the catastrophic events of the genocide (Mamdani, 2001). Therefore, although there was already a Tutsi and Hutu power/subject distinction evoked during pre-colonial times in Rwanda, the Belgian colonial rule added a whole dimension to it, as:

By racialising Hutu and Tutsi as identities, it signified the distinction as one between indigenous and alien (Mamdani, 2001: 103).

More than just creating a racial hierarchy, the racialisation of Hutus and Tutsis consequently altered their sense of identity. The racial hierarchy classifying the Tutsi community as superior to the Hutu was then profoundly embedded in their society. According to Mason (1970), the whole Rwandan social system was centred on the Tutsi superiority, who the Hutus considered as different from themselves on both a physical and moral level:

They [the Tutsis] were believed by both Hutu and Tutsi to be intelligent, capable of command, refined, courageous and cruel, while the Hutu were thought to by both groups to be hardworking, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient and physically strong (Mason, 1970: 14).

Therefore, making the Hutus perfect stereotypes of a peasant. As previously mentioned, the Belgian colonial rule heavily depended on the power the Tutsis asserted over the Hutus. The processes through which the occupiers managed to manufacture, establish and impose the clear racial differentiation between the two ethnic groups varied from different educational processes to socialisation. The Tutsis were given power over the Hutus by the Belgian colonial rule, given a Western education, and received and owned the greatest land while occupying the best jobs. Such disparities between both ethnic groups were predominant and perpetually aggravated, with the Tutsis as morally superior beings, cultural and political elites as compared to the hatred propagated towards the Hutus (Melvern, 2006).

According to Strauss (2006), the distinctions introduced during the colonial rule between the Tutsi and Hutu groups were not only moral but also biological and physical. Indeed, colonial-era documents of "scientific" measurements of the biological differences defining both populations consistently describe the Hutus as 'short, stocky, dark-skinned, and wide-nosed

[...] by contrast, the Tutsis are presented as tall, elegant, light-skinned, and thin-nosed' (Strauss, 2006: 21). Colonial rulers thus arguably used such Eugenic ideas of measuring "supposed" physical distinctions as an ideological scheme to embed and normalise the ethnic/racial hierarchy that was needed for the triumph of colonial power in the state of Rwanda. Critically, in the 1930's, identity cards that labelled Rwandans according to their ethnicity were introduced by Belgian colonial officers (Strauss, 2006). The impact of identity cards on ethnic identities in Rwanda was profound, as these cards would then play a crucial role in pointing out the Tutsis as targets for the genocide of 1994 (Strauss, 2006). Western, and more specifically European, ideologies and understandings of race became the groundwork of the Belgian's indirect rule over Rwanda, therefore strengthening the Tutsi dominance and rising unpredictability and suppression of the local rule. The racial hierarchy was thus implanted, exploited and contributed to the conflicts and genocide that emerged subsequently.

The implanted ideologies of a racial hierarchy belligerently introduced by the Belgian colonial rule in the 19th century persisted and were consistently taught to suggestible children in schools. In addition, such racial ideology of the Tutsi superiority was implemented during the Rwandan independence. The Rwandan colonial history and independence of 1962 allowed a form of ethnic nationalism to rise, which subsequently became the state's official post-colonial ideology (Strauss, 2006). As Rothe et al. (2008) argue, for the political intentions of a new ruling regime, ethnic identities are frequently internally improved when such independence is obtained. Therefore, just like their colonial predecessors, the leaders of the new regime would then frequently use the strategy of opposing one ethnic community against the other (Rothe et al., 2008). In Rwanda's case, the 1959 social revolution of the Hutu single-party rule, that led to the 1962 Rwandan independence, resulted in making the Tutsi community a minority. The one's oppressed by the colonisers now took on the role of oppressors. The post-colonial state of Rwanda therefore replicated the social, economic and political conditions that were originally implemented by colonial rule. In this sense, colonial rule and its legacy left a mark on the state of Rwanda and its population. As Rothe et al. (2008) states, the history of a post-colonial state often seems to degenerate into civil wars or further internal conflicts that destabilise and weaken the already fragile forms of social organisation created of the anomie resulting from the social remains of colonial decampment. In extreme cases, like it is with Rwanda, genocides occur (Rothe et al., 2008).

The abhorrence initiated between the Tutsis and the Hutus spread freely throughout the state. As part of the numerous campaigns against the Tutsi, the magazine *Kangura*, in which relentless 'incitements to ethnic hatred and violence' (Melvern, 2006: 49) were published, issued a number containing what was called the "Hutu ten commandments". These later became a manifesto against the Tutsis and were not only considered to be an apparent demand to express disdain and detestation against the Tutsi community but additionally to act against and mistreat Tutsi women (Melvern, 2006). Racist propaganda against the Tutsis was therefore rather abundant throughout Rwandan newspapers and media in general. According to Bauman (2000), the Tutsi community was dehumanised and they were understood to be anything but human, therefore justifying aspects of a genocide. The RTLM radio station, was



for instance used as a vessel for the extremist Hutu propaganda, broadcasting messages describing the physical features of the Tutsis and calling for their extermination (Temple-Raston, 2002) such as:

The Inyenzi [cockroach] have always been Tutsi. We will exterminate them. One can identify them because they are of one race. You can identify them by their height and their small nose (Malvern, 2006: 210).

The evident use of physiological characteristics thus illustrated the prevalence of the colonial ideology after the state's independence.

The colonial methods of racial demarcation examined above seem to have led to, and illustrate, some of the influences of the Rwandan genocide. Fanon (1994), maintained that barbarianism was created in the states occupied by the European colonial rule, in which abhorrence and social or racial hierarchies were put in place between ethnic groups. According to Fanon (1994), such barbarianism would not have occurred prior to colonial rule. Moreover, the differentiation made between the Tutsis and the Hutus during the colonial rule was inverted during the revolution and independence of Rwanda, when the Hutu majority became the leading social and political community. The independence of Rwanda and the Hutu Prime Minister election left the Tutsi minority as a target, pressing them to flee and hide as a result of the establishment of the RPF or Rwandan Patriotic Front (Strauss, 2006). The 1990 civil war and RPF invasion then contributed to the rise of Hutu animosity against the Tutsis. This paper has previously attempted to argue that the different processes of racial differentiation influenced the Rwandan genocide. As it was argued by Mamdani:

The Rwandan genocide need to be thought through within the logic of colonialism. The horror of colonialism led to two types of genocidal impulses. The first was the genocide of the native by the settler. It became a reality where the violence of colonial pacification took on extreme proportions. The second was the native impulse to eliminate the settler. (2001: 29).

The international intervention's failure could arguably also be considered to have influenced the Rwandan genocide. As Prunier (2009) argues, the political vacuum encircling the 1994 genocide is associated with numerous international policies, treaties and influences that were all more or less involved with the genocide itself. Indeed, according to Prunier (2009: 29), 'the international community considered the Rwandese genocide with a complex mixture of shock and indifference. Intellectuals, journalists and politically aware sections of the public among others were outraged that the promise embedded in the Convention on the Prevention of Genocide of 1948 made after the Second World War was violated in 'full view of the United Nations and the world's TV cameras' (Prunier, 2009: 29). Nevertheless, for many, Rwanda was a strategically unimportant country, and for the ordinary individual, Black individuals were still considered to be savages of no interest.

Melvern (2006) and Prunier (2009) have argued that the prevention of the 1994 Rwandan genocide could have been possible with an international intervention and that inaction in

doing so was a major influence in the massacre. Indeed, after the Hutu President signed the Peace Treaty of 1993, UN Peacekeepers were sent to Rwanda to act as referees as part of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) (Melvern, 2006). However, the mission was always intended to be small, and it was argued that it had one of the weakest mandates and run 'on a shoe-string' (Melvern, 2006: 71). The argument behind such a small response was that it was the traditional form of peacekeeping and that the two vital components were present: a ceasefire and a peace agreement (Melvern, 2006: 71).

After President Habyarimana took oath in his office on the 5th of January 1994, Major-General Dallaire received information that the Hutu militia was recruiting and actively training new members and held weapons in numerous locations (Melvern, 2006). Nonetheless, when he sent a fax to UN headquarters in New York, telling them his intents of seizing the weapons, the UN refused permission for arms seizures (Melvern, 2006; Strauss, 2006). Many observers criticise the 'United Nations for failing to act decisively when Romeo Dallaire cabled to the Headquarters in January to say that he had evidence that hardliners were training militias to kill Tutsi civilians' (Strauss, 2006: 240). Under such circumstances, the refusal was considered to be spectacularly naïve, as the hardliners responsible for the Interhamwe militias were allies of the president (Strauss, 2006). Whether such training was evidence of a genocide yet or not, the evidence was undeniable confirmation that leading elites had acquired irregular and very extreme tactics to attack their armed rivals (Strauss, 2006). Such evidence should have triggered an international response. In addition to not responding to Dallaire's concerns, the UN Security Council later on voted to reduce his force by ninety percent (Strauss, 2006; Melvern, 2006). On April 7, with the knowledge of the genocide, the US and Belgium then decided to withdraw. However, with the withdrawal decision, it was decided that some troops will be sent to Rwanda with the objective of evacuating the white civilians from the state. In an article entitled 'UN troops stand by and watch carnage' from the Guardian, it was reported that:

A few yards from the French troops, a Rwandan woman was being hauled along the road by a young man with a machete. He pulled at her clothes as she looked at the foreign soldiers in the desperate, terrified hope that they could save her from her death. But none of the troops moved. 'It's not our mandate,' said one, leaning against his jeep as he watched the condemned woman, the driving rain splashing at his blue United Nations badge (Hubband, 1994).

Although this paper does not have the opportunity to extensively examine if the UN was of influence between the RPF and Hutu militia, academics such as Strauss (2006: 241) argue that an intervention would have strengthened the 'hand of moderates who sought to prevent mass violence [...] and would have short-circuited some of the dynamics driving the violence', therefore calming the conflict and majorly decreasing worries of insecurity, politically powered anxiety and the abhorrence towards the Tutsis. It is consequently possible to argue that the international intervention's failure also influenced the Rwandan genocide.

Finally, it is crucial to examine the importance of the role of terminology in the international intervention's failure when touching on the topic of the Rwandan genocide. In addition, the

different processes use to comprehend and contextualise different factors and influences of the genocide need examination. In the New York Times, on June 10, 1994, under a clear headline stating: ‘*Officials Told to Avoid Calling Rwanda Killings ‘Genocide’*’, Jehl argues that the Clinton Administration was trying to avoid the rise of moral pressure by instructing the spokesmen ‘not to describe the deaths as genocide, even though some senior officials believe that is exactly what they represent’ (Jehl, 1994). Many questions seem to arise in regard to the reasons behind this change in terminology and the international and political accountability and responsibility attached to notions such as genocide itself. Besides, it can be maintained that the mere definition of genocide does not allow one to grasp the full political, social and historical contexts and factors that are vital to the understanding of what genocide is. In the second Article from the convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, written in 1948, the United Nations defined genocide as:

Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, racial or religious group, as such:

- Killing members of the group causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
  - Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part,
  - Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
  - Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group
- (United Nations Human Rights Office of the Higher Commission, 1948).

Such a definition can be considered deterministic. In the case of the Rwandan genocide, this explanation makes it difficult to comprehend the extermination of the Tutsis by the Hutus as anything else but a racially inspired evil massacre with no apparent political, social or historical context.

To conclude, this paper has illustrated that the colonial ideology of racial differentiation and the international intervention’s failure to intervene influenced the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Eugenic ideas of racial-physiological and racial hierarchies were implanted in Rwanda as a process for the colonial power and rule to survive even after the Rwandan independence. The abhorrence created with the Belgian colonial rule has shown to have on-going adverse effects on the relations between the Tutsis and the Hutus and seems to have heavily influenced the massacre of the Tutsis by the Hutus. In addition, although there was an opportunity for international intervention and reduction of the effects of the predicted genocide, the UN decided to withdraw its peacekeepers and evacuate its civilians from the state. This intervention failure has been contended by academics to have had a significant influence on the outcomes of the genocide. Finally, it was evoked that the definition of the notion of genocide does not allow a full understanding of the social and historical context of the Rwandan genocide and that the terminology of the word itself seems to be problematic.

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# **Do Workers Have More Flexibility Under ‘Post-Fordist’ Forms of Industrial Organisation?**

**Ella Middleton**

Throughout this essay I will discuss Henry Ford and the development of Fordism with help from writers Macdonald (1991) and Thompson (2003). The focus will then shift to the transformation from Fordist society to post-Fordist society and the reasoning behind this. I will then explore literature from writers such as Atkinson (1984), Harvey (1999) and Leborgne and Lipietz (1988), along with others, to help identify whether or not workers benefitted from post-Fordist forms of industrial organisation. There will be focus on areas such as firm flexibility and geography, and how these factors have affected employment trends.

Fordism was named after Henry Ford, who was behind the growth of the automobile industry, which is still today one of the world’s largest manufacturing industries (Brinkley, 2003). The height of Fordism was early 20<sup>th</sup> century up until the 1970s. Fordism catered for mass production and mass consumption. Mass production refers to ‘the large batch production of standardised commodities, using dedicated machinery and a detailed division of labour’ (Macdonald, 1991: 179). Mass production created a market based on economies of scale and scope, which led to the enlargement of firms which were built upon functional specialisation and minute divisions of labour (Thompson, 2003). Ford’s main contribution to the emergence of mass production and consumption was standardisation. This refers to the creation and use of guidelines for interchangeable components, standardised manufacturing processes and an easy product to both produce and repair (Thompson, 2003). This was made possible by an assembly line, whereby each worker would perform a single, repetitive task. The advent and subsequent development of the mass-production system has taken division of labour to an incredibly high level; each assembler had only one task, for example attaching one wheel to a car. He did not repair his own equipment, inspect for quality or even know which tasks other workers parallel in the assembly line were carrying out (Womack, Jones and Roos 1990). Sabel (1982: 210) described Fordism as ‘a low-trust system that separates conception of tasks from their execution: Once routines are in place, subordinates are meant only to apply them’. So, in other words, employers exploit the unskilled labour force to carry out the tasks that those in managerial positions find too mundane, as well as not trusting them to do any skilled tasks.

Ford experienced vast labour turnover due to the difficulty of assembly line work. The menial nature of the work required constant and high levels of concentration and was often considered very unstimulating (Thompson 2003). In 1914, Ford dealt with this turnover by unexpectedly introducing a wage of five dollars an hour for eight hours work. This was unforeseen at the time, because the average wage was two and a half dollars for ten hours work. For workers, this was extremely positive because they were being paid more to work

less. From one perspective, it may seem that Ford was being generous and prioritising his labour force's needs and well-being. However, Ford's actions were calculated and carried out in order to maximise profit and capital. High turnover of staff can be very costly for companies because there is a downtime of production and all new staff will require training, which costs both money and time. Paying workers a higher wage than other employers will mean your workforce believe they have a good deal, which will lead to them being punctual and working more productively because they see themselves as the 'lucky' ones. According to Worstall (2012), the five dollars a day also had character requirements and guidelines. It was actually half pay and half bonus and you would receive the bonus if you fit the guidelines. Employees would have their homes visited to ensure they were living the 'American way' and practices such as drinking and gambling were to be avoided. Immigrants were made to attend classes to 'Americanise' them and learn English. Also, men were not eligible for the five dollars an hour if their wives were also in employment, and women were only eligible if they were the sole provider for the family (Worstall, 2012). Furthermore, Ford concluded that men with more leisure time who have more money will spend more on consumer goods when they are not working. This will lead to higher consumption, which will lead to an increased demand for labour and profit. So, although Ford's actions benefitted the unskilled labour force, it was done for selfish reasons. Thompson (2003: 1) describes it as 'premium pay for putting up with what Gramsci described as mass production's 'monotonous, degrading and life draining work process''.

In the late 1970s the transition to post-Fordism began. Firms were forced to switch from mass production to what is known as flexible specialisation. Macdonald (1991:179) describes flexible specialisation as 'A system focussed on permanent innovation and accommodation to ceaseless change rather than effort to control it. Flexible specialisation entails adaptability'. Boyton and Milazzo (1996: 157) say, 'Broadly speaking, post-Fordism refers to the emergence of a new set of organisational, economic, technological, and social configurations to replace those of 'Fordist' mass production'. Boyton and Milazzo (1996) go on to say that post-Fordism will need to have the ability to cope flexibly with unpredictable and uncertain conditions, both of which contributed to the downfall of Fordism. There was a selection of contributing factors to the collapse of mass production and Fordism. According to Jessop (1991), the crisis of post-Fordism came from the slackening of the post-war boom. Wages growing faster than productivity and state commitment to gaining full employment meant those secondary workers or the 'reserve army' effects were bound to secondary markets. This meant that employers could not employ secondary workers if they were working in primary markets. In turn, this slowed or stopped profits being recovered during downturns (Boyer and Coriat, 1986). This led to slow economic growth and high unemployment. These issues, partnered with the oil shocks in 1973 and the increase of privatisation and neo-liberalist society, also made cheap goods through the division of labour uncompetitive. Along with this, there was an increasing resistance to Fordist accumulation regime from working class employees because of the low quality of the jobs and alienation at work (Jessop 1991). Macdonald (1991) believes flexible specialisation held out promise for more satisfying, rewarding jobs, which would benefit workers.

Atkinson (1984) focussed on firm flexibility in particular. He believed there were three dimensions to firm flexibility. Firstly, there was the ability to reallocate employees within the firm. This meant hiring multi-skilled workers who could adapt to change and unpredictability, and carry out versatile tasks to align with the changing market. Secondly, was what he called 'numerical flexibility'. This meant having an interchangeable workforce through forms of non-standard employment such as zero-hour contracts, part-time work and lack of job security. Finally, was the idea of 'pay flexibility'. This was the ability to adapt wages with different strategies such as 'pay for performance' or commission-based jobs, two-tiered wage systems and wage concessions, which could include cuts, wage freezes or the capability to terminate existing contracts. Many workers are affected negatively by both numerical and pay flexibility, because they suffered a lack of stability and poor wages. Because of this some firms would struggle to gain employees, because of the uncertainty their jobs offered. To solve this, firms would employ a group of 'core workers' who would be the multi-skilled workers who could adapt easily. They would then have a group of secondary workers who would see the negative side of flexible specialisation as they would be the group whom the firms would implement both numerical and pay flexibility on. This led to segregation in the workplace (Atkinson, 1984).

In post-Fordist literature, much of the blame for the disadvantage the unskilled work force has faced in the post-Fordist forms of industrial organisation has been due to geography. Walker and Storper (1989) believe that rather than looking at what type of job and labour processes exist; we should look at where the jobs are based. Leborgne and Lipietz (1988) explain that in a Fordist society there would have been traditional vertical integration whereby each member in a certain supply chain produces a different product or service, and then all members come together to make an entire product. This is explained earlier by Womack, Jones and Roos (1990) in the form of the assembly line. With traditional vertical integration there would have been an ongoing increase of firms and factories in varied locations, meaning jobs would have been available for everyone in diverse areas (Leborgne and Lipietz 1988). However, with post-Fordism, traditional vertical integration becomes territorially disintegrated and specialised firms are formed (Leborgne and Lipietz 1988). An example of this is South East Asia, which is a very specialised productive area. Many firms here will have all stages of a supply chain completed in one location using multi-skilled workers, therefore having jobs available in fewer locations and requiring fewer low-skilled workers. They will also have specialised machinery. This not only means low-skilled workers will be disadvantaged, but also members of society do not reside near specialised firms (Leborgne and Lipietz 1988). The increase of these specialised firms has also been due to advances in technology. Harvey (1999) contributed the idea of time-space compression. He believes that because of technological advances, time and space have been hugely reduced. Examples of this would be the introduction of email, huge advances in travel and the free movement of goods and services. Harvey (1999) believes that because of time-space compression, firms have flexible accumulation. This means firms can now maximise profits more flexibly, using specialised machinery and multi-skilled workers as described above. He believes that unemployment has risen in the west because of the rise of specialised firms and technological advances. A critic of this idea would be Clarke who said:

Post-Fordist technologies can no more liberate the working class than could the technology of Fordism, because the working class is not exploited and oppressed by technology but by capitalism (1990: 150).

In other words, it is not technology that disadvantages the working class or low-skilled workers, it is the capitalist society that we live in.

Another Geography related issue which negatively affects workers in the post-Fordist forms of industrial organisation is the impact of large corporations on retailing. Big firms have the capability of driving many small retailers out of business (Coe and Wridgley, 2009). This will significantly reshape the geography of consumption. An example of this could be fast fashion. In contemporary society there are number of huge online shopping businesses that have mass ranges of stock and sell cheap goods that can be delivered worldwide. This drives smaller retailers, such as high street shops, off the market. People can now order clothes from the comfort of their own home rather than going to shops. Workers will be affected by this because the majority of these clothes will be produced, packaged and sent all from one specialised firm, so the locations of jobs in clothing production are becoming rarer because many smaller clothing retailers are closing down. This is all possible because of Harveys (1999) idea of time-space compression. As well as having a negative effect on workers, fast fashion is a huge contributor to carbon emissions and wastewater (Ro 2020). However, Macdonald (1991) believes that technological advances could benefit smaller firms or retailers because previous economies of scale have been eradicated and the advantages large capitals once had have been undermined. Because of this, if small firms can adapt quickly, there may be market 'niches' for smaller firms created by change in the general market. Hacker and Pierson (2010) point out that the economy expanded significantly between 1979 and 2005. They believe this increase in the economy very much benefitted the affluent members of society far more than the working class. They looked at average income increase between 1979 and 2005 in the United States of America. The poorest fifth of households had their average income increase by six percent. The middle five groups of households, who would be working class and middle class, saw their average incomes increase 21 percent. Finally, the richest 1 percent of households saw their average incomes increase by two hundred and thirty percent. More specifically, the average after-tax income of households in the top one hundredth percent increased from just over four million dollars annually to almost twenty-four million dollars. These increases are extremely misaligned and have caused huge inequality in society. Hacker and Piersons' (2010) economic explanation for this is the shift to flexible specialisation and the need for specialised skills, knowledge and education. They believe this fuelled huge segregation between the highly educated members of society and the rest of Americans. This ties in with Atkinsons (1984) ideas of firm flexibility mentioned previously, who pointed out the divide between skilled and unskilled employees in the workplace.

Macdonald (1991) believes a problem with much of the research into flexible specialisation is that it suffers from male bias. Many of the models used to explain and give examples of



flexibility are based on male works and male orientated jobs, without considering females. Macdonald believes that women carry the heavier consequences of flexibility in society and suffer most in the post-Fordist era. In Macdonald's (1991; 1993) literature, Jenson (year) says 'Flexible specialisation reinforces the privileging of "skilled" (male) work, further reinforcing the invisibility of the real skill of women in so called 'unskilled' jobs'. In other words, women's skill is not seen as skill in comparison to men. Many women would be classed as multi-skilled workers if they were men, but because they are not, they are seen as low skilled. In our current culture, power differences are often socially constructed as skill differences (Macdonald 1991). Some may see the numerical flexibility section of Atkinson's model as beneficial to women because the increase of part-time jobs and zero-hour contracts could be seen as helpful to mothers who want to work part time to cater around family life. However, many would also dispute this because in contemporary society the majority of women would like equal opportunities to men and are just as career driven as their counterparts.

Overall, I believe that post-Fordist forms of industrial organisation are beneficial to multi-skilled workers, because there are vast job opportunities available to those who can adapt to changing markets and work within specialised firms. However geographical changes have meant that even multi-skilled workers may be disadvantaged because of flexible specialisation; as Leborgne and Lipietz (1988) highlighted, many specialised firms are now in scarce locations. Post-Fordist developments have undoubtedly had negative effects on low-skilled workers and those in the working class. There are substantially fewer jobs available, and those fortunate to have jobs have seen only marginal pay increases with the growing economy, as pointed out by Hacker and Pierson (2010). In conclusion, the post-Fordist forms of industrial organisation have not been beneficial to the workforce as a whole, only to specific highly skilled workers and the elites in society, but we also know that employment for low skilled workers in the Fordist era was also fairly bleak. In Thompson's (2003) literature, Taylor likened Ford's workforce to 'trained gorillas', so is the working class suffering any greater in the post-Fordist era than it was in the Fordist era?

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# Critically Discuss the Notion that Genocide is a ‘Crime of Obedience to Authority’

Guya Fiorineschi Bickel Conti

Genocides have occurred in multiple occasions throughout history, going from the Israelite destructions of multiple communities in Canaan to the Roman annihilation of Carthage. However, starting from the Armenians, genocides have changed in their nature and became more extensive, organized and more thorough. Genocides are without doubt a one of the most enduring and abhorrent problems of the world and they represent the climax of the large-scale violence which was so predominant in the twentieth century (Weitz, 2003). This essay will illustrate that although genocides are crimes which originate in the name of obedience to authority and that are perpetrated because obedience is a natural and deeply ingrained behaviour for many people, the determining factors for genocides are group dynamics and group compliance. Firstly, genocide will be contextualised within the origins of the terms and the definition will be provided in order to explore what constitutes a large-scale crime of this kind. Then, the essay will analyse Milgram and Zimbardo’s experiments on obedience while connecting it to Arendt’s discussions on the banality of evil. Furthermore, the essay will explore group dynamics and group pressures as the leading causes of genocides in relation to the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide. Finally, the techniques of neutralisation that people use will be assessed to understand how ordinary people end up participating in genocides, and how people justify their personal moral values after participating in genocides like the Holocaust.

The term genocide is a very contested and overused one. The term genocide was coined during World War II by the international jurist Raphael Lemkin and comes from the combination of the Latin suffix *genos*, meaning people or nations, and *-cide*, meaning murder (Chalk and Jonassohn, 1990). Lemkin defined genocide as ‘a composite of different acts of persecution or destruction’ (Lemkin, 2012: 92). In 1946, the United Nations started considering the issue of preventing and punishing genocide based on Lemkin’s introduction of the term and in 1948 the United Nations adopted the Genocide Convention. For the purpose of this essay, the term genocide will be defined, as it has been defined by the Genocide convention with the following definition:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: a) killing members of the group; b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction to prevent births within the group; d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Malekian, 2011: 237).

Although this definition has been widely accepted and used as a universal way of defining genocides, it did receive multiple criticism. What is problematic and highly contested with

this definition is the fact that it can be considered either too broad or too narrow. While some genocides have fit the definition, such as those in the Holocaust and in Rwanda, others have not. For instance, according to the definition, for a genocide to occur, there needs to be the 'intent' to destroy. However, intent is not very easy to define and one could argue that since there is rarely a direct order coming from authority to commit genocide, the intent to carry out a genocide should be regarded as a circumstantial link between those who are in power and those who carry out the actual killings (Weitz, 2003). For instance, criminal law distinguishes intent from motives (Stanton, 1998). Arguably, it is difficult to determine whether there is a genocidal intent in the first place because the mass killing of certain groups of people can be merely an indirect root to accomplish other goals, such as those of gaining property or those of obtaining power by eliminating what they perceive as being the threats in obtaining a more functional and optimal society. Moreover, another major problem with the definition is that it lacks a clear explanation of what constitutes a victim group, therefore, potential perpetrators have had the opportunity to perpetrate crimes on the victims who do not seem to fall into the boundaries of the convention's definitions (Chalk and Johnsson, 1990). In addition, determining what is meant by 'in part' is not an easy task, because there is not a direct standard of how many deaths constitute a genocide (Theriault, 2010). Overall, although the term genocide has many facets and is highly contested, it can be argued that all genocidal crimes are perpetrated from a group of people towards another group of people and that they are initially orchestrated by authority figures in the attempt to obtain some sort of socio-political or economic gain.

The notion that genocide should not be considered as merely a crime of obedience to authority but rather as a result of the product of both compliance and obedience, can be best comprehended by analysing the studies carried out by Stanley Milgram and Philip Zimbardo. One of the most influential contributions to social science on the issue of genocides is associated with the experimental studies of Milgram, who developed the 'obedience paradigm' based on the notion that the Holocaust occurred as a result of obedience to hierarchical and bureaucratic social structures (Brannigan, 2013). Understanding the mechanisms that can lead a person to obey the bureaucratic routine and authority, even if this means sacrificing their own moral values and free will, is important to understand why genocides like the Holocaust take place and develop in the first place. According to Milgram 'Obedience is the psychological mechanism that links individual action to political purpose' (Milgram, 2004: 3). For instance, this is best exemplified in the discourses around the Nazi extermination of European Jews, considering that it is the most well-known example of violence and mass killings carried out by many people in the name of obedience. It could be argued that genocides are carried out by evil people, by sadists, and by people who lack a sense of humanity. However, studies like the one by Milgram, where he shows that ordinary subjects will obey the experimenter no matter how much pain they think they are inflicting on their victims, suggest that most ordinary people could be capable of inflicting pain on innocent victims when they are told to do so by authority (Milgram, 2004). The theme brought up by Milgram in his study on obedience to authority, connects to what Kelman and Hamilton (1989) define as *authorization*: a process where the authority believes in something

and legitimizes dehumanization and killings, meaning people are more susceptible to comply even if that goes against their own beliefs and preferences.

Zimbardo's Stanford prison experiment took Milgram's ideas further by exploring the importance of situational factors over individual psychological characteristics. Particularly, he looked at the destructive behaviour of groups of men over an extended period (Haney et al., 1973). Although Milgram's study on obedience to authority suggests that orders coming from authority figures are likely to be followed by ordinary people no matter what the consequences are, the Stanford prison experiment's objective was to observe the interaction between two groups of people in the absence of authority in a hostile environment like a prison. What this study really suggests in relation to crimes like the genocide is that not only can genocides be a product of direct obedience to authority, but that they can also take place when they conform to the toxic roles of authoritative figures without the need for specific orders (Haney et al., 1973). Milgram and Zimbardo's experiments fundamentally helped to consolidate the notion of the conformity bias (Moscovici, 1976), where the focus shifted from crime as a result of disobedience to criminal behaviour as a result of compliance.

The results of Milgram and Zimbardo's experiments challenge early arguments on the role of authoritarian personalities as an explanation for the Nazis' success in Germany. Theodore Adorno (1964), for instance, recognized a set of criteria which could define personality traits in people, making them susceptible to fascist propaganda. Some of these include conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intellectualism, anti-intraception, superstition, stereotypy power and "toughness", destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity, and exaggerated concerns over sex (Adorno et al., 2019). However, according to what was found out by Milgram and Zimbardo, and according to further contributions such as that of Browning (2001) in his research on Police Battalion 101, it can be argued that there is no need for a person to have a certain personality type to become a bystander or even practitioner in a genocide.

Although it would be easier to view people like the Nazi killers as some kind of monsters or abnormal beings, the reality is that the Holocaust and other types of genocides have been implemented by normal people (Rashke, 1982; Alvarez, 1997). The notion that people who become perpetrators in genocides like the Holocaust are ordinary people, was developed by Hannah Arendt (1964) in what she termed 'the banality of evil'. In her book, Arendt describes her surprise and concern for seeing how 'terrifyingly normal' (Whitfield, 1981: 470) Eichmann (one of the major organisers of the holocaust) was when he was in the trial after being charged with multiple crimes against the Jews. According to Arendt, Eichmann was involved in the genocide of the Holocaust without feeling guilt for what he did because he saw his acts as something impersonal and abstract; something he did in the process of following rules, obeying orders, and processing schedules with a meticulous dedication (Whitfield, 1981).

The involvement of ordinary people in a genocide could be explained in the context of obedience to authority, but also as a product of group dynamics. According to Kelman and Hamilton (1989), genocides are crimes of obedience, where people act in criminal ways

within the established framework of the people above. Arguably, genocides like the Holocaust occurred within a legal system that legitimized killing and violence towards the Jewish population. Although the mass killings of the Holocaust are standard operating procedures and start from orders coming from authority figures, group processes can explain why most people conform in shootings and violence which they first experienced as abhorrent (Savelsberg, 2010). Browning focuses on a range of explanatory mechanisms to understand the Police Battalion 101's fall into barbarism. While he acknowledges that obedience to authority is a major reason for their conformity in acts of violent behaviour, he also includes racist indoctrination, brutalization by the war, routinization, and group pressure as key factors in contributing to these devastating outcomes inflicted on the Jewish population (Stammel and Chapel, 2017). Browning's findings and arguments correspond to Collin's (2009) research in which it is shown that it is solidarity and group pressure, rather than superior orders or ideological directives, that influence the actions of groups of co-workers and soldiers. Collins (2009) also argues that there is a distinction between 'forward panics; (Collins, 2009: 571), or the perpetrating of atrocities due to fear and tensions, and atrocities carried out in obeying orders from authority. Overall, belonging to a group makes it easier for people to act violently and in ways out of the ordinary. By feeling part of a group, individuals can give up their inhibitions and limitations of their personal identity and feel part of a structure where they no longer need to take individual responsibility for their actions.

When group norms shift, the anger and hate toward outsiders expand, and when the group's beliefs promote feelings of hate and discrimination, it is difficult for the individual not to follow. In a sense, hostility towards outgroups becomes the norm and is desirable, and the authoritarian structure becomes comfortable and safe (Staub, 2007). Arguably, when authority figures deliver the message that society can function only if a certain segment of the population or group of people is eliminated, then people begin to internalise this message and are more likely to join a genocide. If crimes are committed for a seemingly good cause (a powerful society), then in a way, the end justifies the means. This is best exemplified by the analogy provided by Bauman (2008) in which it is argued that Hitler's and Stalin's victims were not killed in order to expand their territories, but they were killed in a dull and mechanical way 'because they did not fit, for one reason or another, the scheme of a perfect society' (Bauman, 2008: 92). Moreover, the German's positive feelings for Hitler also shaped their attitude towards anti-Jewish action. According to Fritz Heider's balance theory (1958), when attitudes are imbalanced, there is a motivation to bring them into balance. Given Hitler's hatred and racism towards the Jews, there would have been an imbalance if someone who believed in Hitler's ideologies liked the Jews. Therefore, in order to create balance, that person would have either changed their attitude towards Hitler or the Jews. In Nazi Germany, all the pressures acting on this person favoured Hitler over the Jews and this later on led to growing levels of anti-Semitism (Staub, 2007).

The fact that genocides result from group dynamics and politicization of ethnicity can be also seen in the context of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. According to Prunier (1997), the Rwandan genocide was instigated, ordered, and organized from above, suggesting that obedience to authority was the reason why so many people joined the massacre of the Tutsis

and Hutus. However, since the killings took place uniquely in groups (Straus, 2006, Fujii, 2009) group contexts and social interactions between the perpetrators are the main cause for why people joined in the genocide. For instance, the planners and instigators of the fight initiated the plan to kill after the plane crash of the president of Rwanda since they did so for personal and material gains in an attempt to obtain power (Prunier, 1997). Therefore, the leaders were actually going against authority in this sense. In addition, group dynamics can explain why other ordinary people joined the fight in such a violent way. Some of these people were ordered to do so on the basis that if they refused to participate in the killings, they would have been killed (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010). Others joined simply because they thought it was right to do so in the name of their country and to gain something at the personal level (Hatzfeld 2005). Other reasons for people to join were because of greed (Verwimp 2005), to satisfy their for power and sadism, or to commit criminal activities without getting caught (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010). Connecting back to Collins notion of forward panic, people joined the Rwandan genocide because they feared being punished, beaten or even killed (Straus 2006). Alongside this pressure to adapt, people also joined the killer groups because they experienced a strong psychological urge to adapt. This was even worsened by the fact that some people who joined the killer groups were surprised of the aggressive impulses and sexual satisfaction they derived from hurting others when joining a group (Smeulers, 2008). Overall, research on the Rwandan genocide and on social psychology provides substantial evidence for the fact that people kill for motives that go beyond factors involving the obedience to authority.

The Neutralization theory originated by Sykes and Matza (1957) helps explain *why* people engage in delinquent behaviour, suppressing their personal value system and beliefs. In genocides like the Holocaust or that of Rwanda, ordinary people became greedy killers, in a mechanical way, not even realizing what they were doing themselves. According to the Neutralization theory, people use five techniques to justify their involvement in delinquent behaviour: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemning the condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties (Alvarez, 1997). In relation to the Holocaust, the soldiers involved in the killings evaded their responsibilities by emphasizing the coerced nature of their involvement, implying that they were forced to do what they did, therefore they were not guilty. Moreover, people used a different kind of terminology such as ‘final solution’ and ‘special treatment’ (Alvarez, 1997: 160), instead of genocide and killing, to deny the gravity of their actions, and almost as a way to show that what they were doing was in the best interests of the nation. In addition, people who believed in Nazi ideologies denied that they were the victims incrementing anti-Semitic propaganda and blaming the Jews for the country’s problems. They gradually turned the Jews into the enemies of the nation, and in this way, they justified their killings and annihilated the people who they considered a threat to the socio-political and economic goals of Nazi Germany. According to Alvarez (1997; 166), ‘Much of the German propaganda machine focused on depicting Jewish people as subhuman’. This propaganda aimed at dehumanising the victims and this facilitated genocide. In the policies of extermination, the Nazis firstly diminished the humanity and value of the Jews by depicting them as different and inferior people. People involved in extermination of the Jews firstly dehumanized and segregated the Jewish population in order to neutralize their



own internal values with different techniques of neutralisation and this dangerously led to an escalation of violence which then resulted in a genocide (Fein, 1979).

In conclusion, this essay has analysed the extent to which genocide can be considered a crime of obedience to authority. By analysing Milgram and Zimbardo's studies on obedience it was deduced that a reason why so many people end up killing and torturing others during a genocide is because of an innate or learned tendency to obey authority and to conform to the group. The essay examined the ways in which ordinary people, who might have never done what they ended up doing during the extermination of the 'out-groups', became killers and were capable of committing such atrocities with little or no remorse. In addition, Browning and Collins' arguments were expanded in order to capture the extent to which solidarity and conformity influences the behaviour of groups of people, particularly in relation to the Holocaust. Furthermore, the factors which pushed people to conform in the Rwandan genocide were investigated in the attempt to show that genocides are not merely crimes of obedience, as there are other motives for people to join in such abhorrent acts which include fear, pressures exercised from the group, greed, desires to feel part of a group and to satisfy subconscious personal aggressive desires. Overall, studying the dynamics of the genocides also involves exploring the role of the state and society, as genocides occur because the moral-ethical limit of crimes are, in the first place, determined by the state. In the context of genocides, when killings and violence towards a group of people is authorised by the state, then people are more likely to obey and comply as moral and ethical limits cease existing. Understanding the dynamics of genocides and why people comply is important, not only for academic reasons, but also to prevent potential genocides in the future.

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# Outline and Assess Du Bois' Concept of "Double Consciousness"

Christabelle Quaynor

In the *Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B Du Bois asserted that 'being a problem is a strange experience' (Du Bois and Edwards, 2007: 2). Not only is it strange, but it is also an experience that is horribly familiar for marginalised groups. Gilroy maintained his argument in *Race Ends Here*, stressing how race has impacted every corner of life—'life was fractured along raciological lines, was visualised, imaged in novel and striking ways' (1998: 844). Du Bois' conceptualisation of double-consciousness dissects these raciological lines, illustrating that the emotions of self-conflict are primarily due to society's unhealthy fixation on racial classifications. This is also featured with the realisation of how the ruling classes in society utilise oppression and exploitation at the expense of subordinated groups. As a result of this, identity becomes politicised and highly subjected to confliction – consequently becoming a lifelong battle for minority groups. Therefore, in this assignment, I will be outlining and assessing Du Bois' conceptualisation of double consciousness using *The Souls of Black Folk* and Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* to reference themes of analysis. To dissect and exemplify the notion of double consciousness, I will be discussing the effects of scientific racism, the social construction of race, the continuing normalisation of stigmatising African Americans post-slavery, the stereotypical narratives that are associated with African Americans (resulting in a further self-internal confliction), the privileged connotations behind identifying and being accepted as an American (western nationalism), the power imbalance of the treatment, the importance of recognising and embracing a dual identity and how double consciousness is a term that has expanded beyond the African diaspora and can be applied to other notions of intersectionality and various other identities.

When dissecting societal dynamics, it is crucial to analyse past regimes to understand the structure of our world. During the nineteenth century – race was conceptualised and fuelled by scientific racism: 'until recent decades, "races" were commonly arranged hierarchically by Europeans and their American descendants according to putative abilities, reflecting (among many other problems) a pre-Darwinian concept of the 'scale of nature'' (Lang, 2000: 3). The ideology of race being a biological discipline has diluted into common racial beliefs that continues to orchestrate society. Although racial categorisation and biological classification have been classified as a pseudoscience, attitudes of racial supremacy continue to thrive. In fact, at one point, 'biological racism was most popular in the United States in the 1920s, when IQ tests were first developed' (Gallagher and Lippard, 2014: 122). This was during Du Bois' time, as many African Americans were facing a long-life battle for civil rights and the acceptance of their identity as Black Americans – and the battle is not complete. Furthermore, society was extremely divided in terms of the acceptance and recognition of African Americans. Society was still very much flirting with the idea of slavery and promoting prejudice attitudes whilst activating and applying stereotypical beliefs. We could only imagine coming to terms with the taste of freedom for the first time, and the attempts to integrate into white America as an African American in the public sphere – a clear imbalance

of recognising one's nationality, subjected to beliefs of racial inferiority. Therefore, this leads to the internal conflict of double consciousness: "“a two-ness” of being an American, a Negro; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (Du Bois and Edwards, 2007: 5).

To examine the concept of double consciousness further, Du Bois' passage from *The Souls of Black Folk* has been described as the 'one of the most often quoted in the twentieth-century American literature', deeply captivating the experience of being a Black man in white America (Du Bois and Edwards, 2007: 8). Du Bois came to terms of what blackness meant in a world that was just barely free from the emancipation of slavery, yet his conceptualisation remains applicable today. 'It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others' – Du Bois outlines the common act of viewing himself in a third person perspective, most likely in the eyes of the white man (Du Bois and Edwards, 2007: 3). American society was divided figuratively and metaphorically, mainly known as 'the post-slavery era of segregation' (The Crisis, 1982: 42). Nonetheless, a free Black minister declared the United States of America as belonging to the souls of African Americans: 'this land which we have watered with our tears and blood is now our mother country' (Feagin, 2015: 19). Consequently, at the time, the United States mothered and nurtured the act of racism instead. In the chapter dedicated to the portrayal of African Americans in early 20<sup>th</sup> century – around the time Du Bois published *The Souls of Black Folk* – mocking, exploiting and ridiculing the features of African Americans was a common sport. For instance, the portrayal of Black labour catering to white America: 'servile blacks are shown (happily) cooking, cleaning and caring for whites', toys were an instrument for children to echo the racist beliefs and archetypes: 'toys such as the "Alabama Coon Jigger" or the dancing mammy' (The Crisis, 1982: 42). Not even common household items could escape the opportunity to dehumanise and create caricatures of Afrocentric features: 'salt and pepper shakers of black men and women with bulging eyes, thick red lips, and expressions of vacuous stupidity all appear with compelling frequency' (The Crisis, 1982: 42).

With African Americans being terrorised by violent racist attitudes in their own land, it is no wonder why Du Bois described double consciousness as a 'peculiar sensation' during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Black Americans were reminded on a daily basis how they were perceived in a derogatory manner. This was the normality of life. Crime also had a colour – and it was Black: 'the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century proved to be no different than previous centuries with police brutality against blacks remaining commonplace and the use of capital punishment in rape cases' (Unnever and Gabbidon, 2011: 5). America had successfully pushed the narrative of African Americans being uncivilised and innately prone to criminality, purely to justify reasons of enslavement and keeping the Black population under sway. This is when double consciousness becomes heightened: the issue is not being Black, but more being conscious of how others perceive your blackness, and the chances of acceptance as an equal citizen of America. Thus, this level of racial consciousness continues today in a multifaceted manner – a commonly referenced example of this, is the role of law enforcement in the United States. The United States criminal justice system relies upon the level of suspicion to criminalise and penalise members of the population, which disproportionately affects African Americans

more than any other racial demographic. The 2015 Bureau of Justice Statistics concluded that ‘Black residents were more likely to be stopped by police than white or Hispanic residents, both in traffic stops and street stops’ (Jones, 2018). Innocence does not matter, but race and identity does, as America has relied on the concept of race to determine the levels of innocence and guilt. No African American is free of the constant threat of the criminal justice system – their innocence risks being overshadowed by their race. In *Chokehold: Policing Black Men*, Butler found that ‘many law-abiding African Americans have stories about how the fear of the police modifies their behaviour’ (2017: 34). This fear leads to a conflict of the inner self – the narrative of African Americans has been manipulated intensely, leading to the notion of double-consciousness. There was a struggle of self-acceptance and ultimately, this led to an identity crisis that still continues today.

African Americans have a dual identity that cannot be dismissed, as this is a homage to their ancestry, ethnicity, identity and endured struggles. Du Bois illustrated the importance of this dualism: ‘one ever feels his two-ness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring’ (Du Bois and Edwards 2007: 3). In the globalised world we live in (which once functioned purely on colonialism and imperialism), having a dual identity is not a foreign concept. In fact, America has an extensive history of immigration from Europe, the Americas and other geographical locations. Three years after Du Bois published *The Souls of Black Folk*, European migration to the Americas was its highest, with a recorded figure of 1.2 million alone (Houston History, 2010). African Americans and European Americans are both non-native to the Americas, but the difference is: European Americans not only had the benefit to control the narrative of their own ethnicity and nationality but ‘much white framing and discriminatory treatment of African Americans signals that they are not seen by whites as authentic Americans’ (Feagin, 2015: 20). Historically, European Americans had never needed to fight to declare their identity or fight for the removal of derogatory words, used to reference their identity. This historical issue has transformed contemporarily, with the notion of birthism and conspiracy theories attached to questioning the first U.S Black president, Barack Obama’s citizenship. Four months before Trump was elected as the 45<sup>th</sup> president, 41 percent of Republicans believed Obama was not born in the United States and 31 percent were not sure – no president’s nationality has been heightened and debated to this extent (Clinton et al., 2016). Thus, it is no surprise how in *The Black Modernity and Double Consciousness*, Gilroy theorised that western nationalism is exclusive to whiteness (Gilroy, 1993: 20).

Thus, African Americans battle to embrace their heritage that they are unfortunately distant from (due to forced removal), yet they simultaneously fight to be recognised as the nationality that contributed to this identity crisis. This a complex issue. Double consciousness is not only based on who one is, but how they appear to be in mainstream society. A continuous fight for mainstream society to accept your nationality as equal to theirs. Du Bois continues: ‘the history of the American Negro is the history of this strife – this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self’ (Du Bois and Edwards, 2007: 3). Black masculinity (and femininity) may impair how one is viewed, as prejudice and stereotypical beliefs may affect this. Du Bois’ notion on attaining a self-

conscious manhood echoes the famous 18<sup>th</sup> century anti-slavery medallion ‘am I not a man or a brother’ (Williams, 2016: 107). Doubt is a key element of double consciousness. In an article published by *The Atlantic*, illustrating how much Black Americans contributed to modern day democracy, Hannah-Jones, an African American civil rights journalist, recalls her father’s commitment and loyalty to America. He planted an American flag with pride in front of his house, echoing American patriotism and homage to the state (Hannah-Jones, 2019). In 1962, he also joined the military ‘for another reason as well, a reason common to black men: Dad hoped that if he served his country, his country might finally treat him as an American’ (Hannah-Jones, 2019).

The African diaspora of slavery is no longer the sole reference for an inner conflict of identity. Double-consciousness has expanded beyond the post-slavery era of segregation onto contemporary society, and multiple other identities – those who do not live in their ethnic and native land, immigrants, Black women (and other women of colour), gay men of colour, children with a mixed heritage, etc. Reasons vary as to why double consciousness has been applied to multiple demographics, but there is a central issue. Gilroy stresses upon nationalist, racist and ethnic discourses orchestrating political regimes, so these identities appear to be exclusive (1993: 1). For ethnic minorities in the western world to merge, two identities have been perceived as provocative and even, a threat of opposing political insubordination (Gilroy, 1993: 1). Historically, society has proven its stubborn and close-minded nature when it comes to recognising dual identities. Such as the one drop rule, which was once a legal classification in the United States and its legacy continues to cause harm. The failure to recognise dualism is not only race related but can be applied to gendered and sexuality discourses (the dismissal of non-binary identities and bisexuality). Society still needs to practice the commonality of blending and interweaving multiple identities in one, rather than boxing others in an identity that does not truly reflect how they see themselves. Double consciousness ‘affords an interstitial perspective on what it means to be, say, ‘British’ or ‘American’ – a perspective that allows for the emergence of excessive and differential meanings of ‘belonging’ (Dayal et al., 1996: 47). Therefore, immigrants may struggle to balance the hybridity: the pressure to uplift their ethnic traditional customs whilst assimilating into western society, loosely echoing the original notions from Du Bois. Intersectionality is innately linked to double consciousness – Black women are often subjected to whether they prioritise their gender or race first in navigating the world, hence the question: ‘am I a Black Woman or am I a Woman who is Black?’ (Jordan-Zachery, 2007: 254). This is the same for those who are of colour and LGBTQ+. Research has proven that 61 percent of those who are Black, and LGBT have experienced racism within the LGBTQ+ community (Mcintosh, 2019). Those discriminated against often face micro-aggressions based on their identity. One interviewee recalled the time she was asked: “‘oh my god, where are you from? Where are you really from? Where are your parents from?’” are very common in predominantly white queer spaces’ (Mcintosh, 2019). This becomes a constant battle of intersectionality, double consciousness and alienation as ethnic minorities who identify as LGBT are in an endless battle of acceptance from mainstream society and their own queer community.



During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, race primarily orchestrated medicine, the economy and class structures, enslavement, levels of intelligence, prejudice beliefs, identity characteristics and the degree of nationalist acceptance. The Atlantic slave trade shifted our world entirely and led to the creation of a new ethnic identity: the African American. From then on, African Americans have been denied economic, social and political progress in the United States, inhibiting their integration and development into mainstream America. The removal of their African homeland, alongside the denial of Americanism created an inner conflict of identity: double consciousness – a concept that every African American must prepare themselves for. It is no wonder why Du Bois declared that it is indeed strange to be a problem, simply by existing. Thus, our world is globalised more than ever, creating a diverse palette of identities that never previously existed. We can adapt Du Bois' conceptualisation on how identities have become politicised – simply for existing. Or perhaps, the drains of duality and the psychological and social effects it may have on one's sense of belonging. In order to achieve equality, we must understand how the world functions. It is bittersweet how double consciousness remains a problem – but above all, it is a crucial term that accurately illuminates and captures the experiences of the oppressed fighting the oppressor.

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# Why Are Those With Mental Illness Often Stigmatised?

**Barbora Vyklicka**

Mental illness stigma is the marginalisation and discrimination of individuals because they are mentally ill (Fink & Tasman, 1992). The term 'stigma' originated in Greece, where it referred to unusual body mutilations of slaves, criminals and so forth. According to Goffman (1963), nowadays the term does not differ much, however it is not bound only to body mutilations. In his book, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, Goffman (1963) argues that stigma, by definition, dehumanises the stigmatised individual. Thus, this leads to discrimination, creates an ideology explaining the individual's inferiority and rationalises animosity towards him. This essay will draw upon relevant secondary literature in order to outline why people with mental illness are often stigmatised. The first part of this essay will focus on *social stigma*: the way the general population views individuals with mental illness based on stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes. Furthermore, the correlation between labelling theory and stigma, the influence of media representation on mental illness and the effect of stigma on institutional discrimination will be discussed. The second part of this essay will aim attention at individuals' responses to social stigma, including *self-stigma*, its causes and consequences.

In order to understand the social stigma of individuals with mental illness, it is beneficial to acknowledge the historical understanding of mental illness and the stigma surrounding it. Stigma has been attached to mental illness since the 5th century B.C. in Greece (Simon, 1992). Although the term stigma was not associated with mental illness at that time, mental illness was closely linked with a sense of shame (ibid). In Middle Age Europe, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, individuals with mental illness were looked down on, punished as sinful and believed to be troubled by demons or the devil himself (Wahl, 1999). In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, mental illness was ascribed to witchcraft and devil possession (Kemp, 1985). Eighteenth-century Europe saw the emergence of early asylums. In these institutions ill individuals were often held naked in chains, in cells with little heat or light (Wahl, 1999). According to Wahl, a more recent example of the dehumanisation of individuals with mental illness was the annihilation of psychiatric hospital patients in Nazi Germany (1999). The patients were believed to have 'life not worthy of life' (Wahl, 1999: 14). The brief history of mental illness treatment described above clearly illustrates that stigma and mental illness were closely associated and they continue to be to this day.

Throughout history individuals with mental illness have been stigmatised. The complexity of mental illness and its usually peculiar manifestations evoke fear, alienation, and distress to the layperson (Fink & Tasman, 1992). According to Crisp et al. (2000), who surveyed over 1700 people in the UK, mental health problems are generally believed to be dangerous, often self-inflicted and individuals with mental illness are considered hard to talk to. Moreover, this research suggests that these negative attitudes are held by people regardless of age or their knowledge about mental illness. Similarly, research conducted by Nunnally (1961) suggests

that while participants were informed about mental illness somewhat accurately, their attitudes were mostly very poor.

Why is it that individuals with mental illness are stigmatised? Many scholars argue that social stigma is a phenomenon which, by categorisation of individuals with mental illness as deviant, creates a sense of unity among ‘normal’ individuals in society. In fact, even Émile Durkheim argued that by naming something deviant, people reaffirm the moral ties that bind them (Carrabine et al., 2009). Likewise, Goffman (1963) states that by categorising a certain group of people as deviant, societies define their roles and expectations. He continues to say that these roles and expectations are necessary for society because they provide a sense of predictability (1963). These categorisations then enforce stigma through stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination (Corrigan & Watson, 2002).

Stereotypes represent collectively agreed upon beliefs. Prejudice, on the other hand, produces an emotional reaction, such as fear, to stigmatised groups and leads to a behavioural reaction – discrimination (Corrigan & Watson, 2002). Furthermore, stereotypes and prejudices are often reinforced by terminology that bears strong negative connotations (Nunnally, 1961). Terms such as ‘psycho’, ‘nuts’ or ‘loony’ are commonly-used derogatory labels (Rose et al., 2007). These labels exemplify continuous stigmatisation.

Another explanation for the stigmatisation of individuals with mental illness offered by some scholars is labelling theory. This sociological approach to the study of deviance emphasises the ways in which ‘rule breaking and role failure are maintained by the reactions of others’ (Pilgrim, 2014: 160). Advocates of labelling theory disagree on the origin of labels. Scheff (1966) argued that it was psychiatrists who created labels, whereas Goffman (1961) believed that it was family, psychiatrists and staff in mental hospitals (in Pilgrim, 2014). Nevertheless, these scholars agreed that labelling changes an individual’s identity and social status. In the 1960s labelling theory was subjected to large criticism (Pilgrim, 2014). Gove (1995) argued that labelling theory underestimates the causes of deviance and labelling gives the individual positive opportunity of access to effective treatment (in Rogers & Pilgrim, 2005: 188). Another criticism indicates that if ‘normal’ people play such an important role in deviance intensification, then stereotypes of mental illness would match psychiatric diagnosis (Pilgrim, 2014).

More recently labelling theory has been revisited. Link and Phelan (1995) proposed ‘modified labelling theory’ and presented two main findings based on their research. Firstly, individuals with mental health problems can find the best practice in mental health services, therefore supporting Gove’s argument of positive opportunity (Link and Phelan, 1995). Secondly, regardless of the effects of treatment on individual, stereotypes and stigma prevail (Link and Phelan, 1995). The fundamental difference between labelling theory and modified labelling theory is the method of stigmatisation. Labelling theory relies on direct prejudicial behaviour of ‘normal’ individuals. Modified labelling theory, on the other hand, relies on shared cultural expectations (Pilgrim, 2014). The shared cultural expectations of mental illness such as suspicion and rejection lead both the stigmatised and the ‘normal’ individual

to await social distancing. Both parties then enter social interactions with negative expectations thus, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy (Pilgrim, 2014). Once an individual is labelled, then he is continuously stigmatised.

Mass media plays an important role in stigmatisation of mental illness. Studies of media representation of mental illness have shown consistent negative depictions globally (Wahl, 1999). Rogers and Pilgrim (2005) state that more than 70 per cent of all mentally ill characters in prime-time drama, and two-thirds on daytime soap operas, are portrayed as violent. Moreover, the style (such as camera angle) and the mood (such as menacing music) by which mentally ill characters are portrayed in radio and TV enhances audience's fear of mental illness and exaggerates violent tendencies (Wilson et al., 1999). The results of Wilson et al.'s (1999) research suggest that mentally ill characters are largely portrayed as unpredictable, unproductive, untrustworthy and frequently associated with serious crime. The link between mental illness, crime and violence in mass media is distressing because of the lack of empirical evidence (Rogers and Pilgrim, 2005). Many scholars argue that the accuracy of information presented by mass media is extremely important since it is a common source of information about mental illness for the general public (Wahl, 1995).

Less obvious is the stigmatisation of psychiatrists in mass media. Gabbard and Gabbard (1992) categorised ten cinematic stereotypes that can be found in American cinematography. These stereotypes include '*the eccentric buffoon*', '*the unempathetic cold fish*' or '*the evil mind doctor*' (Gabbard & Gabbard, 1992: 115, 116, 118). It is clear that these stereotypes do not accurately portray common psychiatrists. However, the uninformed audience may believe that the psychiatrists' portrayal in the media is authentic and therefore negatively influences their attitude towards psychiatry. Nevertheless, in recent years there has been an increase in the positive portrayal of mentally ill individuals and psychiatrists, and mass media has also provided a platform for serious discussions about mental health (Pilgrim, 2004).

Social stigma is also noticeable in law, legislation and social policies. The way mental illness is understood shapes these social policies and can lead to institutional discrimination, further reinforcing stigma. Institutional discrimination can be divided into two types: intentional and unintentional. Unintentional institutional discrimination includes policies that may result in less opportunity for stigmatised individuals (Corrigan et al., 2004). For instance, less funding is allocated to research on mental illnesses than research on other physical health disorders (Link & Phelan, 2001). Similarly, the public health sector, which treats the most serious disorders, is underfunded, forcing many professionals to move into a better compensated private sector. Therefore, the quality of service provided to seriously mentally ill individuals differs substantially from the quality of service administered to less serious conditions (Corrigan et al., 2004).

Intentional institutional discrimination refers to law and legislation that intentionally restricts the rights and opportunities of individuals with mental illness (Corrigan et al., 2004). Moreover, the negative representation of mental illness in mass media can also be considered intentional institutional discrimination (Corrigan et al., 2004). For instance, laws restricting

the right of an individual to hold elective office, participate in juries and vote exist in one-third of states in the United States (Corrigan et al., 2004). Furthermore, Rogers and Pilgrim (2005) specify that laws that authorise involuntary detention and coercive treatment of mentally ill individuals who have not committed any crime exist in most societies. These laws reinforce stigma while violating an individual's autonomy and privacy. However, it is important to acknowledge that intentional restrictions can be legitimate if they are in place to protect the mentally ill individual as well as serve the social good (Corrigan et al., 2004).

Self-stigma is the prejudice that individuals with mental illness adopt against themselves, usually as a response to social stigma (Corrigan & Watson, 2002). It consists of stereotypes, prejudice and results in self-discrimination. Self-stigmatisation often leads to low self-esteem and poor self-efficacy (Corrigan & Rao, 2012). Self-discrimination, according to Corrigan and Rao (2012), manifests by self-isolation which can cause a decline in health service use, limited social networks and poor quality of life.

Corrigan and Rao (2012) explain self-stigma as a sequence of three processes that follow one another. The first process, *awareness*, is the stage when a mentally ill individual realises the public stigma surrounding his condition. *Agreement* occurs when this individual agrees with the negative social stigma. Lastly, the individual internalises the social stigma – *application*. This may lead to harm and creates a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Nonetheless, research suggests that an individual's reaction to social stigma does not always lead to self-stigmatisation. According to Corrigan and Watson (2002), there are three types of reaction to social stigma. Some individuals, as mentioned above, react by self-stigmatisation and experience a decrease in self-esteem. However, some individuals react with righteous anger in response to social stigma. These individuals are empowered by the stigma to become more active participants in their treatment plan and to advocate for the improvement of mental health services. The last group of individuals are neither harmed nor empowered by social stigma, displaying relative indifference. Corrigan and Watson (2002) argue, that to fully understand an individual's reaction to social stigma, a situational model must be applied. The situational response to social stigma can be influenced by an individual's perceived legitimacy of stigma or by the collective representations. There are many reasons why people with mental illness are often stigmatised. Historically, mental illness was linked with a sense of shame and humiliation (Simon, 1992). Mentally ill individuals were viewed as sinners and believed to be under the influence of demons (Wahl, 1999). With the advancement in science, mental illness started to be recognised as an illness but continued to be stigmatised and feared.

To this day individuals are stereotyped, prejudiced and discriminated against because, for normal people, mental illness evokes fear, alienation and distress (Fink & Tasman, 1992). The stigma is intensified with the usage of derogatory terms such as 'psycho' or 'loony' (Rose et al., 2007). Many scholars tried to explain the social stigma phenomenon. One theory, accepted by scholars such as Émile Durkheim and Erving Goffman, suggests that the categorisation of certain aspects as deviant creates a sense of unity in society and defines

roles and expectations of society members. Another explanation of social stigma is the labelling theory. Link and Phelan (1995) defined a modified labelling theory. It recognises the classical labelling theory argument that stigma prevails regardless of mental illness treatment. However, it acknowledges that labels can have a positive outcome.

In modern culture mass media creates and reinforces existing stigma surrounding mental illness. The way mentally ill characters are portrayed in radio and TV enhances the audience's fear of mental illness (Rogers & Pilgrim, 2005; Wilson et al., 1999). Furthermore, mass media stigmatises psychiatrists (Gabbard & Gabbard, 1992). As a result, a naïve audience can develop negative attitudes towards psychiatrists and treatment. Nevertheless, a more positive portrayal of the mentally ill and psychiatrists has been documented in recent years, as well as some serious discussions (Pilgrim, 2004).

Social stigma also influences law and social policies, which can lead to additional stigmatisation. Corrigan et al. (2004) differentiates between intentional and unintentional institutional discrimination and emphasises that there is a thin line between legitimate and discriminating laws and social policies.

Self-stigmatisation is one of the three responses to social stigma. It is often harmful to individuals and it adds to the social stigma. Other responses are empowerment and indifference. Nevertheless, Corrigan and Watson (2002) emphasise that social stigma response must be understood through the situational model.

To conclude, it is a complex interaction of various societal processes that creates and reinforces the stigmatisation of mental illness.



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# **Critically Examine Why the Concept of “Sexual Difference” is Important for Sociological Analysis Today?**

**Mahaila Mullings**

Drawing on authors such as Judith Butler (2011), this essay will explore the importance of the concept of ‘sexual difference’ for sociological analysis, focusing on sexual differences such as ‘trans’ identities. It will begin by contextualising ‘sexual difference’ by defining and exemplifying the concept. Here the essay will examine the erroneous societal assumption that binary categories of male and female are ‘normative’ and desirable sexual identities. The essay will then analyse the challenges and barriers created when binary categories of sexes are assumed, such as discrimination, stereotyping and victimisation. The essay will finally explore the progress that has been made for those who identify as ‘sexually different’, whilst also acknowledging the gaps which remain.

To understand why ‘sexual difference’ is important for sociological analysis today, one must initially understand the concept. To appreciate ‘sexual difference’ it is essential to establish what is understood as sexually ‘normative’. Essentialist analysts argue that the normative categories of sex ‘have always been men and women’ and that men and women possess ‘pure essences’, meaning fixed essential attributes (Fuss, 1990: 13,14). This binary categorisation, according to essentialists, is ‘ontologically stable’ with ‘unchangeability and predictability’ (Fuss, 1990: 3). As argued by Butler in an interview with Chea et al. (1998: 22) ‘...essential, it is a precondition, it’s a necessary pre-condition...which one cannot move’. These understandings of sexual identity have been asserted since the beginning of time in stories such as that of Adam and Eve, whereby the ‘pure essence’ of a man was his possession of a phallus, and of women was the possession of a womb (Butler, 1993). Psychoanalysts such as Freud (2006) argue that humans experience instinctive drives during childhood development which categorise them into different sexual identities. Boys experience the Oedipus complex and learn to associate with their father in becoming male, whereas girls identify with their mother through the Electra complex (Freud, 2006). Essentialist ideologies around sex and gender have instigated mistaken beliefs that those who identify outside of the binaries lack validity and are undesirable, as they do not belong within socially ‘commendable’ categories (Fuss, 1990).

Social constructivist analysts criticise essentialist understandings of sexual identity, suggesting that essentialist beliefs of sexual identities as stable essences should not be considered (Chea et al., 1998). Butler (2011) goes further by suggesting that society must reconceptualise the human body without asserting scientifically fixed essences, such as a penis or a womb, to it.

Furthermore, Butler (2011) argues that human sexual identities are the outcome of several constructing epistemological power processes which include, but are not limited to, social, chemical, sexual and political processes. As Butler explains, the physical body is:

a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter (Butler, 2011: xviii).

These processes not only produce binary categories of sexes however, they also govern individuals within the scope of liminality (Butler, 2011). These power processes govern the sexed body, to either empower or confine the individual that exists within it, whereby individuals internalise and perform acts associated with their sexual identities (Butler, 2011). Judith Butler highlights the importance of sociological analysis to reveal and scrutinise the 'codes of legitimacy', meaning the processes which justify fixed binary categories of sex (in Mejer & Prins, 1998). This will create a space for those who identify outside of those binaries as 'sexually different' (Mejer & Prins, 1998). For Butler (1988: 522) without these acts, constructed by power processes, 'there would be no gender'.

Social constructivists would further argue that since sexual identities are constructed, they are therefore variable depending on the time in history, culture and individual differences (Fuss, 1990). Therefore, sociological analysis needs to reveal accurate epistemologies of humanity and sexual identities, as unfixed and unbounded, allowing space for change and acceptance of 'sexual difference' (Butler, 2011).

Examples of sexual differences existing outside of binary categories include, but are not limited to: bigender i.e. identifying with both sexual categories of man and woman; intersex i.e. those who 'may have the biological attributes of both sexes or whose biological attributes do not fit with societal assumptions about what constitutes male or female'; as well as those who identify under the umbrella term 'trans' (Stonewall, 2017). For the scope of this essay, I will focus on 'trans' identities.

'Trans' was established by transgender activists in the 1990s and has undergone several evolutionary transformations since its inclusion within The Oxford English Dictionary (2020) in the 1990s. Today, The Stonewall Charity (2017) and The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) (2020) are both influential charities who have documented the experiences of those who identify as 'sexually different'. GLAAD (2020), defines 'trans' as an adjective describing those who are sexually different, whereby their sex identity contradicts the 'normative' understandings behind sexual identity: 'to describe those whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from what is typically associated with the sex they were assigned at birth'. Many of those who identify as 'trans' choose to undergo surgery or take medicinal hormones, in an attempt to align their bodies with their desired sexual identity; however, not all choose or wish to do so (Stonewall, 2017). Whether an individual chooses or chooses not to partake in these procedures should not determine their final sexual and gender identity, unless the individual wishes for it to do so (Stonewall, 2017). Therefore, sexual difference is important for sociological analysis as it may assist in highlighting this.

‘Sexual difference’ is important to sociological analysis today as many sexual identities remain unacknowledged and perceived as irrelevant and dysfunctional (Stryker and Whittle, 2006). One sociological analytical framework that has highlighted the needs of those who identify as ‘sexually different’ are transactivists and trans-analytical sociological theorists (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010). Trans analysts criticise the binary categories of sexual identities and argue, similarly to social constructivists, that gender is the result of political constructs (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010). Further, Nagoshi and Brzuzy (2010) suggest that the behaviours attached to sexual beings are related to heteronormative stereotypes, which produce power relations between different individuals, causing society to perceive them differently. By heteronormative stereotypes, I am referring to the assumption that binary, heterosexual identities are most desirable, causing those who identify outside of those to become ostracised. This has caused many of those who refuse to conform to be subjects of social exclusion (Nagoshi and Brzuzy, 2010). Trans-analysis is a development of feminist and queer theories. The latter theories successfully contested the normative categorisation of sex, gender and sexuality, whilst also criticising the roles attached to these. As stated by Nagoshi and Brzuzy, these theories:

rebels against, or “queers” these kinds of essentialist views by proposing that gender role, gender identity and sexual orientation are social constructs and, therefore, open to questioning, subversion and self-construction (2010: 434).

However, these analytical frameworks also lacked full inclusivity of sexual identities, including ‘trans’ identities, whilst many further added to the negative stereotyping of those who identify as ‘sexually different’ (Betcher and Garry, 2009). Betcher and Garry (2009) discuss how ‘sexual difference’ has been excluded, disregarded and presented as dysfunctional within the very feminist and queer theories which promise to assure gender and sex empowerment. For example, in the feminist sociologists Janice Raymond’s (1979) famous book: *The Transsexual Empire: the making of the she-male*, she presents herself in a transphobic manner. By this, Raymond (1979) argues that ‘trans’ bodies are abnormal, animalistic and exist outside of the normative desirable body. Raymond (1979: 104) states that ‘trans’ bodies:

‘...colonise feminist identification, culture, politics and sexuality... rape women’s bodies by reducing the real female form to an artefact, appropriating this body for themselves...’.

This suggests that ‘trans’ bodies are negligible, abusive and deceptive through the metaphorical use of the lexicon ‘rape’, whereby women’s bodies are accessed (Raymond, 1979). These understandings of ‘trans’, by feminist and queer sociological analysts, often reinforce harmful transphobic ideologies (Raymond, 1979).

Trans theorists, however, centralise the experiences of those who identify as ‘trans’ and aim to understand their sexual difference (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010). Trans theorists contest arguments such as those presented by Janice Raymond (1979). For example, in: *The Empire*

*Strikes Back: A post transsexual manifesto*, Sandy Stone (1992) defends trans identities, criticising transphobic stereotypes of 'Trans' identities as 'she-males' who are guilty of 'raping' or 'appropriating' female bodies. Through her opposition against binary notions of sexual identity, Stone (1992) highlighted the challenges faced within the 'trans' populations to, not only bring them into social understandings, but also to bring emancipation from these struggles. Stone (1992) argued that to eradicate transphobic and trans-exclusionary ideologies, sociological analysis needs to develop a new understanding of sex itself, which overthrows the whole system of sex and gender. As Stryker and Whittle (2006:4) state:

by soliciting a new corpus of intellectual and creative work capable of analyzing and communicating to others the concrete realities of "changing sex."

Although trans analytical frameworks have established profound understandings of sexual difference, gaps remain. Negative and harmful stereotypes are associated to trans bodies, influencing their lived experiences, therefore the sexual difference remains of importance within sociological analysis today.

The concept of 'sexual difference' is important for sociological analysis today, as many challenges arise when binary understandings of sexual identities are communicated and accepted throughout society; whereby 'sexual differences' are stigmatised (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010). Stigmatisations arise from negative stereotypical understandings and cause many of those who identify as sexually different to experience high levels of social exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation, within both their public and private realms (Romero et al., 2020).

Evidence shows that those who identify with 'non-conforming' sexual identities experience higher levels of marginalisation and victimisation from abuse than their sexually 'conforming' counterparts (Romero et al., 2020). Although there is a lack of research which solely focuses on 'sexual difference', research by Casey et al. (2017: 1454) found that, regarding their sexual orientation or gender identity:

Experiences of interpersonal discrimination were common for LGBTQ adults, including slurs (57 percent), microaggressions (53 percent).

Moreover, Romero et al. (2020) found that those who identify as transgender are nearly twice as likely to experience domestic abuse when compared to their binary-sexual counterparts.

Another concern which arises, is that many of those who identify as 'sexually different' experience further barriers when seeking social support and justice, especially when tackling their experiences of victimisation (The Human Rights Campaign, 2020). According to The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programmes (2013), this is often a result of the violence, discrimination and assaultive behaviours that are perpetrated by the criminal justice system and transphobic officers who work within it (in The Human Rights Campaign, 2020). The National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programmes (2013) further found that nearly half of the

transgender population that completed their survey were not comfortable with seeking support, or prevention aid from the police force, which leaves many perpetrations unreported and unacknowledged (in The Human Rights Campaign, 2020). These arguments presented are not to suggest that those who identify as ‘sexually different’ experience a ‘worse’ sense of abuse than other ‘sexually-conforming’ victims and survivors, however that they experience abuse differently (The Human Rights Campaign, 2020). This is because they are not only directly challenged with perpetrations of abuse, but they also experience burdensome consequences from the stigma’s associated to their intersecting variable of sexual identity (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010). This is often further heightened when those who are ‘sexually different’ possess other socially disadvantageous identity variables, for example those who are black, disabled, lower-class, etc. (Nagoshi & Brzuzy, 2010).

Evidence also suggests that those who identify as ‘sexually different’ face challenges within healthcare institutions (Stroumsa, 2014). This is important for sociological analysis today, as many of those who identify as ‘sexually different’ are confronted with barriers in accessing adequate healthcare services for their needs, and are further challenged by insensitive healthcare professionals who demonstrate a lack of competence towards their needs (Romero et al., 2020).

These arduous barriers in accessing healthcare services may detrimentally affect the mental and physical wellbeing of those who identify as ‘sexually different’. Many not only require the usual medical care but also require care related to interventions such as hormone therapy, surgeries or issues related to their physiological bodies (Safer et al., 2016). Challenges within the healthcare institution however may reduce the likelihood that those who identify as ‘sexually different’ seek healthcare; increasing their risks of poor mental and physical health (Stroumsa, 2014).

Furthermore, many of those who identify as ‘sexually different’ experience indirect stigmatisation by the healthcare system, whereby ‘sexual difference’ is often pathologised as a medical condition (Bockting, 2009). This is important as many of those who identify as ‘sexually different’ do not consider their ‘difference’ to be a medicalised condition or disorder, however view it as a part of their identity, in similar ways that men and women view their sexual identity (Bockting, 2009). For example, the NHS (2016) label the sexual difference ‘trans’ as the medical disorder ‘gender dysphoria’. The UK Governments Equalities Office (2018) state that those who identify as ‘trans’ must be diagnosed with the ‘gender dysphoria’ condition, before they are entitled to medical treatment (in Bockting, 2009). This is important for sociological analysis today, as this requirement may become a barrier between those who are ‘sexually different’ and healthcare provision, whereby those who are ‘sexually different’ may not wish to pathologise their sexual identity as a condition (Bockting, 2009). Additionally, presenting ‘sexual difference’ as a medical condition, in need of treatment, stigmatises sexually different bodies as a deviation from the ‘healthy body’, and therefore suggests that it is desirable that they change (Bockting, 2009). For example, intersex bodies are often perceived as abnormal and therefore subject to medical intervention at birth, to assert a single binary sexual identity (Bockting, 2009). This removes the agency

from that individual, whilst removing their opportunities for sexual ambiguity and fluidity that they were born with (Bockting, 2009). Bockting (2009: 104) suggests that:

Instead of assisting males to “change sex” and become “women” or females to “change sex” and become men, the approach to care is, therefore, shifting toward facilitating a transgender coming out process. This represents a shift from a disease-based model (something went wrong during the individual’s development that needs to be corrected) toward an identity-based model of transgender health (not the individual, but social stigma of gender variance and the associated health disparities are the problem).

Sociological analysts such as Judith Butler (2011) and Sandy Stone (1992) would agree that there is a need for a shift within the paradigms of sex itself, whereby categories of sexuality are shifted, leaving opportunities and support for those who are ‘sexually different’.

‘Sexual difference’ is important for sociological analysis today as a result of the contributions it has made, and continues to make, toward social change. For instance, the arguments presented by Butler (2011) to expand the paradigms of sexual identity have been successful and there has been a rise in status, recognition and protection of those who identify as ‘sexually different’ as a result (Butler, 2011). This is because bodies and sexual identities are more commonly understood as processes constructed as a result of epistemological power relations, as discussed previously (Butler, 2011).

One example presented by Judith Butler (1999) in *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* is in her rethinking of drag. Butler (1999: 175) argues:

In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself – as well as contingency.

Butler (1999) is arguing that male drag demonstrates how sexual identity is embodied and performed, whereby the binary rules and attributes of sexual identity are adhered to and carried out. Nonetheless, Butler (1999) suggests that drag proves the instability of gender and shows how it can be exploited. To go further, in her article in the Guardian, Nicholson (2017) discusses the introduction of three sexual ontologies of female drag queens; a woman, performing as a man, who is performing as a woman. Butler (1999) would argue that this is an example of how we must destabilise ideas of sexual identity, revealing the fluidity in the structures.

Furthermore, since sociological analysis acknowledged ‘sexual difference’, there have been practical increases in the inclusion and acknowledgement of sexual differences in the social world. For example, in 2009 The Office for National Statistics Census Transformation Programme (2016) highlighted the need for inclusion of the ‘trans’ population. This contested sex and gender as a binary concept and has resulted in gender inclusivity within the upcoming census. This will allow officials to obtain more accurate data regarding the



statistics and needs of the 'sexually different' population (ONS Census Transformation Programme, 2016).

Furthermore, inclusion is evident through the increased protections and recognitions from statutory authorities. For example, The Gender Recognition Act (2004) and The Equality Act (2010) have allowed for full gender and sexual expression for sexual differences, with added protection. However, this group continue to face challenges within the depths of these statutes, as they must undertake certain processes before they are even considered for state recognition certification and protections. For instance, they must be 18 years old, have transitioned for two years and pay a fee (GLAAD, 2020). This may cause many of those who identify as 'sexually different' to face difficulties, whereby they are made to prove themselves to the very state which has a duty to protect and recognise its people (GLAAD, 2020).

Nonetheless, changes have been made within the public realm for those who identify as sexually different. For example, there is an increasing number of gender-neutral toilets, which intend to be more inclusive towards sexual differences. For example, the article by Moore (2018) highlights that 'The BBC has installed gender-neutral lavatories in all its buildings and offers paid leave to staff changing gender...'. Additionally, schools have been encouraged not to refer to their students as 'boys and girls', as 'it is not only exclusionary to trans-identified and gender variant young people but subtly reinforced that gender is a significant difference' (Twomey, 2016). These examples demonstrate a shift from normative-binary assumptions of sexual identity, to recognising and including sexual differences. However, these may be critiqued as schools continue to group students into classes, such as physical exercise, according to their sexual identities. Furthermore, unisex toilets have undergone great deals of scrutiny, whereby it has been suggested that those who are sexually different remain misunderstood. Although Butler (2011) argues that the paradigms have become disturbed, gaps remain as the full inclusion of sexual difference is yet to be achieved, therefore the concept of 'sexual difference' remains important to sociological analysis today.

To conclude, I have argued that the concept of sexual difference is important for sociological analysis today as binary-normative categories of sexual identity continue to be assumed throughout society, causing a great deal of misrecognition, abuse and challenges to those who identify as sexually different. Although great progress has been made, extensive rights, recognitions and protections of those who identify as sexually different are yet to be achieved. For this, I suggest that sociological analysis needs to highlight and scrutinise the epistemological and ontological powers which create certain realities. This will reveal the powers in society that can assert certain 'truths', such as binary categories of sex, whilst acknowledging how bodies are lived and experienced in different ways (Butler, 2011). That way society will be able to recognise sexual identity as something unfixed and unbounded, creating opportunity and room for sexual differences.

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# Is There Evidence of Discrimination Against Ethnic Minorities?

**Roisin Thornton**

The social controversies surrounding ethnic discrimination are found to be related to the different definitions of race. Specifically, ethnicity is the state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural affiliation. Whereas race is more affiliated with someone's inferior biological fixed properties that tie them physically to a certain group (Blum, 2002), ethnicity is a more controversial study of someone's social practices, heritage, religion and traditions. One of the biggest arguments surrounding ethnic minorities is the discrimination they face; how can one ethnic group be discriminated against when another is not, for example, Hispanics or African Americans compared to the white ethnic group. However, one huge debate on this argument can be observed through the notion of where the discrimination originates from and why there is still awkwardness on the debate surrounding it (Gilroy, 2004); whether there is a starting point of discrimination which leads to the continuation throughout the lives of the migrant communities. This essay will look at the observed supporting evidence of discrimination against ethnic minorities in the United States (US) and the unobserved but conceptual ideas of discrimination in the workplace, criminal justice system and in political debate. I will argue that there is evidence of discrimination against ethnic minorities, however, to some extent there are questions of validity of social research into discrimination as it is difficult to measure and prove the whole narrative.

Historically, the concept of race did not emerge as is presently understood until the 1684 publication of *A New Division of the Earth* (Bernier, 1684, in Hochman, 2019), based on Bernier's travels in which he differentiated humanity into different sub-species (Hochman, 2019). This concept is extremely outdated as it is suggestive of an unequal society. The United States can be seen as a prime melting pot of migration: Africans were uprooted and were traded to be slaves (for example by the Jamestown settlers who were a part of the Old South plantation system), with the slaves made to work beneath the white man, the plantation elite (Appelbaum and Sweet, 2012). However, despite the US transition to a post-slavery society, pull factors to the US remained, albeit less forcible. Contemporarily they include familial ties, a better standard of living, educational opportunities, and chain migration. It is mainly the push factors which create such migration patterns into the US: debt, financial crisis, quickening communication and civil wars in Central America (1970-1990's). The integration of people, of so-called 'races', through the theoretical contact theory of 'diversity increasing trust', can be due to the inter-group contact functioning as a way of reducing racial prejudice (Allport et al., 1954) - this can be through providing opportunity, understanding and cohesion.

However, this idea only works if members of the community attempt to bridge the gap of exclusivity; there is an ingrained fear, stereotyping and lack of trust that prevents this from happening. Allport et al. (1954) used the Herfindahl Index of Ethnic Homogeneity (HIEH) to show how, when there is strong evidence for higher levels of homogeneity, there are higher

levels of trust which undermines the idea that that diversity creates community trust. In the US, heterogeneous communities are generally less affluent, non-white and less stable than their counterpart (Abascal and Baldassarri, 2015). Putman addressed the relationship between trust and diversity and saw how groups are not coming together to produce a foundation for society to help with societal problems (2007) of racism and prejudice.

At the beginning of someone's life, education plays an important part in how their future will be determined. Not only does it identify the subjects that an individual either succeeds or fails in, in order to provide foundations for specific jobs, for example, biology for becoming a doctor, it also creates a path in which an individual may find themselves being prejudiced against or not. More often than not, economic circumstances lead to white children overtaking ethnic minorities in their vocabulary which causes them to fall behind, constantly playing catch up with others of their age. In addition to this, ethnic family structures may lead to older children having to play a bigger role at home and therefore their attendance falters because of this. Perhaps, English being a second language and teachers responding to this based on their accent, and errors in speech, may cause stereotyping, thus creating labels for minorities that they naturally will not do as well as their counterparts (Delamere, 1996). First generation migrants who already lack the same educational levels are at risk of low social capital, which refers to the individual's ability to mobilise resources (Portes, 1995). The second and third generation migrants born in the US, who should be given the same chances as their counterparts in the workplace, are not as they lack skills from a differing educational experience. It is because of educational disparities in teacher attitudes towards ethnic minority students that may cause them to act out and become troublesome, which results in exclusion. These factors, beginning in the classroom, lead to the different lifestyles in which children of the US live, inclusive of beginning a deviant career, which I will discuss later.

To prove there is evidence of discrimination I will now look into the workplace and how, through different areas of the hiring and employment stage, discrimination can occur. Initially the idea of conflict theory is the foundation for my argument on workplace discrimination. Under conditions of increased diversity, there seems to be certain feelings of threat from ethnic minority groups onto the majority. They ascertain these minority groups to be taking their economic and political power, as well as increasing their competition for an increasingly scarce amount of resources, as a response to increased population size. Conflict theory is the argument that the majority demonstrates greater levels of bigotry (Blalock, 1967) and prejudice towards ethnic minorities as a means to an end, to stop these migrants from gaining power. Not only is this the case in the workplace, but many employers tend to discriminate statistically in order to maintain this 'us' versus 'them' attitude, through legal workplace jargon (Pager and Karafin, 2009). Statistical discrimination sees employers judge the performance of an employee by the average of the group. However, as Pager and Karafin (2009: 89) saw, employers judged ethnic minorities in their company as 'my blacks aren't like blacks in general', noting that their own black workers were special in comparison to the rest of those grouped through statistical analysis of their performance. Pager and Karafin's (2009) book, *Bayesian Bigot*, interviewed employers within the realm of the retail and

hospitality sector, suggesting they are low paid, less skilled customer facing jobs. It is quite unique to analyse this employment sector as there is judgment in the hiring stage regarding appearance and thus employability of ethnic minorities. The stage of hiring can cause discrimination in whether you get a call back or are offered the job. However, there is a distinct lack of sufficient evidence due to the isolated experience of the hiring process where one cannot know whether discrimination occurred due to being unaware of other candidate's ethnicity and qualifications. Pager and Karafin, while conducting an interview with a manager, overheard a black male replying to the offer of an interview later in the week with 'Gotcha. See you then' (2009: 84) to which the manager stated he would not be hiring that man due to the informal language used. Referring back to the level of educational differences between ethnic minorities and white people in the US, it is evident that the choice of vocabulary, which is indicative of their education, can dramatically decrease their chances of achieving greatly in interview processes for employment. However, once employed, the ability to measure discrimination of whether career progression and promotions are more favourable to the white employee than an ethnic minority is difficult. Thus, the empirical nature of racism in statistics is questionable and lacks circumstantial evidence.

In the US criminal justice system (CJS), there is a significant amount of ethnic minority discrimination, especially surrounding African-American youth in the US. The system in which it picks up youths from relatively deprived areas, throwing them into a whirlwind of arrests, stop and searches, court and jail, just to spit them back out onto the streets with a record, time-done, back into the poverty from which they came. The relationship between racism, crime and minority processing (Baldus and Woodworth, 1998), points towards a history of violent racial conflict. This term can be used to refer to the discriminatory practices by those working in the CJS against minority persons (Akers and Sellers, 2004). In a similar way to the different stages of workplace discrimination, the CJS has stages, firstly the practice of arrest, then the punishment stages. Racial conflict also explains how some people commit crime and how it links to the disparate decision-making in the system against ethnic minorities at both stages. In the case of Rodney King and the riots of 1992, a verdict of not-guilty was returned upon the officers of the Los Angeles Police Department, who violently beat King in 1991 as a result of a high-speed chase that saw King fleeing arrest (Davis, 1994). It saw how judges employ positive discrimination for the majority in the US, inclusive of all white people and the police force. They were indicted on charges of assault and assault with a deadly weapon, yet as a result many discriminatory factors worked in favour of the officers, for example, moving the trial to a predominantly white suburb, Simi Valley and having 10 white people, one Hispanic person and one Asian person as the jury. This links to numerous accounts of shooting unarmed African-Americans in the street. Two cases that portray this well are the murders of Florida born Trayvon Martin in 2012, and Michael Brown in Missouri City in 2014. Martin, who was shot dead by neighbourhood-watch man, Zimmerman, was perceived as a threat to Zimmerman's life despite Martin just walking back from a convenience store to his father's fiancée's home in a mostly-white gated community. Zimmerman was acquitted of the killing of Martin because he fitted the profile and it was a dead man's voice against a middle-class white man who said there was a fight (Berry and

Stovall, 2013). Brown, in 2014 was shot dead by a police officer who reported it to be self-defence, saying there was a struggle for his gun. In fact, Brown was not alone and his friend accounted a different story, saying Brown was shot at and began running when Brown was shot multiple more times (Swaine, 2014, in *The Guardian*). These evidential accounts of discrimination against ethnic minorities are somewhat the cause of African-American communities remaining in poverty, where even with 67% of the population being African-American, 94% of the police, local government and mayor are white in Missouri City (Swaine, 2014). This integrating community can be theorised through the conflict theory, which maintains ethnic minorities have the lowest levels of social power and thus the highest levels of intolerance. The court systems abuse of power is something that causes persistent conflict between majority and minority, and an ineffective CJS that does not equally assess everyone though their rights as citizens say they should. There is difficulty in measuring discrimination in the CJS as it is hard to ask questions to those in power, similar to the difficulties of convicting someone of workplace discrimination. There ensues an inability to blame one person for the inhumane conviction of an ethnic minority when most of the main players in the system are knowingly working against it. Empirically, findings show disproportionate minority arrests due to police discretion. Studies show young African-American boys and men to be perceived as being older and less innocent than young white youth and men. They are already at the disadvantage of the system due to their economic inability to achieve not-guilty as a result of a good lawyer instead of a pro-bono or state provided lawyer. The system fails these young African-American boys from the day they are born. The ingrained prejudice of the CJS allows discrimination to occur.

Another piece of circumstantial evidence of discrimination is the political debates of the United States. As recently as 2009, when former President, Barak Obama, took his place in the White House, he was praised for being the first African American 'Black' President. One could delve deeper into this labelling, because he was in fact mixed race with an American-Irish mother and a Kenyan born father, however the debate over how the media portrayed him is not key here. When Barak Obama was running for President he encouraged the swing and the undecided voters by showing his support for everyone, managing to encapsulate a black voter turnout that nearly equalled that of whites (Anderson, 2016), with 66% of Hispanics, 62% of Asians, and, almost expected, 95% of African Americans. What is most interesting is the contrast in turnout between Obama and Trump's presidential run, which saw the decline of the black voter, dropping to 59.6% compared to that of 65.3% of White people (Krogstad and Lopez, 2017). As we discussed previously in terms of the criminal justice system, it is clear that the current and former President were in different minds when it comes to the prison system. Trump has, since his election, encouraged a growth in private prisons, through reversing Barak Obama's decision to phase them out (Ramirez, 2018), with 80,000 immigrant detainees being housed daily in order to crack down on immigration under Trump. The main argument in President Trump's campaign was this idea of cracking down on illegal immigrants, through use of hate-filled messages and hate stratagems used by both candidates of the 2016 election (Kirk and Martin, 2017). It largely saw a move away from the pioneered change which Barak Obama instilled onto American Society, and reverting back to the



traditional, racist resentment toward ethnic minority groups labelled mainly as the 'Mexicans'. Contrastingly, Hispanics voted in favour of President Trump, as it seems they were on board with the statement Trump made: 'when Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best' (Galbraith and Callister, 2020). Assumptions can be made that those who voted were conservative legal migrants (Galbraith and Callister, 2020), and fear that registering to vote may be detrimental to family members creates a lack of common opinion of the Hispanic vote. Although this is both an argument for and against discrimination of ethnic minorities, it functions as a tool in how collecting data to analyse can obscure validity, and therefore how accurate is evidence of discrimination?

In conclusion, there is evidence of discrimination against ethnic minorities; some areas of society are more easily proved to be discriminatory than others. As such, there lacks a definite indication as to the amount of discrimination that actually exists. There is a hidden figure of ethnic discrimination that is unobserved but is known to exist through other means which start with someone's history, their education and thus the lifestyle bestowed upon them just by being part of an ethnic minority group.

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# **In What Ways Have Political Policies Contributed to the Worsening of Economic Inequality in Wealthy Nations?**

**Alicia Rogers**

## **Introduction:**

The issue of economic inequality in wealthy nations is an important matter for sociologists to investigate. This essay will begin by presenting some statistics on the topic to demonstrate the seriousness of the problem. Next, the essay will highlight the debate which has taken place over whether economic inequality in wealthy nations is a result of political or apolitical factors, such as globalisation and education. The essay will then explore the shift towards neoliberalism in the 1980s in America and the UK, and the effect of this on political policies in worsening economic inequality. Then, the essay will discuss the importance of the disproportionate lobbying power of corporations, as well as the impact of this on the creation of political policies that worsen economic inequality in wealthy nations.

Furthermore, the essay will examine the role that financialization of the economy has had in creating winner-takes-all inequality. Next, the essay will analyse in detail the four key political policy areas that have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations, including; taxation, corporate governance, industrial relations, and financial deregulation. Lastly, the essay will consider the impact of the austerity programme, pursued by the Conservative-led coalition government from 2010-15, on worsening economic inequality in the UK. The essay will reach the conclusion that politics and inequality are closely interlinked and that a number of political policy areas, outlined in the essay, have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

## **Economic Inequality Statistics:**

The rising levels of economic inequality in wealthy nations has been an area of concern for both economists and sociologists since the 1980s, during which the compression of wealth gaps began to reverse. Although GDP has grown significantly across the globe, not everybody has benefitted from this rise in wealth. In fact, economic inequality has also drastically increased, so the ownership of wealth in rich nations is concentrated in a small minority of the population. For instance, 'in 2010 the top one percent owned more than 34 percent of total net worth, and the next 9 percent owned an additional 40 percent' (Keister and Hang Young, 2014: 16). Therefore, shocking statistics like this one highlight the vast economic inequality which exists within wealthy nations.

In recent years, researchers have directed their focus to the top one percent of the population and their vast sums of wealth. As a result, a number of studies have been conducted which have demonstrated how unequal Western society has become. In terms of income inequality, 'in 2007, average annual incomes of the top 1 percent of households were 42 times greater

than incomes of the bottom 90 percent, and incomes of the top 0.1 percent were 220 times greater' (Mishel and Sabadish, 2012). Hence, the cycle of economic inequality is continuously being reproduced through wage disparity. Next, I will discuss the debate which has taken place between economists and sociologists over the causes of worsening economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Apolitical vs Political Factors:**

Traditionally, economists have claimed that apolitical factors are responsible for causing economic inequality in wealthy nations. These apolitical factors include globalisation and access to higher education. For instance, improvements in communication and transportation enabled corporations to establish offshore manufacturing bases overseas, where they could increase their profits by paying workers less. Subsequently, 'flexible accumulation appears to imply relatively high levels of structural unemployment... modest gains in the real wage, and the roll-back of trade union power' (Harvey, 1989: 149-50). Therefore, globalisation has had a devastating effect on workers in developed nations because they have less bargaining power over pay and working conditions. In fact, typical Democrat voters in the Rustbelt states supported Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election because he promised them employment after their jobs were moved abroad. Nevertheless, globalisation cannot be solely to blame for worsening economic inequality because it does not explain why a tiny fraction of the population are experiencing huge gains in wealth.

Moreover, although access to higher education is routinely cited as an explanation for worsening economic inequality, it cannot be the sole explanation. For instance, research has shown that 'young college graduate (21-24 years old) unemployment topped the national average for all workers; nearly 20 per cent were unemployed' (Antonio, 2013: 30). As a result, access to higher education does not automatically lead to a highly-paid job, and the vast majority of those who access higher education will not become part of the wealthiest one percent of society. Thus, access to higher education may fuel a divide between those that are university educated and those that are not, but it is not a sufficient explanation for the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations. Fundamentally, these factors are important ones to consider, yet this standard economic approach ignores the role of government policy in generating economic inequality in wealthy nations. Next, I will explore the shift to neoliberalism and its influence on political policies that have worsened economic inequality.

### **Shift to Neoliberalism:**

The political policies which have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations since the 1980s were introduced because of the shift towards neoliberalism. The post-war period was dominated by social liberalism and this ideology peaked in the 1960s when a number of reforms were introduced to combat inequality in both America and the UK. However, 'by the late 1970s, the lost Vietnam War, Watergate, Iran hostage crisis, stagflation and other problems undercut faith in government' (Antonio, 2013: 22). As a

result, the population began to reject social liberalism and neoliberalism emerged as a popular alternative. In fact, neoliberalism had been championed by the economist Hayek many years before, but his ideas were only endorsed in the 1980s when the right-wing leaders Thatcher and Reagan were elected. Neoliberalism advocates a limited role for government & a laissez faire, non-interventionist approach to economic markets.

During the 1980s, numerous political policies were pursued in America and the UK which included; ‘massive tax cuts for the rich, the crushing of trade unions, deregulation, privatisation, outsourcing and competition in public services’ (Monbiot, 2016). Therefore, the markets were liberalised and businesses were subject to fewer checks and balances. The damaging effects of neoliberal policies were made clear at the time, there were concerns that environmental standards would be compromised and inequality would skyrocket. Nevertheless, supporters of neoliberalism genuinely believed that wealth would trickle down from the top, so the whole population would benefit from a rise in living standards. Yet, economic inequality has massively worsened in wealthy nations since neoliberal policies were introduced in the 1980s. Next, I will examine the disproportionate lobbying power of corporations and the impact of this on the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Lobbying Power:**

A major reason why political policies contribute to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations is because they are influenced by corporations. Arguably, politics and inequality are closely related because businesses routinely convert their vast sums of wealth into political power by lobbying politicians to legislate in their interests. For instance, in relation to Enron, ‘under the Clinton administration, donations of nearly \$2 million to Democrat causes won the company over \$1 billion in subsidized loans’ (Blackburn, 2002). Therefore, the resources available to corporate elites allows them to persuade the government to pass laws that will maximise their profits, such as tax cuts for example. However, if the government is prioritising the interests of businesses as opposed to ordinary workers, then economic inequality will rise. Next, I will consider the financialization of economies in wealthy nations and the impact of this on the worsening of economic inequality.

### **Financialization:**

Traditionally, Western economies were dominated by the manufacturing sector that involved profiting from the production and consumption of tangible products, such as fossil fuel extraction. However, data on relative industry shares of corporate profits between 1950 and 2001 shows ‘the decline of manufacturing is dramatic’ and ‘now FIRE is the dominant sector of the economy’ (Krippner, 2005: 180). The financial sector (FIRE) involves offering insurance to individuals and corporations, selling different financial products and speculating that a commodity’s price will rise or fall. The major political parties in both America and the UK subscribed to the belief that the financial sector helped to create prosperity for all, so politicians took an active role in lobbying to reduce financial regulations.

An implication of financialization is that measures of economic growth do not reflect overall wellbeing because rising levels of GDP does not benefit all members of the population equally. Hacker and Pierson (2010) describe this as ‘winners-take-all inequality’ because the richest in society are receiving disproportionate amounts of wealth. For instance, ‘a whopping 84 percent of all stocks owned by Americans belong to the wealthiest 10 percent of households’ (Cohen, 2018). As a result, a large proportion of the population are not in a position to benefit from investing in the stock market, so financialization directly increases income polarisation. Next, I will outline the four key political policy areas that have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations, beginning with taxation.

### **Taxation:**

The first key political policy area that has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations is taxation. In recent years, the issue of taxation has been on the political agenda because governments have been criticised for failing to force large corporations, such as Amazon and Starbucks, to pay their fair share of tax. Taxation policy is significant because it enables legislators to influence the distribution of income within society. According to previous research, ‘changes in tax incidence account for roughly one-third of the total gains in income share for the top 0.1 percent in the last four decades’ (Hacker and Pierson, 2010: 184). Therefore, taxation policies have favoured the rich and enabled them to keep more of their wealth, rather than redistributing it to help fund public services and create a more equal society. Consequently, the figures suggest that taxation has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

Furthermore, the taxation policy which allows hedge-fund managers to treat their fees as capital gains tax, as opposed to income tax, is particularly controversial. According to annual HMRC data, ‘9,000 people paid just £5.1bn in tax on £33.7bn of capital gains income... that works out at an average tax rate of 14.8%, lower than the basic rate income tax of 20%’ (Neate, 2019). Hence, taxation policy is worsening economic inequality because the wealthiest in society are unfairly paying a smaller proportion of tax in comparison to the average worker. Although public opinion largely accepts that this is a regressive policy, it has been maintained because there is little political will to challenge the finance sector. Hacker and Pierson (2010) refer to this politically driven failure of public policy to adapt in line with new economic realities as ‘drift’. Next, I will analyse the role of corporate governance in contributing to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Corporate Governance:**

The next key political policy area that has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations is corporate governance, specifically CEO compensation. Although corporate governance does not tend to be directly associated with political decision-making, American politicians have not enforced limits on CEO pay, thereby enabling the

situation to spiral out of control since the 1980s. For instance, one study highlighted ‘the CEO-to-worker compensation ratio, 20-to-1 in 1965, peaked at 376-to-1 in 2000 and was 303-to-1 in 2014’ (Mishel and Davis, 2015). Thus, the enormous salaries of executive elites have undoubtedly worsened economic inequality in wealthy nations. Yet again, this is another example of policy drift, in which legislators continue to advantage the wealthiest in society by failing to update policies in line with wider economic changes.

Moreover, CEO compensation has seen a dramatic increase because of the endorsement of shareholder value. This is the idea that CEOs deserve to be rewarded because they have managed the company effectively. Often, stock options were used as a vehicle for linking executive pay to performance, but this was not always the case. Instead, ‘the value of options simply rose along with stock prices, even if stock price gains were fleeting, or a firm’s performance badly trailed that of other companies in the same sector’ (Hacker and Pierson, 2010: 191). As a result, corporate governance has worsened economic inequality because in order to maintain high CEO compensation, employees are forced to suffer by working longer hours for stagnating pay. Next, I will explore the role of industrial relations in contributing to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Industrial Relations:**

Another key political policy area that has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations is industrial relations. In America, ‘from 1973 to 2011, the share of the workforce represented by unions declined from 26.7 percent to 13.1 percent’ (Mishel, 2012). Clearly, globalisation has contributed to this decline because as companies moved overseas, high unemployment at home increased competition for jobs, so workers had little bargaining power to demand better pay or working conditions. Subsequently, unions tried to force companies to maintain operations at home but this led to frequent strikes, so companies were more adamant to go abroad. Conversely, Canada has also experienced similar problems arising from globalisation but ‘Canadian unions now enjoy much broader membership’ (Hacker and Pierson, 2010: 187). Therefore, this example of policy drift, in which American politicians have failed to update industrial relation policies in line with changing economic realities, has played a crucial part in the weakening of unions.

The decline of unions has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations because political power, traditionally held by unions, has been transferred to corporations. For instance, ‘each year all of the nation’s unions spend about \$48m on lobbying in Washington, while corporate America spends more than \$2.5bn – more than 50 times as much’ (Greenhouse, 2019). Hence, corporations can exert greater influence over politicians than trade unions, so the interests of corporate America are often pursued at the expense of workers. Nowadays, employment is particularly high, but unions have not bounced back in parallel with high employment so workers suffer from fewer protections. Consequently, the decline of unions has worsened economic inequality because it has led to the weakening of worker’s rights and stagnating pay for workers, whilst CEO executives are



experiencing huge pay rises. Next, I will examine the role of financial deregulation in contributing to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Financial Deregulation:**

The final key political policy area that has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations is financial deregulation. The New Deal introduced a number of financial regulations to deter reckless risk-taking practises and promote transparency and accountability within the financial sector. However, the shift towards neoliberalism in the 1980s generated a wave of financial deregulation policies in wealthy nations. As a result, ‘wages and salaries in U.S. financial services roughly doubled their share in the economy... expanding from 5 percent to nearly 10 percent of all wages and salaries between 1975 and 2007’ (Hacker and Pierson, 2010: 192). Therefore, the pay of financial professionals is remarkably higher than that of other white-collar jobs, including lawyers, doctors, and academics. Hence financial deregulation policies and their impact on the disproportionate salaries of financial professionals has contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

The most severe consequence of financial deregulation policies was the financial crisis of 2008. Financial deregulation of the banks during the 1980s led to irresponsible risk-taking and fraudulent behaviour which was not held accountable. The banks certainty that the government would always step in and bail them out because they were too big to fail incentivised them to engage in self-serving activities. The financial crash created global economic turmoil but the wealthiest in society seemed to benefit. For example, ‘hedge fund managers made record gains in 2009; the top 25 earned more than \$25 billion’ (Antonio, 2013: 26). In contrast, the average worker was forced to pay for the mistakes of the banks through their taxes. Subsequently, financial deregulation policies have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations. Next, I will highlight the effects of austerity policies on economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Austerity:**

After the financial crash of 2008, the Conservative-led coalition government pursued a programme of austerity measures to try to reduce the UK’s deficit and re-balance the British economy. Chancellor George Osborne claimed that the whole country would be impacted by the austerity agenda, implying that every citizen should bear some responsibility for overcoming the financial crisis. As a result of austerity, ‘the Treasury forced through measures from 2010 that reduced local authority spending by about 60% and imposed 40% cuts on many government departments’ (Inman, 2019). Consequently, it was the poorest in society who suffered most from cuts to welfare benefits, which forced many families to rely on food banks. Austerity measures also meant that public services, including the NHS, were massively underfunded and a number of working adults suffered from poverty wages. Despite these cuts imposed on the poorest in society, the government also cut corporation tax to help businesses. Essentially, the austerity programme is a prime example of ways in which

political policies have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations.

### **Conclusion:**

This essay has demonstrated that political policies have played a crucial role in contributing to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations. Since neoliberal policies were introduced in the 1980s, economic inequality has drastically increased in the UK and America. Thus, the wider political context helps to explain why policies such as low taxation, limited checks on corporate power, the weakening of unions and financial deregulation were pursued. Additionally, the disproportionate lobbying power of corporations is a key factor in explaining why policies have been introduced that favour business at the expense of workers. Although apolitical factors, such as globalisation, have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations, political policies have had a similar impact. The financialization of the economy has contributed to winner-takes-all inequality, in which the richest one percent of society possess vast amounts of wealth in comparison to the majority of the population. The austerity programme that was pursued by the Conservative-led coalition government introduced numerous policies that have worsened economic inequality. Unfortunately, austerity was deeply damaging to the poorest in society as welfare benefits were cut and public services suffered from a lack of investment, whereas businesses benefited from low taxes.

This essay has outlined a number of key political policy areas that have contributed to the worsening of economic inequality in wealthy nations. Firstly, unfair taxation policies have enabled the rich to hoard their wealth rather than redistributing it to the whole of society. Also, the failure of successive governments to enforce limits on CEO pay has allowed it to spiral out of control which has massively concentrated wealth at the top. The weakening of union power has led to worsened pay and working conditions for workers, and fewer checks and balances on businesses. Lastly, financial deregulation policies have allowed wages in the financial sector to increase ahead of workers in the public sector and encouraged reckless risk-taking behaviour that led to the 2008 financial crisis. Shockingly, many corporate elites benefitted from the financial crisis, whereas the poor were made to bailout the banks through their taxes. Interestingly, the new Conservative government has largely neglected the austerity programme. However, ‘the latest, from the House of Commons, is that by 2030 the richest 1% will own two-thirds of global wealth’ (Frisby, 2018). Ultimately, economic inequality is expected to worsen in wealthy nations, and political policies will continue to play a key role in contributing to this.

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# **Can the Phenomenon of International Migration Be Captured by One Theory? Argue Why Yes or Why No**

**Annah Aderinto**

‘The move involves the crossing of an international boundary from one country to another, that is international migration’ (Turner, 2006: 384). Migration is defined as the change of residence across administrative borders. In this essay I will argue that the phenomenon of international migration cannot be captured by one theory because each theory has its critiques. They are all useful in understanding different aspects of migration and for analysing the causes of migration processes. However, some theories can be complementary to one another depending on the context. The beginning of the essay will look at functionalist theories of migration, followed by an analysis of neoclassical theory and human capital theory. I will then highlight ideas presented by historical-structural theorists which will be followed by a look at world systems theory. I will then move onto evaluating globalisation theories and dual labour market theory. The remainder of the essay will look at migration systems theory. Migration theories can be split into either functionalist or historical-structural theories, and some can be understood from both the macro and micro level such as neoclassical migration theory and some at the meso level.

Functionalist migration theory provides useful insight into the phenomenon of international migration, advocating that migration positively impacts the majority of society’s population and increases the likelihood of equality (Castles and Miller, 2013). As a geographer, Ravenstein (1885: 1889) historically asserted that the migration was a necessary agent for development and he believed that the reasoning behind migration was economic in nature. Through his formulation of the laws of migration, he provided insightful contributions to the study of migration. In the early twentieth century, geographers used factors such as economic opportunities, population size and distance to construct gravity models that would help predict the level of migration between different countries (Castles and Miller, 2013). Lee (1966) believed that a person’s decision to migrate was determined by plus and minus factors. These plus and minus factors are elements present in both the country of origin and the country which they wish to reside in. Amongst the obstacles to migration are immigration laws, distance, physical barriers and personal factors. Lee provided an earlier understanding of what Passaris (1989) identifies as the push-pull framework. This particular model illustrates that factors such as population density, political repression, population growth and lack of economic opportunities are likely to push someone out of their domestic country (Castles and Miller, 2013). In comparison to the push factors, pull factors pull people into alternative destination countries. More specifically, pull factors include economic opportunities, demand for labour, political freedoms and availability of land (Castles and Miller, 2013). However, the push-pull model is not without its critiques. Skeldon (1990) argues that it is unclear how population movement is caused by a combination of the different factors, which seems to be

the result of a lack of framework. A further critique is that the models are limited in terms of their explanation for return migration (Castles and Miller, 2013). In addition, the models ignore the role other factors have in causing migration and the approach seems deterministic by arguing that certain factors, such as environmental factors, will cause migration (Castles and Miller, 2013). Foresight (2011) found that scarcity and impoverishment are more likely to prevent international migration as it means that people do not have the money to cover the costs of relocating.

Similar to functionalist migration theory, neoclassical migration theory is also fond of this idea that social forces work towards establishing equality in society (Castles and Miller, 2013). They also see migration as an imperative for modern society's development (Rostow, 1960). Lewis (1954) and Todaro (1969) advocated that present in the rural sector was an overabundance of labour, therefore the urban industrial economy could be supplied with its workforce. As a result of variations in supply and demand present in different geographical regions migration is more likely (Castles and Miller, 2013). Neoclassical migrant theorists argue that migrants are encouraged to move because of the economic benefits of doing so (Castles and Miller, 2013). What this means is that their country of origin may have surplus labour which translates to lower wages, and in turn provides the incentive to move to a region where there is a higher demand for labour and where they will be paid more for their productivity. Borjas (1989; 1990) argued that migrants were individual agents who used their free will to choose the ideal place to relocate based on cost-benefit calculations. This is the understanding of neoclassical migration theory at the micro-level (Castles and Miller, 2013). Neoclassical migration theory also promotes this idea that the movement of migrants in the long run will help to equalise wages and conditions in both the sending and receiving countries because, as the destination country is supplied with labour, the country that has excess labour loses some of its workers but gains capital (Ranis and Fei, 1961; Schiff, 1994). This is the understanding of neoclassical migration theory at the macro-level (Castles and Miller, 2013). In order to explain why people choose to move from developing countries to cities in which unemployment is rising, Harris and Todaro (1970) advanced the neoclassical migration theory. Todaro (1969) believed that this type of international migration continues because migrants see the increase in wage as a large enough incentive to outweigh their risk of being unemployed once they move to their destination country. Neoclassical theory is criticized because of the unrealistic assumptions it makes which are central to the theory (Castles and Miller, 2013). These assumptions concerning cost benefit analysis, knowledge of wage levels in receiving countries and accessibility to the poor show that neoclassical theory is unable to explain migration patterns that occur in real-life, especially under conditions pertaining to high constraints and poverty (Castles and Miller, 2013). This theory also fails to see that human beings do not necessarily make choices about migration in isolation, as their capability to migrate is determined to some extent by socioeconomic characteristics and structural factors (Castles and Miller, 2013). Portes and Böröcz (1989) found that migrants' behaviour is connected to community dynamics and family as well as colonial ties.

A further theory which is complementary to neoclassical migration theory is human capital theory. Sjaastad (1962) argued that countries see migration as a way for them to improve the productivity of human capital by acquiring people who have useful knowledge and skills from other places. The theory of human capital is helpful in aiding our understanding of this element of selectivity involved in migration as migrants tend to originate from similar sub-sections of populations. In this way, refugees and family migrants are much less likely to be selected (Castles and Miller, 2013). Income distributions, skills and the structure of labour markets tend to be amongst the factors that are highly important in both domestic and destination societies (Castles and Miller, 2013). Chiswick (2000) postulated that people are expected to migrate in circumstances where the costs associated with migrating are far smaller than the benefits. In this way, people have to ensure they are making worthy investments. Bauer and Zimmermann (1998) argued that those who are highly skilled and younger are more likely to migrate because of 'differences in... expected returns on investments' (1998: 99). In other words, depending on factors such as age, knowledge, physical ability, gender and personal skills there are differences in terms of the level of perks that migration can provide for an individual (Castles and Miller, 2013).

A theory that provides a completely alternative way of looking at international migration is provided by historical-structuralists. This neo-Marxist approach was developed in the 1970s and 1980s (Castles and Miller, 2013). Massey et al. (1998) argued that migration was one of the consequences of unequal trade agreements between countries which are developed and those considered underdeveloped. Cohen (1987) stated that colonialism, international inequalities and war have created opportunities for countries to have control over labour (Cohen 1987, cited in Castles and Miller 2013). Historical-structural theorists are concerned with the forceful relocation of people from their domestic lands (Castles and Miller, 2013). Through processes such as increasing indebtedness, mechanization of agriculture, dispossession of smallholder peasants and concentration of landownership, mass populations are separated from their livelihoods and moved to urban areas in order to act as cheap and exploitable labour in wealthy countries (Castles and Miller, 2013). Within a global political-economic system, structural inequalities are maintained through social practices and cultural beliefs (Castles and Miller, 2013). Another significant issue that historical-structuralists postulate about is the way in which both political power and economic power are disproportionately distributed (Castles and Miller, 2013). Castles and Kosack (1973) argued that international migration has negatively impacted upon development by making it uneven. Through migration, poor countries have been exploited as they have been continually deprived of valuable labour, resources and skills, whereas receiving countries have become increasingly richer (Castles and Kosack, 1973). Simply put, there has been movement towards disequilibria. An example one could use to illustrate an historical-structuralist argument is that of Indian workers who were forced by the British to work on railways in East Africa. One could argue that this approach is deterministic as it devalues migrants' human agency (Castles and Miller, 2013). This theory makes it seem as though people need to migrate from their countries of origin in order to survive. Even though some migrants are able to make their own

choices and as a result of migration they have progressed their livelihoods in an alternative environment (Castles and Miller, 2013).

In the 1970s and 1980s, around the same time that the historical-structural theory was being established around the concept of international migration, the world systems theory was also being developed (Amin, 1974). World systems theory built on the work of Wallerstein (1974). It suggests that in the capitalist society developing countries have been overpowered by wealthier nations and their corporations (Massey et al., 1993). These corporations have infiltrated less developed countries in search of labour, land, new consumer markets and raw materials. World systems theorists argue that capitalist firms and their owners are motivated by their desire to maximise profits and wealth (Massey et al., 1993). As a consequence of capitalist development through market penetration, migration becomes increasingly likely as those who live in these rural areas are displaced (Massey et al., 1993). Companies such as Apple have been exposed for their unethical treatment of workers in Chinese factories which included forcing employees to work extremely long shifts causing some of them to fall asleep whilst working (Bilton, 2014). Evidence was also found in the Indonesian island of Bangka (which is one of Apple's suppliers) that suggests unethical sourcing of minerals, as tin from illegal mines could have entered Apple's supply (Bilton, 2014).

Following on from world systems theory, is the emergence of globalisation theories which emerged in the 1990s (Castles and Miller, 2013). Held et al. (1999) defined globalisation as 'the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life' (1999: 2). Amongst the aspects that make countries interconnected are trade, media products, cultural products and people (Castles and Miller, 2013). More specifically, neoliberal globalization is seen as another way to reinforce the ideals of core Northern states and maintain the power that their ruling classes and mega corporations have acquired (Castles and Miller, 2013). In this way, one could refer to this type of globalisation as a new form of imperialism. It is evident in society today that policies made concerning cross-border movements are formulated by nation-states and policies surrounding taxation, health services, public order, education, citizenship and labour markets have indirect implications for migrants (Castles and Miller, 2013). As I mentioned previously, organisations associated with states and interstate have implemented migration regimes whereby those who are highly skilled are encouraged to be mobile whilst refugees are increasingly denied rights (Castles and Miller, 2013). This is evidence of 'a new type of *transnational class structure*', which controls migration and treats migrants different depending on their categorisation (Castles and Miller, 2013: 35).

Another theory which is useful for our understanding of migration is dual (or segmented) labour market theory. This theory explains why advanced economies require both highly skilled immigrant labour and lower-skilled manual workers (Castles and Miller, 2013). Piore (1979) argues that there is a structural demand embedded within modern capitalist economies which results in the migration of high- and low-skilled workers. Looking specifically at



lower-skilled manual workers, they perform routine tasks for example in the form of garment manufacturing or assembly line work, as well as staffing serving enterprises which includes cleaning, care and catering (Piore, 1979). Over recent decades the service sector has demanded the labour of both types of workers (Castles and Miller, 2013). There has been a move towards international corporations outsourcing their work to reduce costs, however some processes in construction and in the tertiary sectors are unable to be outsourced (Castles and Miller, 2013). As a result of women entering the work-force and young people remaining in the education system for a greater length of time, low-skilled migrant labour is heavily relied upon (Castles and Miller, 2013). Piore (1979) identified that the labour market was segmented into primary and secondary labour markets. Sassen (2001) noticed polarisation in global cities between those who were considered core workers and also were highly paid in management, research and finance, and employees who provided services for them to satisfy their needs and were poorly paid. In order to be selected as a member of the primary labour market one had to be white, male and must have regular legal status as well as human capital (Castles and Miller, 2013). On the other hand, those who worked in the secondary labour markets were unjustly limited by their educational level, minority status, gender, irregular legal status and race (Castles and Miller, 2013).

A further theory that helps to capture the phenomenon of migration is migration systems theory. This theory looks at the link between migration and the movement of ideas, goods and money (Castles and Miller, 2013). These forms of exchange alter the conditionings that migration takes place under in both origin societies and destinations societies (Castles and Miller, 2013). Migration systems theory aids our understanding of the relationship between both social transformation and development and migration. Mabogunje (1970) stressed the importance of transmitting new ideas and information pertaining to the 'good life' as well as consumption patterns present in the migrants' destinations, as this would be communicated back to the place of origin. As a result of positive feedback, other people are given the encouragement to also migrate to that same destination. If the feedback was not favourable migration along that specific spatial pathway would be discouraged (Mabogunje, 1970). When Mabogunje pioneered this system, he was illustrating the experiences of those in Africa who were migrating from rural villages to particular North-African cities for instance. These cities were more likely to be predominately filled with permanent migrants from the same place of origin (Mabogunje, 1970). This is evidence that migration systems persist over space and time as people and their families as well communities remain inked geographically. The sharing of information by migrants also changes peoples' aspirations and cultural preferences (Castles and Miller, 2013). Looking specifically at international migration, Kritiz et al. (1992) advocated that international migration systems are concerned with the movement of migrants, capital, goods, information and ideas between countries. The exchange of people in both directions becomes more likely once other types of exchange occur such as trade or investments between sending and receiving countries (Castles and Miller, 2013). Colonization, cultural ties and political influence are also factors which link countries together and thus increase the likelihood of migration (Castles and Miller, 2013).

In conclusion, it is reasonable to argue that the phenomenon of international migration cannot be captured by one theory because each theory is useful in understanding different aspects of migration. The beginning of the essay looked at functionalist theories of migration, followed by an analysis of neo-classical theory and human capital theory. Afterwards, I highlighted ideas presented by historical-structural theorists which were followed by a look at world systems theory. Then I evaluated globalisation theories and dual labour market theory. The remainder of the essay looked at migration systems theory. Throughout my essay I identified that neoclassical theory exaggerates the level of human agency that migrants have, whereas historical-structural theory undermines the level of human autonomy people have. Therefore, neither theory encapsulates the phenomenon of migration holistically.

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# Can the Phenomenon of International Migration Be Captured By One Theory?

**Ananya Anand**

Migration as a concept is the process of moving from one place to another. International migration involves the movement from one *country* to another, crossing state borders, and at present, there is no single, coherent theory that covers all aspects of international migration, but rather a fragmented set of theories. Its complexity requires the interaction of several multidimensional theories in order to more accurately define and explain the mass movement of populations around the world. All the theoretical concepts of international migration have aspects that aid in a better understanding of migration processes and so because of this, no, the phenomenon cannot be captured by one theory alone, but rather should incorporate the diverse range of existent theories for a comprehensive portrayal of the global practice.

The relocation of communities and populations from an origin location to a destination location is not a novel occurrence, but rather has existed and continues to imbed itself within the global society. As per the UN (2016), international migration at present has become a global phenomenon where its complexity and impacts are largely felt. The disintegration of societies of the middle ages and accompanied changes such as renaissance, commercial revolution, colonization, agricultural revolutions, industrial revolution, emergence of free market societies, modern education, and technological advancement (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016) are some prominent factors which have contributed to the growth of international migration.

With a strikingly multifaceted history, migration has evolved to allow for a plethora of theories to be hypothesised as to why it occurs so insistently and what allows it to maintain its authority within the global trajectory of moving, adapting and settling. Massey et al. (1993) state that international migration is associated with incoherent and disjointed theories, and there is not one comprehensible theory related to it. It would be impractical to assume that the causation principles for such a global prevalence are simply due to one theory alone. Rather, it is necessary to study the interaction between several, varying theories that consider individual differences, larger societal influences and factors in between, that bridge the individual with wider societal structures. Only then can we begin to have a genuine understanding of migration across borders.

Within society, there are structures deeply rooted that are intrinsic to its overall functioning and its self-perpetuating characteristic of maintaining a stable equilibrium, especially with regards to the organisation of migration as it moves across borders, between different nations, cultures and societies. These include large scale institutional factors such as the political economy, labour markets, migration policies and interstate relationships such as the migration of people from Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria due to civil wars. These larger

economic and political structures can then be narrowed down to societal issues such as poverty and lack of decent jobs that act as reasons for leaving one's origin country in order to move to more developed locations in search of a better standard of living. The large global network of migrants that have followed these movements have since created stable and sustainable systems that allow for theories to be devised. Accordingly, migration theories can be categorised by the level they focus on: micro-level theories focus on individual migration decisions, while macro-level theories focus on larger structures in society that influence migration decisions. Meso-level theories are found between the two levels and focus on feedback mechanisms such as migrant networks to explain why migration remains a persistent occurrence. This densely complex categorisation is the primary argument as to why the phenomenon of international migration cannot be captured by one theory.

Firstly, due to the varying degrees of categorisation of migration, this international phenomenon subsequently relies upon these variations to provide a nuanced and holistic understanding. Though the various theories put forth provide causal explanations, each individual theory only partly explains certain dimensions of migration while not entirely accounting for several other determining factors that affect motives and decisions to relocate from one country to another. The reasons behind migration thus include a complex mix of personal, economic, political and religious factors (Bozorgmehr and Sabagh, 1991) that are unfortunately, not comprehensively comprised into one theory. The micro-level analysis of migration reiterates that the cause of migration includes individual values, desires and expectancies such as improving wealth and their subsequent quality of life. These approaches are more concerned with the decision-making process involved in how people choose between alternatives. Lee (1966) was the first to identify migration in a push-pull framework on an individual level. He argued that decisions regarding migration were determined, or at least influenced, by positive and negative factors in the origin and the destination. The factors *push* or *pull* migrants towards migration which are further hindered by intervening obstacles such as immigration law, distance or other personal factors. Though seen as a theory that provides an all-inclusive list of factors that act as plausible explanations for population movement, it fails to define how various factors combine together to produce an all-encompassing theoretical framework to explain migration. It rather, only manages to describe the various factors that may contribute to international migration and therefore is unable to singularly account for the phenomenon.

Another micro-level migration theory is the neoclassical micro-migration theory that explains the individual rationale within the larger macro-level impact of labour market tendencies on migration. According to this theory, based upon the work of Sjaastad (1962), migration is caused by the differences in wages and employment rates and is hence treated as an individual investment. The individual investment decision is based on distinct cost-benefit calculations made in order to gain higher returns on their choice to migrate while also focusing on increasing one's human capital, such as knowledge and skills, as this may increase their chance of employment in a destination country, subsequently improving their wage earnings and hence, their motivation to migrate. However, micro-level neoclassical

theories focus strongly on economic matters while excluding the social, cultural and political scopes of migration that are important aspects in providing causal evidence. Prakash (2009) states that the theory is too economic in nature and it leaves out other important aspects that can potentially affect the movement of people around the world such as government policies and subjective attitudes of migrants themselves. International migration cannot simply be explained through decisions based on the labour market and as economic transactions as this reduces it drastically to a simplistic concept unaffected by wider societal influences.

Furthermore, the complexity of international migration is extended towards the macro-level analyses of migration which are theorized in terms of large-scale institutional factors and characteristics of the socio-economic and physical environments, such as wage rates, unemployment, and climate. Unlike micro-level theories, these approaches are controlled and constrained by structural forces such as international inequalities, political turmoil and government policies. These structural influences within societies act as external forces that suppress human agency and rationale, highlighting the idea that 'individuals do *not* have a free choice because they are fundamentally constrained by structural forces' (Castles et al., 2014: 32) and so, fail to take into consideration migrant preferences and expectations within the framework. One of these approaches is the neoclassical macro-migration theory which explains migration as part of global economic development. According to this theory, international migration occurs as a result of geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour between countries and labour markets. Unlike the neoclassical micro-level theory, individual cost-benefit calculations are not accounted for, but rather the movement of people is regarded in terms of labour migration in which the migrants move from labour-force rich and capital-poor countries to labour-force poor and capital-rich countries. Essentially, 'the modern sector grows through capital accumulation and by poaching labour from the traditional sector as rural workers are attracted by the positive wage differential and migrate to the urban sector and so, on a micro-level, they are *pulled* to migrate' (Hagen-Zanker, 2008: 6). The argument against a singular migration theory is emphasized here as the interaction and interplay of factors within the macro and micro levels is essential in formulating a comprehensive causal explanation to such a widespread phenomenon. It is unrealistic to assume that there are perfect markets and a constant labour surplus allowing for the international migration to propagate at the rate it has over the years without the influence of other factors that are not considered within this theoretical framework.

Moreover, the dual (or segmented) labour market theory which was introduced by Piore (1979) challenged the idea that developed, wealthy nations only required highly-skilled workers but rather argued that there is economic dualism within the labour market of developed countries as there is demand for both highly skilled workers and lower-skilled manual workers. This further expands the causal principles of international migration by introducing the exploitation of labour through institutional factors such as race and gender to bring about divisions within the labour market. The Middle East, for example, has a large influx of migrants from all over Asia who take up cheap labour, which the domestic population would choose not to do, hence decreasing a domestic supply in labour. This



encourages segmentation as a result of a ‘growing gulf between the highly paid core workers in finance, management and research, and the poorly paid workers who service their needs’ (Castles et al., 2014: 53)

A study conducted by Menjivar (1993) on Salvadorian migration to the United States in the 1980s for example, showed that there was an interplay of economic and political factors and individual preferences. Through survey responses, it was found that the mass migration was resultant of a ‘force or fear of persecution’ as a direct response to the conditions of war that erupted in El Salvador in the late 1970s as well as the ‘harsh economic conditions’ as a result of the economic crisis the country had reached after failed reforms. The motivation of this population of migrants in search for a better future ‘were not independent reasons from the situation of the country; they were related in varying degrees to the civil strife in El Salvador’ (Menjivar, 1993; 361) as it was found that forms of social stratification such as gender, educational level and age interacted with the politico-economic crisis to influence and affect the motives for migration among certain social groups as well. This emphasises the importance that a single theory would not be able to encompass the vastly complex underpinnings of international migration as it required the interplay of factors at both macro and micro levels that condition and consequently result in the movement of populations from one country to another as:

the motivations of an entire nationality group cannot be fitted into a pre-set dichotomy without taking into account conditioning factors, for people's social standing varies, and hence they are affected differently by civil strife (Menjivar, 1993: 369)

The El Salvador migration is just one of many mass movements of population that reveals the reality of these migration theories in which political, economic and personal factors put forth by migration theories, both at micro and macro levels, are not always independent of each other but rather, interact to justify motives towards international relocation.

Moreover, another reason as to why a single theory is not capable of capturing the concept and phenomenon of international migration is the ever-evolving nature of migration, as its constant manifestation is a result of development and modernisation around the world. Hagen-Zanker (2008) has categorized migration theories into two sub-divisions as ‘*initiation* of migration’ and ‘*perpetuation* of migration’ which leads to the intermediate level of migration analysis, the meso-level. The perpetuation of migration is explained through meso-level migration theories as it distinguishes itself in relation to the evolving characteristic of migration as a result of global social networks formed, and more importantly, analyses how migrants’ agency create social, economic and cultural structures which then provides feedback mechanisms that then perpetuate migration processes (Castles et al., 2014: 39). One of these theories is the migration network theory which explains how the emergence and maintenance of social ties between migrants and with family and friends results in social networks that further propagate migration. After the preliminary phase of initiating migration, migration becomes more common within a community and continues to become a stable and self-sustaining practice. To comprehend this global phenomenon and attach to it theoretical

concepts, it needs to be understood as an occurrence that has, through the course of history, followed the evolution of time to result in corresponding migration patterns such as the rise of urbanisation, defined by an increase in population living in urban areas through a relocation from rural to urban areas which predominantly began in 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain and further spread throughout the world. This form of initiation allowed for future generations of migrants to imitate and follow the trajectory as new channels of communication are established and communities of migrants are created in a receiving country. (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). The bridge formed through the meso-level of analysis links rational individual decision making in micro-level migration to structural and institutional forces in macro-level migration which further emphasizes the need to differentiate the various intricacies of factors and influences that not only initiate the process of migration but also aids in its continued recurrence.

As a result of categorisations and the necessity for the interaction of factors within these different categories, it can be concluded that it would be incompatible for a single theory to be used to capture the process of international migration. These varying theories capture international migration through fragmented explanations and express completely plausible explanations. However, the complexity and diversity of a phenomenon that has continuously existed for years requires the combination of both individual and societal factors to provide a comprehensive depiction of a global phenomenon as vast and multifaceted as international migration.

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