IDEATE

The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

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 crisis of the penal system, aggression and altruism, Gramsci and the concept of hegemony, the application of Milgram and Zimbardo's work on confiormity and obedience, crimes of state, queer masculinities and crime, Du Bois and 'double consciousness', De Beauvoir on women's oppression, African Americans and the criminal justice system, the Rwandan genocide, mental illness and the risk of violence.

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

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

Congratulations to all and best wishes,

The IDEATE Editorial Team

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Describe and explain the interplay between aggression and altruism. Are these concepts two sides of the same coin? Or are they completely different constructs? Pick an example of an event in your life and explain how it was influenced by social learning of aggression or altruism using material from the semester's readings.

Shadia Bakar

In this essay, I will be exploring the concepts of altruism and aggression in relation to human behaviour and their relevance to social learning theories. I will also be explaining how these concepts may be similar, and if they are not, on what grounds they differ.

Altruism refers to the selflessness a person displays in their concern for others around them (Oxford Dictionary, n.d.). An example of altruism displayed through personality traits is empathy. The likelihood of someone being altruistic in their actions (i.e. giving someone a helping hand) is higher if they are an empathetic person. Empathy as a personality trait is positively correlated with altruism (Tait, 2009). Similarly, having good moral reasoning is also linked to altruism. The higher one's moral standards, the more likely they are to be selfless in their actions for the benefit or aid of others (Callahan,1974). Altruism is something that can be claimed to be a characteristic behaviour that is encouraged religiously as well as socially. Rushton (1982: 425) states that 'from Christianity, we have 'do unto others as you would have them do to you'' This quote illustrates that it is an arguable moral obligation of believers to do things generally as they would like someone to do to them, out of kindness and not expecting to receive reward.

On the other hand, aggression refers to behaviours that lead to harm in both physical and psychological forms. There are many explanations for aggression and aggressive tendencies in various studies. According to Geen (1990:19), nurturance and empathy were found to be personality traits that are negatively correlated to aggression, whereas assertiveness was found to be positively related to it. There are also biological explanations of aggression which suggest that it is inheritable. It is said that fifty percent of variation in aggressive tendencies by the time a person reaches adolescence is explained genetically (DiLalla, 2002:609). Additionally, there are social causes and explanations of aggression. One of them relates to how or why an individual might display aggressive behaviour through narcissistic behaviour. It is said that narcissism, which is defined as the "disassociation between an unconscious sense of inadequacy and a conscious feeling of superiority" (Lambe et al 2016:211), is linked to aggression because of high levels of self-esteem. If a narcissistic person felt their ego being attacked, it would trigger aggressive behaviour typically in the form of violence, because of perceived potential humiliation (Lambe et al, 2016:210).

The interplay between aggression and altruism comes from the fact that both can be influenced biologically and socially. There are various studies that have been conducted to illustrate how aggression and aggressive tendencies can be learned. An example of a well-known study conducted to illustrate the social learning and influence of aggression was carried out by Albert Bandura from1961-3. Bandura coined this study to test whether children's level of aggression would increase if they were exposed to displays of aggressive

behaviour via films (Bandura et al 1963:3). He predicted that the male participants in this study would be more likely than the female ones to imitate aggressive behaviour as "aggression is generally considered female inappropriate behaviour" (Bandura et al, 1963:4). They also further predicted that the participants who were exposed to aggressive models would subsequently display more aggressive behaviour when frustrated than those who had no prior exposure to "models exhibiting aggression" (Bandura et al, 1963:4). To make sure he was able to assess all possible outcomes, he split his subjects into different groups in aid of working out which group would be most affected by their exposure and the causes of the imitation and display of aggressive behaviour. These groups were identified as: Real- life aggressive, Human film aggressive and Cartoon film aggressive. The study found that the group that was most influenced by their exposure to aggressive behaviour was the group exposed to human film aggression (Bandura et al, 1963:5).

An example of how altruism is influenced socially through learning is illustrated in the works of Rushton (1982:436) who states that through a game that children play to win a prize at the end of it, "observational learning can be studied" (1982:436). He claims that in this game, children are given the opportunity to act charitably and donate some of the valuable tokens they played for to a charity. This observational study showed that some of these children acted generously and gave up their tokens because of prior exposure to witnessing adults "playing the same game and then behaving generously [...] with the tokens won" (1982:436). Rushton (1982) implies that altruism can be influenced socially through the "power of positive example" (1982:436). The interplay between altruism and aggression can be assumed through the idea that they are traits and behaviours individuals, sometimes, acquire through social exposure. However, they are also contrasting concepts as altruism, on the one hand, influences selfless, positive, rewarding acts, whereas aggression, on the other hand, influences negative acts that may sometimes lead to punishments. Thus, it can be argued that altruism and aggression are two sides of the same coin because altruistic traits and aggressive tendencies are not mutually exclusive. From assessing the definitions and examples of what both of these concepts mean, one could naturally assume that people generally possess both traits. Perhaps, people may be dominated by one but also possess the other while only displaying certain behaviours if triggered, for example in this case, aggressive behaviour. In addition to this argument, McGinley and Carlo (2006:1) are in support of this idea as according to them, "humans have the capacity to act both aggressively and altruistically", ultimately conveying that both traits can be possessed and displayed as contrasting concepts by one person, even "simultaneously" (2006:1).

Now that the concepts have been explained and demonstrated through examples of social experiments, I will attempt to illustrate how I believe I started my career as a volunteer for a charity through "power of positive example" (Rushton, 1982:436). In secondary school, I learned that a friend was heavily involved in their community and was an active committee member and volunteer for a charity that worked closely with the community in their motherland. As I began spending more time with this friend, attending their fundraising events and getting a close insight into the world of charity work and volunteering, I eventually found myself in the same position. I developed a passion for volunteering and charity work and learned the value of selflessness. I believe that I acquired this altruistic trait as a young, impressionable adolescent through witnessing someone else carry out these acts of charity purely out of the concern for disadvantaged people. Now, over six years later, volunteering and dedicating my time to charity work has become part of my daily life and identity as I still work as a volunteer for various charities. By acquiring this

skill, I have been able to influence others around me through my actions, which has taught them to be selfless in their actions when helping other people.

Similarly, another way in which through observing other people's actions I demonstrated the recently acquired trait of altruism, is by making sure I always engaged in conversation with the lone elderly. If circumstances do not allow a full conversation, I always ensure to politely greet and give my best wishes when I see elderly people, particularly in parks, supermarkets and on public transport. I began doing this after watching a video posted on a social media platform about a person meeting with an elderly man who expressed how lonely he was following the passing of his late wife. He had explained that following her death he would wander around in town to meet and engage with people out of loneliness. However, his attempts to find company resulted in him feeling even lonelier, as nobody would notice him on park benches, as they rushed off to keep up with their busy lives. Upon realising how much difference sparing a few minutes engaging in brief conversations can make to a person's life, I found myself naturally following in the steps of the person who originally filmed and posted the video. This illustrates the significance of social learning as a concept as you grasp an understanding of how exposure to various behaviours are easily acquired by the people around you. Despite Banduras' (1963) Bobo doll experiment illustrating how aggressive behaviour is learned through exposure to aggressive behaviours, I find that this characteristic can easily be replaced with altruism. Altruism is also a positive learned behaviour through one's social environment. The same concept applies in understanding how I acquired my altruistic behaviour Through exposure to one's positives actions and observance I was able to learn how to do things for others out of pure selflessness and with no desire for something in return. For this reason, I find that altruism and aggression can just be two sides of the same coin as they are just the opposite concepts of each other; one promoting positivity and the other negativity. However, it can just as simply be argued that aggression and altruism are completely different constructs because they are complete contradictions of each other by definition. If we reiterate the definition of both, altruism refers to "behaviour carried out to benefit another without anticipation of rewards from external sources" (Rushton, 1982:427), while aggression, according to Howells and Hollins (1989 in Lambe et al 2016:220), is "the intention to hurt or gain advantage over people". If the definitions of the concepts are understood, then one could naturally conclude that these concepts are different constructions. In one case, the individual seeks to receive nothing in return for their good actions that benefit others, whereas the latter case, is the act of intentionally inflicting harm on someone for personal benefit or pleasure.

In conclusion, it can be seen why altruism and aggression might be interplayed between each other, as both characteristics can be possessed and displayed simultaneously. Furthermore, it can be concluded that both concepts are heavily shaped by social influences and social learning. Aggression, unlike altruism, is also biologically influenced and is used as an explanation for why children may have aggressive tendencies. It was established that the concepts of altruism and aggression can be understood as two different sides of the same coin because they are opposite behaviours to each other, just like being happy is the opposite to being sad. However, to counter this idea, it was suggested that altruism and aggression are in fact two completely different and contrasting concepts, as they prompt different behaviours that influence *and* result in completely *different* outcomes. Aggression, as we discovered, is the intentional act of inflicting pain or harm, whereas altruism seeks positive rewards and outcomes, not for one's personal gain. Thus, it is concluded that the two are, indeed, just two different sides to the same coin, as references in the body of this discussion have supported.

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What did Gramsci mean by 'hegemony'? To what extent do you think that this concept offers us a sufficient explanation of the relationship between state, culture and the people?

James Bicknell

This paper shall assess the extent to which Gramsci's concept of hegemony sufficiently explains the relationship between the state, culture and society. The paper will define the concept of 'hegemony' as 'a relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership' (Simon, 1991 [1982]: 22) that makes citizens of society believe that 'authority over their lives emanates from the self' (Morton, 2007: 92-93). The paper will further define the 'state' as a 'distinct set of institutions that has the authority to make the rules that govern society' (Scott, 2014: 723), and 'culture' as the 'exercise of thought, acquisition of general ideas [and] habit of connecting causes and effects' of those in a particular society (Gramsci, 1985: 25). The paper will outline and attempt to demonstrate how Gramsci's concept of hegemony is useful for explaining how the state maintains power in modern societies. The paper will briefly outline Gramsci's arguments, and then assess their applicability by attempting to apply them to recent events of the 21st century. The paper will thus apply Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' to the 2015 United Kingdom general election, and the concept of 'counter-hegemony' to the 2017 general election, in order to assess how adequate Gramsci's arguments are in explaining how the authority of the state is maintained and challenged respectively. The paper will conclude that Gramsci's concept of hegemony is still relevant to an understanding the relationship of state, culture and the people today, as it offers academics a useful framework for understanding how power is maintained or overthrown in contemporary societies. However, the paper will further conclude that for Gramsci's concept of hegemony to be fully functional, the academic should utilise all of the accompanying concepts that relate to it (such as 'hegemonic apparatuses', 'organic intellectuals', and 'national-popular', which will be defined throughout the paper's progression) in order to gain a greater understanding of the relationship between state, culture and the people.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony challenges the traditional Marxist conception that the state only utilises the threat of aggressive force and overt coercion in order to dominate the masses in society (Boggs, 1980 [1976]: 38), and thus highlights how conformism of the masses is not just maintained through the 'repressive state apparatus', such as the police and army (Scott, 2014: 332). Instead, Gramsci argues that no state can 'sustain itself primarily through organized state power' over a long period of time (Boggs, 1980 [1976]: 38), and as soon as it does have to rely on force its hegemony is no longer assured (Buci-Glucksmann, 1980: 56). For example, President Assad's authoritarian regime in Syria was rife with 'high unemployment, widespread corruption, a lack of political freedom and state repression', which thus led to the population protesting against the state (BBC News, 2018). However, the Syrian state utilised deadly force on its people to maintain power, but this had the consequence of leading to civil war and a battle between both sides to become the hegemonic class (BBC News, 2018).

Gramsci's concept of hegemony instead shows how the state keeps control over society by creating a consensus amongst the people that authority over their lives is legitimate, and this is achieved through 'hegemonic apparatuses'. The 'hegemonic apparatuses' are social

organizations in 'civil society' (the ensemble of private bodies and institutions in the superstructure of society), such as churches, schools, media outlets, the family and other such social institutions (Mouffe, 1979: 187). The ideology of the ruling classes, that support capitalism and the current power relations, are thus organically diffused through the capillary network of 'social infusoria' (social institutions) of civil society and into the lives of the people in a seemingly natural fashion and without government use of force (Gramsci, 1977: 143-144). Thus, these institutions 'permeat[e] throughout civil society ... an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs [and] morality' that support the ruling classes' interests and the established order of society (Boggs, 1980 [1976]: 39). Gramsci argues the goal of the ruling groups is to establish their authority through a 'truly expansive' hegemonic project that encompasses all social groups, in order for the subalterns (those who are subordinate and ruled over in society) to actively identify with the values and beliefs of their rulers, until they believe these are 'common sense' and universal conceptions of the world that need not be challenged (Jones, 2006: 58; Crehan, 2016: 185). For example, the common mantra of 'there is no alternative' was utilised by the Coalition government of 2010-2015 in order to justify the 'short term' austerity measures after the 2008 financial crash (Jones, 2015: Xiii). However, despite the government's promise to get rid of the deficit, the 'Conservative-led coalition...added more debt in five years of office than every other Labour government combined' and an 'anaemic economic recovery' (Jones, 2015: XXi- XXii). Despite this, the United Kingdom once again voted the Conservative party in to power in the 2015 election, and participation was lowest for those most likely to support Labour (young people, those of lower social classes, ethnic minorities and renters) (Hawkins, Keen & Nakatudde, 2015: 52).

Gramsci's concept of hegemony can thus help explain why such a phenomenon occurs, and how the state disseminates sentiments through the hegemonic apparatuses and into the masses' conscience in civil society. One of the main hegemonic apparatuses the ruling group utilises to spread its ideology is through newspaper outlets. Gramsci argues it is 'the newspapers, grouped in series, that constitute the real parties' (1985: 390-391), and their ability to spread ideologies, mould readers' views and possibly completely transform their values is a crucial function for a group wishing to establish hegemony (Gramsci, 1985: 404). The run up to the 2015 general election demonstrates how the newspapers negatively portrayed the Labour leader Ed Miliband through its coverage of him eating a bacon sandwich (Withnall, 2014), being 'stitched up' by being handed a World War One memorial wreath with a pre-written distasteful message on it (Robinson & Chorley, 2014), and their branding of the Labour Party's 2015 manifesto as 'radical', despite it not being at all so (Jones, 2015: XX). Furthermore, research by the *Media Standards Trust* found that ninety-five percent of *The Sun's* leader columns were anti-Labour (Plunkett & Sedghi, 2014), and across all national newspapers the total number of pro-Conservative leader columns was two-hundred and twenty-three compared to only ninety-one for pro-Labour (Media Standards Trust, 2015). Thus, through the media's constant message that Ed Miliband and the Labour party were 'incompetent' or 'radical', people in society arguably began to believe this as a common universal conception, and thus voted 'safe' by voting in a major majority Conservative government.

The workplace is also arguably an institution in civil society that spreads the neoliberal ideology and values of the dominant classes, and thus led to the Labour Party's loss in 2015. Through the workplace, the ideology of 'excellence' and 'enterprise' have been utilised in order to produce the subaltern identities of the middle classes (Jones, 2006: 58-59). This ideology of promoting a culture of 'excellence' emerged out of the perceived notion that the 1970's economic downturn was caused by 'a cultural crisis' of established

values (such as being a 'permissive society' and too welfare lenient) (du Gay, 1991, in Jones, 2006: 59). Thus, this led to institutional changes that instilled values of self-reliance, risk taking, and competition against others; in turn making workers individualistic and profit driven (Jones, 2006: 59-60). Such values, which are then covertly spread into other areas of cultural and social life (such as leisure and fitness) leads to a society that subjects those who 'fail' (the homeless, unemployed or physically unfit) to 'intense disapproval', as it is deemed 'common sense' that individuals have 'a moral duty to take care of themselves' (Gramsci, 1978 [1971]; du Gay, 1997: 302). Television media further endorses these notions of 'competitiveness' and 'being self-reliant' through TV shows such as *The Apprentice* (being the most innovative, and debunking fellow contestants), *I'm a Celebrity Get Me Out of Here* (competing with one's fellows and overcoming challenges to win the title of 'King' or 'Queen of the jungle', and the associated career boost accompanying winning), and vilifies those who 'don't try' through programmes like *Benefits Street.* These values are then endorsed by state politicians and media outlets in order to create a social reality for the masses that scapegoats 'the poor, the immigrant and the drug user' for society's ailments (Young, 2002: 258). Thus, Gramsci's concept of hegemony is a possible explanation as to how the state's ideology is diffused through cultural institutions in civil society and in turn the people, and why, despite much of the population believing austerity was 'unfairly implemented' (Stanley, 2015), they still deemed it as 'natural' and 'common sense' to vote for the Conservative party in the 2015 general election.

However, despite Gramsci's assertions of the power of institutions to shape our values, it can be argued that he gives little attribution to the ability of social actors to dissect the values the media and politicians impose, and thus make rational decisions of what to believe, rather than being passive and unquestioning (Liddiard, 2003: 89). For example, it can be argued that people already hold their political persuasions, and thus choose a newspaper that corresponds with their political or personal view (rather than a newspaper shaping their political views), or they read a newspaper that they don't have corresponding political values with but choose because it covers sports or other amenities well (Dorey, 2017: 329). Furthermore, studies also show that many individuals choose newspapers that the majority of their own ethnicity are likely to buy, rather than choosing a paper based on their own class or political interests (George & Waldfogel, 2003: 765, 782). The ability of the workplace as an institution to entirely control the values of individuals is also questionable, as many people do not normally have a deep identification with their workplace's values, and often act cynically or parody corporate ideologies (such as that of 'excellence' and 'loving' one's job) (Wilmott, 1997, in Jones, 2006: 61). Thus, workers are more likely to be selective with the values they adhere to at work, only accepting and adhering to those that will mean they can maximize their rewards and minimize any possible penalties (Wilmott, 1997, in Jones, 2006: 61).

Gramsci's concept of hegemony is also useful for explaining the interlinking of the state, culture and the people in bringing about social change in society. Gramsci emphasises the importance of developing a 'counter-hegemony' in order to bring about change in the power relations of society (Boggs, 1980 [1976]: 40-41), and he argues that 'organic intellectuals' (organisers or experts that are somehow linked to the class they represent) are the essential leaders in this task (Morton, 2007: 91-92). Gramsci asserts that 'all men are intellectuals' (in the sense that they can partake in the world but also question their social reality), 'but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals' (Gramsci utilises the example that those who sometimes fry an egg are not deemed 'cooks') (1978 [1971]: 9). Organic intellectuals are thus 'active participa[ants] in practical life', and their function is to organise the thoughts, nuances and correct the 'common sense' (the people's confused

and contradictory ideas of their world that tend to accept inequality and oppression as natural) of the class they represent and are organically attached to (Gramsci, 1978 [1971]: 10). This task of creating a counter-hegemony aims to bring about 'intellectual and moral reform', which entails 'the transformation of popular consciousness' by changing the way in which the masses think, feel and conceptualise the world around them (Simon, 1991 [1982]: 26).

A modern example of the organic intellectual would be Jeremy Corbyn. He has worked for trade unions, been a political activist for decades, and been an MP of Islington North for over 30 years ('one of the most socio-economically and ethnically diverse constituencies in the country') (Hattenstone, 2015). Due to his practical experience and specialised skills (contact with many different social groups and an understanding of the workings of politics), Corbyn can arguably connect the struggles of many different initiatives that battle against inequality, and are trying to form a counter hegemony (the working classes, students, ethnic minorities, etc) (Morton, 2007: 92). Thus, as an intellectual leader, he can organize the subaltern population that are discontented under one unified aim (Gramsci, 1978 [1971]: 334). Organic intellectuals, such as Corbyn, have the 'raw knowledge stemming from experience of a particular subaltern location', and thus they can be utilised in order to shape the incoherent 'common sense' of the subalterns into 'coherent, political narratives' (Crehan, 2016: 188). The intellectual must thus lead the struggle against the current hegemony from the front through a political party, whilst also ensuring they stay in contact with the masses (or else the counter-hegemonic project is likely to fail) (Joll, 1977: 94). Corbyn's ability as an organic intellectual to keep in touch with the people-nation through his 'boundless enthusiasm and energy in addressing large crowds and rallies' can be argued to have been the reasoning for the success of the Labour campaign for the general election in 2017 (Dorey, 2017: 312). The Labour Party manifesto title of '*For the Many, Not the Few'*, and its addition of 'for all' to the end of all of its campaign pledges ('culture *for all*', etc) (Dorey, 2017: 313), can thus be argued to have engaged with the 'national-popular'. This is arguably due to its pledges focussing around the unity of all the differing antagonisms of the people into a single counter-hegemonic project against inequality and the current neoliberal ideology (thus combining various inequalities the people face, such as ethnic, age and sex related inequalities that are not solely class based) (Simon, 1991 [1982]: 24-25). In turn, by combining the struggles of the many through one political party and engaging with the national-popular, the intellectual and moral reform of society's current ideology (neo-liberalism) can be slowly 'transformed' and rearticulated into a new system on the 'battlefield' of the institutions in civil society (Mouffe, 1979: 191). For example, it can be argued that Labour would seek to change the narrative of 'excellence' from an individualistic conception to a societal 'for all' conception (not just personal excellence, but a society that works excellently 'for all').

However, the extent to which political parties and the people truly seek to lead such a counter-hegemony can be debated. For example, it is not uncommon for political parties to not fulfil all of their campaign pledges once they are in power (in Britain this was 74% of pledges fulfilled, and 67% on average across North America and Europe) (Petry & Benoit, 2009: 78). Furthermore, it can be argued that Gramsci's notion of 'national-popular' lacks any concrete explanation as to how 'one can win the consent of other forces and movements' (Forgacs, 1999: 219), and also if a true collective will is established, what can guarantee the different social forces or movements won't just 'disintegrat[e] back into competing sectoral interests' (Forgacs, 1999: 219). Likewise, it is hard to distinguish the difference between a true national-popular based around a counter-hegemony, and what is simply a temporary, fragile agreement between different social movements at a given time

(such as around an election) (Forgacs, 1999: 219). For example, the popularity of the Labour party in the 2017 general election from those of many different classes and ethnic backgrounds may have been coincidental or temporary, and solely based around the weakness of Theresa May's and the Conservatives' election campaign (Dorey, 2017: 312), rather than a genuine alliance of minorities and subalterns around the inequalities of capitalism.

In conclusion, the paper determines that Gramsci's concept of hegemony is indeed useful for explaining the relationship between state, culture and the people. The paper has demonstrated that Gramsci's arguments and conceptual framework are still indeed applicable in the modern era, and the paper has utilised his concepts to understand how the Conservative Party maintained its power through disseminating its ideology throughout the social institutions of civil society. The paper has critiqued some of the concepts and assumptions of Gramsci's work, such as an elitist conception that deems the masses as passive and not being able to bring about social change themselves, and notes Gramsci's lack of explanation as to how to keep a counter-hegemonic project from disintegrating. However, overall the paper concludes that Gramsci's concept of hegemony, when used in conjunction with accompanying concepts, is useful in explaining the link between state, culture and the people for both the maintenance and overthrow of power in modern society.

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Research Proposal:
Critically assess the usefulness of the domain-specific evolutionary approach in studying the formation of homosexual relationships.

Isobel Corbyn

Abstract

The domain-specific evolutionary approach of attraction lays out different long and short-term mating preferences for males and females. These mating preferences are focused around mating and reproductive success. I am interested in whether these preferences can be applied to homosexual relationships? Homosexual individuals do not mate with the intention of reproductive success, which leads us to ask whether they have the same mating preferences?

My sample is formed of 50 homosexual females and 50 homosexual males. I will be showing them photos and videos of different individuals, with different physical characteristics and personalities. When my participants are asked to choose which individual they are most attracted to, I will be able to determine whether their mating preferences are in accordance with those set out by the domain-specific evolutionary approach. I will also show them short video clips of different individuals, and ask them to pick which one they are most attracted to. This will determine whether they also desire the personality traits that the evolutionary perspective states.

The research questions

The evolutionary perspective states that both males and females have developed long-term mating preferences. These long-term mating preferences are focused around reproductive success. Do these long-term mating preferences apply to homosexual individuals?

Existing literature

As individuals, we like to think of the formation of romantic relationships as being rooted in similarity and emotions; that we are attracted to our partner because of their personality or shared interests. However, the domain-specific evolutionary perspective argues that this is not the case. It argues that the reasons we form romantic relationships are actually rooted in reasons associated with self-interest (Buss, 2016).

Reproductive success is at the heart of the domain-specific evolutionary perspective. This is because, for our ancestors, successful mating and reproduction was a priority (King, 2016). Therefore, the evolutionary approach argues that we are attracted to individuals who we consider suitable mating partners. In order to heighten our chances of selecting a suitable mating partner, we have acquired long and short-term mating preferences. These preferences differ for males and females. It is important that we select suitable mating partners, because otherwise we are at risk of unsuccessful reproduction.

According to the evolutionary perspective, when seeking short-term mates, men tend to seek a larger number of mates than women do. They also take less time to consent to

sexual intercourse than women. According to the evolutionary perspective, this is because over the period of nine months it is only possible for a female to reproduce once, whereas males are able to impregnate as many females as they possibly can (Baumeister, 2001). Therefore, in order to heighten their chances of reproductive success, males aim to have as many sexual partners as possible. As a result of this, males feel less inclined to remain in a relationship with one partner.

For both sexes, long-term mating typically leads to heavy investment in an offspring. Therefore, long-term mating preferences have been developed to ensure that this process is successful, and neither partner's resources are wasted (Sutton et al, 2013). The evolutionary perspective states that males are more likely to determine long-term suitability based on physical characteristics. This is because, from physical characteristics, they can gain good signs of fertility and an indication of their reproductive value (Sutton et al, 2013). These characteristics may include youth, physical health and attractiveness.

For females, physical characteristics are not the only concern they have when seeking a suitable mating partner. Although they tend to choose partners who are tall and well-built, they are also interested in the male's resources (Sutton et al, 2013). These resources may include money. They may also look at the male's status and level of maturity. This is because they are all factors which will determine whether he will act as a good parent for her offspring. It has also been proposed that females are more particular with their choice of mate, because they invest more heavily in their offspring.

Various research has been conducted to assess the reliability of the evolutionary perspective and to support this idea that there are universal sex differences in long-term mating preferences. A major example of this is Buss' 1989 study. Buss' study looked at 10,000 participants from 37 different countries, both male and female. His results found that more women than men desired partners with 'good financial prospects' and resources (Springer, 2015: 325). Whereas, for men, physical attractiveness played a bigger role in determining the suitability of a partner. In particular, males desired partners who were younger than them (Springer, 2015).

A limitation in this area of study is that most of the research surrounding the evolutionary perspective has been primarily conducted on heterosexual individuals and relationships. We are unable to determine whether long-term mating preferences differ between heterosexual and homosexual individuals. More importantly, we are unsure whether the entire domain-specific evolutionary theory of attraction applies to homosexual relationships. The theory is based around mating and reproductive success. However, homosexual individuals do not usually mate with the intention of recreating and investing their resources into an offspring. Therefore, when selecting long-term mating partners, do they have the same preferences?

Although they do not reproduce by engaging in sexual intercourse, there are various other means which now allow homosexual individuals to parent an offspring. This could mean that homosexual individuals are still attracted to individuals with qualities that indicate that the individual will be a suitable parent.

This is not to say that there has been no research in relation to homosexual relationships from the evolutionary perspective. Traditionally, researchers argued that homosexual males have the same mating preferences as heterosexual females, and heterosexual males have the same preferences as homosexual females (Bailey et al, 1994). However, later

research has suggested that this is not the case. For example, Vanderlaan and Vasey (2007) found that heterosexual and homosexual mating preferences were more similar than previously thought (Shackelford et al, 2015). They also found that their mating preferences were in accordance with those that the evolutionary perspective proposed.

Gobrogge et al (2007) conducted research that had a similar aim to my own. They wanted to compare partner age preference between homosexual and heterosexual males. This is because the evolutionary perspective argues that males have a tendency to prefer younger women, most likely because youth is thought of as a sign of fertility. Therefore, they wanted to understand whether homosexual males shared this preference. Their results found that there was no significant difference in partner age preference between homosexual and heterosexual males (Gobrogge et al: 2007). They both preferred partners of a younger age. Therefore, their results support the evolutionary perspective as they show that, regardless of sexual orientation, males have a preference for younger mating partners.

The purpose of my study is to understand whether not only age preference but more of these long-term mating preferences can also be applied to homosexual males and females. The research I have mentioned above, has been primarily conducted on homosexual males, therefore I want to include homosexual females in my work as well. Lippa (2007) has conducted some of the only research on mating preferences and homosexual women. Her research found that both heterosexual and homosexual women desired men who were intelligent, honest and kind (Levay, 2017). All of these preferences can be explained by the evolutionary perspective.

The research method

I will use volunteer sampling to recruit my 100 participants, 50 of them being homosexual males and 50 being homosexual females. This is to ensure that all of my participants are comfortable with their sexual orientation and talking about it openly. I do not want to make any of my participants feel distressed. I will place an advert inviting people to participate in my study on different forms of social media. However, I will also email my advert to LGBT organizations and charities, who work with homosexual males and females. Hopefully this will increase the chances of individuals responding to my advertisement.

The first part of my research project will focus on the physical characteristics that men and women desire when choosing long-term mates, according to the evolutionary perspective. The perspective states that women prefer men who are tall and well-built (Rhoads, 2004). This is because it indicates that they will be capable of protecting her and her offspring. It states that men seek women who are physically attractive and young. This is because young women are often thought to be more fertile, and thus there is a greater chance of reproductive success. The theory also claims that men prefer women with an hourglass figure, this is because they are thought of as having a strong and suitable figure to hold a fetus as it develops (Rhoads, 2004). Women who have this figure have been thought of as having 'child bearing hips.'

In order to test these claims, I will show my participants photographs of different body parts and ask them to decide which one they are most attracted to. For example, I will show my homosexual female participants three photographs of different women's waist and hips. One of the photographs will feature a woman with a defined hourglass figure. I will then ask my participants to select the photograph they are most attracted to. I will repeat

this and show them different body parts, e.g. a women's forehead, one with significantly more wrinkles than the others, this is because wrinkles can be thought of as a sign of old age. I will use the same method on my homosexual male participants. For example, I will show them three photographs of different male shoulders. With one set of shoulders being more muscular than the others. I will then ask them to choose which one they are most attracted to.

The second part of my method will involve my participants being shown three sets of videos. In each video, an individual will introduce themselves and explain their lifestyle briefly. From these videos, my participants will also get a sense of what their personality is like. For example, my homosexual female participants will be shown three sets of videos, all featuring a different woman. One of the women will have a higher social status, level of maturity and amount of resources than the others. By resources, this may include things such as having a higher paying job and dressing in well-known branded clothing,because these are traits that, according to the evolutionary perspective, women look for when selecting a long-term mate. Once my participants have watched each of the videos, they will then be asked to select which woman they would most likely chose as a long-term partner out of the three. I will use the same method on my homosexual male participants. The videos will include a woman who is much younger and less career focused than the others, she is more focused on having and providing for her offspring.

Once I have looked at whether the long-term mating preferences set out by the evolutionary-perspective can be applied to homosexual individuals, I will look at how much their mating preferences differ from heterosexual individuals. I will achieve this by conducting a small-scale version of the same method on heterosexual males and females and compare the results. This is to see whether one group's results fit in with the long-term mating preferences defined by the evolutionary perpective more than the others; for example, whether more members of one of the male groups are attracted to hourglass figures than the other group. I will recruit my heterosexual participants through random sampling as well.

Anticipated difficulties

A difficulty I will have when drawing conclusions from my results is that, if the participants preferences do fit in with those laid out by the evolutionary perspective, I can only assume these preferences are a result of evolution. There may be other factors which caused these preferences. There is a lack of cause and effect.

A limitation of my study as a whole is that I have not taken into consideration bisexual individuals. This means that my results cannot be applied to them and do not give us an indication of whether the evolutionary theory of attraction can be applied to them.

Projected findings

Although homosexuals do not mate with the aim of reproducing, it is still possible that their mate preferences have developed as a result of their evolutionary history. The mating preferences that our ancestors developed in order to reproduce successfully may have still been passed on to them, even if they do not mate with the same intentions.

The results of previous work on whether the domain-evolutionary perspective can be applied to homosexual individuals has concluded that it can (Gobbrogge et al, 2007). Little

difference has been found between the mating-preferences of heterosexual and homosexual individuals. Their preferences have also been in accordance with what the evolutionary perspective states.

Therefore, my project results should find that homosexual individuals favour the characteristics that the evolutionary perspective states when seeking long-term mating partners. This means that my male participants will seek younger partners, who are physically attractive and show signs of good wellbeing. Whereas, my female participants will desire men with good resources, and a high level of maturity and status.

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The term 'crisis' has been common currency in both media and academic accounts of the penal system for well over 20 years" (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007: 11). Why do commentators view the penal system as being in "crisis"?

Renee Edwards

The term crisis itself highlights a key issue within our society, normally a short-lived period of time which needs dramatic reform and revision. However, the debates around our penal system, mass incarceration, prison conditions and so forth, have been apparent for a long period of time. Since the 1960's many commentators have looked to unpack the ingredients that make up these arguments and debates, which have been evident in both media and academic accounts, and many underlining issues have surfaced, yet the crisis surrounding our penal systems remains. The problem of order, legitimacy and accountability still presents itself within our prisons, alongside many other influential factors. Riots, re-offending rates and suicide are all prominent, re-occurring issues within our prisons, and are just a few examples of why volumes of articles, journals, news stories and books have covered different accounts of the crisis of our penal system. Elucidating the impression that prisons are a dangerous place, 'This is confirmed by the level of disturbing incidents found in prisons, to the extent that intimidation, assaults, robberies, bullying and abuse form part of the everyday routine' (Carrabine, 2005: 896). Cavadino and Dignan state that the penal system is in crisis in at least two senses, one being 'a state of affairs that is so acute as to constitute a danger […] a moral challenge of a scale which makes it one of the most pressing social issues of the day', and secondly, 'a critical juncture, much as a seriously ill person may reach a turning point at which the patient either begins to improve or sinks into a fatal decline' (Cavadino et al, 2007: 10). These two statements show a clear underlying issue within our penal system, implying a lack of rehabilitation for prisoners.

Cavadino and Dignan are two very influential commentators regarding our penal system, in particular our prison system. Whilst we evidently cannot conclude that our whole penal system is under such mass and ongoing crises, there are however certain areas that are. In their book 'The Penal System: An Introduction' (2007), they give seven extremely clear, detailed and well-thought-out arguments, debates and evidentiary support regarding the number of elements which create the framework of the prison crisis. Overcrowding is one of these crucial factors. A number of prisons across Britain, and in other countries, are experiencing a high number of inmates, but without the efficient certified space for accommodating them, due to 'more offenders being sent to custody, and for longer periods in the UK than elsewhere in Western Europe' (Cavadino et al, 2007: 15). This being said, no real signs and efforts are being made to amend this ever-growing issue. The government are running a ' supply and demand' scheme, by knocking down old prisons and building newer, bigger ones. However, only the supply side is being met, and at a slow and ineffective rate; the demand side is not being met in comparison to the growing number of inmates in ratio to the amount of spaces. These prisons are not being built fast enough to occupy the growing number of sentenced individuals. The government are failing to understand the real underlying issues and failures of the penal system. Their efforts to improve and reform prisons are continuously flawed, and are having little positive impact on the crisis surrounding them. However, their focus lies in the idea of punative punishment, which is not seeking to reform these crises; in effect it is only making it worse. Also, as recent statistics show, this issue is becoming worse at an alarming rate. A report

published by the House of Commons showed that 'at 30th December 2016, 69% (80) of the prison establishments were overcrowded, just over 100.000 more prisoners than the total in use of certified normal accommodation' (Allen et al, 2017: 14). Overcrowding can lead to many toxic situations, and is one of the root causes for much more serious and life threatening issues. The crisis of overcrowding is causing many inmates to share cells with more people than they are designed for, creating unsanitary, unhygienic spaces, with a lack of facilities and food resources. Overcrowding may also cause certain inmates to become restless and vigilantes inside prison walls. The lack of funding for prisons produced by recent cuts has resulted in prisons having a lack of resources, and the ones they do have are being stretched to accommodate the growing number of inmates. This has an extremely negative and harsh effect on some prisoners, denying them the correct opportunities to support their rehabilitation and reform, from the teaching of functional skills to increase their chances finding work outside prison, to general mental health support.

A recently published article states 'Chelmsford prison is one of the most troubled jails in the country, an investigation found' (O'Neill, 2018). The article goes on to account for many crises, such as riots, staff violence and suicide rates among prisoners. The article lists numerous facts and figures, underlining a clear need of reform:

> …122 assaults on staff at the facility in 2016, or one in every three days […]17.5% of inmates failing a drug test [...] In 2015 a prison riot left six members of staff needing hospital treatment […] The government must act now to reduce the prison population and prevent more people being swept into deeper currents of crime and despair (O'Neill, 2018).

This article highlights inevitably the seven crises Cavadino and Dignan believe our penal system is facing: a managerial crisis, a crisis of security, a crisis of overcrowding, a crisis of conditions, a crisis of control and authority, a crisis of accountability and a crisis of legitimacy. We cannot look at one crisis without understanding and commenting on the others; they are intersectional and are too complex to be understood separately. Overcrowding leads to understaffing issues; understaffing to a lack of control and authority' the absence of control to issues of security and surveillance. 'High prison population is held responsible for overcrowding and understaffing in prisons, both of which exacerbate the bad physical conditions within prison' (Cavadino et al, 2007: 13). Recent pay cuts to prisons have also contributed to a lack of staff in relation to the growing number of prisoners, and these small numbers of staff are still expected to maintain social order among an outnumbered inmate ratio. We cannot fix the problem of our prison system without addressing all underlying issues. However, we can conclude that the root of the penal crises is overcrowding.

We can argue that the crisis in prison is mirroring the crisis within our urban areas. The walls of prison are eroding; prison conditions are somewhat similar to those of ghettos, and these inside environments are spilling out into the community, and vice versa. Overcrowding in public housing areas, poor conditions and a lack of resources are all common denominators of both environments. Alongside these elements, racial clustering is apparent in both spaces. Black, young males from urban areas are disproportionately overrepresented in our criminal justice system and in urban areas; another crisis which is also apparent in our penal system. Experts, including Paul Gilroy, have proposed that our penal system, including prisons, policing and courts, are all institutionally racist, and place particular emphasis on arresting and incarcerating ethnic minorities. Our overcrowding issue within our prisons can therefore be seen as an overcrowded population of ethnic minorities. If we look at the beginning of the criminal processes, the first interaction

between offender and police, this is where we can see a disadvantage among ethnic minorities. Statistics have shown that black males are more likely to be stopped and searched compared to their white counterparts: 'there were five stop and searches for every 1,000-white people in England and Wales and 31 stop and searches for every 1,000-black people' (Gov.uk, 2017). Not only are ethnic minorities disadvantaged in our penal system, there is also a crisis regarding media reports on minorities, particularly minority males.

Alongside ethnic minorities, adopting a Marxist perspective, the working class are over-represented in the prison system also. Marx believed that the prisons were put into action to control, manipulate and oppress the working class who failed to follow ruling class motives. Marxists believe the rules and laws were put into place to capture and protect the beliefs of the ruling class, and those who failed to live by these rules were incarcerated. Marx believed the real criminals were the bourgeoisie, but due their powerful authoritarian stance within our society they were able to control those below them on the hierarchy ladder. Marxists believed that working class crime in comparison to that of the ruling class was essentially a 'piss in the ocean' (reference?!). The evidence that certain demographics appear more frequently within a penal system, not only shows a clear disadvantage for certain individuals, but also a clear need for reform regarding our policing methods.

Re-offending rates also take a strong platform in regards to whether prisons work; the crisis of recidivism rates is key to examining whether our prisons are actually benefitting individuals, or purely there to punish. Young offenders have the highest re-offending rates of all age groups: 'The reoffending rate for those released from custody is 68.7%' (Ministry of Justice, 2017: 64). This figure is extremely concerning, and underlines a clear breach of rehabilitation efforts. Youth offenders are not receiving the relevant support and justice inside prisons to deter them from re-offending. Our penal system is doing little in regard to reforming youth attitudes, behaviours and life chances, and their opportunities outside of prison. Also, youth offenders, due to mass overcrowding, are coming into contact with adult offenders of all sentenced categories, which are having a great influence on them. We can also link re-offending rates to the crisis of legitimacy. Tony Bottoms (1980) saw a collapse regarding rehabilitative ideals. Previously, our penal system legitimated itself with the use of certified, adequate rehabilitative schemes, training, support and treatment, plausibly benefitting the offender, inside and outside prison walls. However, these schemes have become less functional, and less accepted, with the ideology that nothing will 'cure' offenders of their deviant ways. This therefore, caused mass tension and friction, undermining the perceived legitimacy of our penal system in regards to the treatment of offenders. If we take into consideration the change in our political structure, from Thatcher's ideals of zero tolerance and Ronald Reagan's scheme of three strikes and you're out, we saw a huge shift in the actual running of the penal system, evidently the beginning of the crisis of legitimacy, and the debate as to whether our systems are too harsh and inhumane, or too lenient. Instead, we saw an introduction of Strategy A schemes which resulted in prisons becoming less tolerant and reformative, but more punitive: 'It is bound to be difficult for the system to achieve legitimacy with all its different audiences, public, press, politicians, penal practitioners and penal subjects' (Cavadino et al, 2007: 26). The idea of our prisons being 'legitimate' is not only crucial in regards to outsiders, but also a pivotal for insiders, such as prison wardens. The crisis of legitimacy can be explained through an analysis of prison riots.

'A penal system can only run with the acquiescence of offenders' (Cavadino et al, 2007: 24). However, this sometimes is not the case, if we look at the 2016 prison riots for example, in Birmingham, Kent, and Hertfordshire. This sheer lack of legitimacy, the overcrowding and poor conditions, is evidently causing a more serious crisis engulfing prisons. Riots are one of the most prominent forms of outcry prisoners use to show the sense of injustice among them, in relation to their basic human rights not being met. The Woolf report in 1991 highlighted numerous factors regarding our prison system, in relation to riots, and the injustices which cause these riots, and what needs to happen to prevent them from continuously occurring. The report found three main requirements of a prison in order for it to function efficiently, these are control, justice and security: maintaining order, while giving inmates their basic human rights, and for all prisoners to be treated equally and fairly. If these guidelines are met, prison riots will decrease and become a rare sight. If we take into consideration the 1990 Strangeways Prison riot in Manchester, which lasted twenty five days, commentators explained how low staffing levels, poor conditions and overcrowding leading to protests by prisoners, is a reaction to their reservoir of pain, suffering and grievance, and their demands for change. Durkheim, a founding functionalist, maintained that crime is not a necessary part of society, but it maintains an important function: man is a product of his social surroundings, and a lack of societal norms spurs a tendency to react in deviant ways. If we use this theory in relation to our prison system, we can understand that deviant behaviour, such as rioting, violence and so forth are merely a consequence of a surrounding normlessness; a toxic mix of overcrowded people with few available resources, who struggle to maintain a sense of relative self-worth.

We can conclude that our prison system is in drastic need of reform. Since the beginning of Thatcherism, we have seen a huge decline in the legitimacy of our prisons with regard to prison population, racial clustering, poor conditions, understaffing, and struggles to maintain effective social control. These spoken about crises are all interlinked, and cannot be evaluated without one another; we cannot look to improve the conditions of prisons, if we do not look at the problem of overcrowding and so forth. These crises are far too complex to discuss on their own. We must look at the whole picture which our prisons display, and unpick each detail with specific emphasis on how each intersects. Thatcher's war on crime and zero tolerance campaigns led to a crisis of mass incarceration. Despite declining crime rates, we are still seeing a growing number of people entering our prisons. In order to reduce, and eventually demolish these crises, as we are seeing played out by media outlets, politicians and sociologists, we need to re-evaluate our sentencing strategies, and look at more relative and effective ways of rehabilitating, while in effect punishing offenders who break laws and rules that are put in place to protect society. We can see no real success of our prisons, recidivism rates are high, and with the growing numbers of offenders entering the system we can see it is doing little to deter or rehabilitate. However, taking into consideration some commentators' accounts of our prison system being in crisis due to its leniency, is this why recidivism rates are so high? Are people not being punished adequately and as a result no longer seeing prisons as a threat? One article highlights that prisoners are leaving Facebook reviews on their stay in prisons, rating them five out of five stars and highlighting the luxuries of television, hot meals, pool tables and central heating, with the headline 'It's easy to break out but why would I want too?' (Newton, 2016). So, are our prisons really in that deep a crisis, or are they being exacerbated to deter? Making prisons seem extremely tough, harsh, and essentially torturous, is one way in which we can look to deter potentially deviant individuals, but are they really this harsh in reality? Understaffing can be seen as making prison life easier, fewer prison staff to inmates is creating less surveillance, which in a sense is allowing inmates to live with more freedom. Regarding our penal system as in

crisis is a very complex debate with three main platforms: that prisons are working and are effective; that prisons are too easy for offenders and this is reducing the fear of being incarcerated; or that prisons are need of drastic reform to improve human rights? It is hard to decipher the real issues with our penal system as the debates surrounding it are so contradictory, but nonetheless have relevant evidentiary support. So, in simple terms, the penal system is in crisis but for many different reasons, and reforms which look to change our prisons differ so drastically. What side do we take as a society to minimalize threat, minimalize overcrowding, maximise safety, and ensure all inmates are treated equally and fairly in line with basic human rights, yet also produce the right amount of punishment to stop re-offending and deter those from entering the system?

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What are the experiences of white, working- class single mothers within a societal framework of shame and stigma?

Lauren Elliott

The overwhelming majority (eighty-one per cent) of lone parent families in modern-day Britain are headed by a female lone parent, and this percentage has remained relatively stagnant for the past two decades (ONS, 2016). Single mothers, throughout history, have been the focus of much moral and political scrutiny, and have had blame attributed to them for numerous 'moral panics' in society, such as the decline of the traditional nuclear family, and juvenile delinquency (Thane and Evans, 2012). In particular, the widespread vilification of a particular subset of single mothers- the white, working class single mother- has become almost ubiquitous within the media, for example in mainstream comedy programmes such as *Little Britain*, where the character of Vicky Pollard, a young, white, working-class single mother is portrayed as a foul-mouthed, anti-social 'chav' (Tyler, 2011). This has contributed to the marginalization of white working-class single mothers within society, and has aided the construction of a societal framework that shames and stigmatises them.

This research project intends to uncover what the lived experiences of white, working-class single mothers are within this societal framework in their own words. Furthermore, as a mother myself, but one who is in a relationship with the father of my children, I would like to compare the experiences of single motherhood to the experiences of motherhood within the confines of the nuclear family, to gauge how different or how similar motherhood is for the two groups in a society that marginalizes the former.

Literature Review

'Respectability' and the working-class woman

Skeggs (1997) outlined the concept of 'respectability' as a class based burden upon society, and the standard we are all expected to adhere to. Skeggs claimed that respectability was closely associated with women, in how their homes are kept, how their children are raised and how they cared for their families, and that only certain groups- the white upper and middle-classes- are automatically afforded the label of 'respectable'. The upper and middle-classes, as the dominant ruling groups in society, set the moral standards for the rest of us to aspire to. This marker of genteel, white respectability became symbolic of their position of power, and marked them out as superior in comparison to the working- classes, resulting in the degradation of the working-classes, and further cementing the white upper and middle-classes as the hegemonic societal norm, by which all others are judged.

Skeggs (1997) argued that respectability is experienced by white, working-class women as exclusion, as unlike working-class men, who can utilize their working-class status in a positive manner, working-class women are unable to access economic resources or cultural means to transform their status, as their positioning within the structure of society denies them access to resources that would enable them to do so. Furthermore, working class women lack the necessary economic, cultural and social capital, as outlined by Bourdieu (1989) to obtain symbolic capital: the combination of the three aforementioned capitals that when held by an individual or social group cements their legitimation within society. The achievement of legitimation, Bourdieu states, is essential within the conversion of capital to power. This,

Skeggs asserts, implies that class is not just representational, it is structural, and reinforced by the four types of capital, and that for white, working-class women, there is no choice over which class position they occupy. Rather, they are allocated their position through societal institutions such as the family and the gendered division of labour. Skeggs goes on to say that the achievement of respectability for white, working-class women is viewed by them as a means of establishing a legitimate identity within the social hierarchy, and those who fail to attain respectability are shamed and judged negatively by the rest of society.

Social discourses- single mothers as a 'social threat' and a 'social problem'

Discourses surrounding single mothers are overwhelmingly negative, and are intrinsically linked to political and moral judgments of their character, due to their status as single mothers. Duncan and Edwards (1999) investigated social and political thought and debates concerning single motherhood, and concluded that they broadly fell into two discourses. In the first discourse, single mothers are viewed as a 'social threat'. This is connected to the underclass theory of social structure, which claims that there is a social class comprised of those who are excluded from the hegemonic social order and hostile towards it, and thus are the main source of crime and anti-social behaviors as a result of their marginalized status. Underclass theory is subsequently associated with a politically conservative view of the welfare state, which is considered by them to foster dependency on state benefits, and undermines the traditional family and work ethic of society. Consequently, it is argued that the welfare state has changed the scope of individuals regarding rational economic choices, thus there is a growing number of individuals who choose to live outside of the traditional nuclear family and rely on state benefits as their main source of income, and this way of life is reproduced within the everyday lives of the underclass. Therefore, single mothers are viewed as the main agents in the creation of the underclass. As they have actively chosen to produce children outside of the respectable and civilizing nuclear family, their children subsequently inherit their mother's deviant attitudes and continue the cycle of state dependency and delinquency. Politically, the scapegoating of single mothers, and the emphasis on their crucial role as instigators of societal breakdown has positioned them as 'folk devils' within public consciousness, and has rationalized cutbacks made to state welfare provisions in order to 'punish' them for their deviancy (Cohen, 2011).

The second discourse regarding single mothers defined by Duncan and Edwards (2009) is the idea of lone motherhood as a 'social problem'. In this view, single mothers are not considered to be the orchestrators of their marginalized position; it is external factors that impact upon single mothers and their children, and place them in a precarious economic and social position. According to this discourse, single mothers are keen to find employment, rather than rely on state welfare assistance, but are prevented from doing so due to constraints outside of their control, such as the lack of affordable childcare provision. This discourse is linked to a more socially liberal, left-wing school of political thought, and has influenced governmental policies such as New Labour's 'New Deal' strategy for lone mothers, which provided support and access to work-based training through the JobCentre Plus, and also support for additional after-school care provisions for children. This view of assisting single mothers through training courses and accessible childcare provision is focused on a return to the labour market for single mothers, as opposed to being beneficial for the educational and social benefit for them and their children. Hence, the 'social problem' discourse in Britain, similarly to the 'social threat' discourse, is concerned with the financial burden single mothers place on the state. Where they differ is in their belief of the root cause of single mothers' state dependence, and their strategies for resolving it. The 'social threat' discourse seeks to punish single mothers for their moral failure, by reducing state assistance, whilst the 'social problem'

discourse seeks to assist single mothers through governmental policies designed to restore single mothers to the societal ideal of a self-sufficient taxpayer.

Media representation- stereotypes and stigmatization

Salter (2018) puts forward the argument that lone parenthood in the UK is highly classed, racialised and gendered within the media. Despite moves in recent years to gender-neutral terminology, the majority of articles published by UK newspapers still referenced 'lone mothers' in discussions of single-parent families. Furthermore, Salter found that references to class and lone parents are linked to working-class and underclass identities within the media, although not explicitly. Codes for working-class were used by journalists, such as 'benefit recipients' and 'low-income', rather than overtly class based terminology. Similarly, the ethnicity of lone parents was referred to implicitly, albeit in a different manner. The majority of lone parents referenced by articles were not identified by race, however, the small percentage that was were all non-white. Thus, it is deducible from the lack of references to white ethnicities, as 'white' is the normative, unmarked ethnicity in Britain that the majority of articles featuring lone parents are about white parents. Salter concludes that the combination of these three identity factors in the media culminate in a stereotype of a lone parent as a white, working-class female, as has become entrenched in social consensus as the default identity of a lone parent.

Additionally, negative stereotypes of white, working-class single mothers are common within the media. Tyler (2008), suggests that the portrayal of white, working-class single mothers in media texts as 'Chavs' has allowed society to vilify them en masse, and subsequently view them as figures of disgust and immorality.

Findings

Whilst interviewing the two participants, I was able to identify several themes that were generated by the data collected from both participants' interviews, which I subsequently coded, and this became the base of my thematic analysis of the data. Thematic analysis is an inductive strategy, the purpose of which is 'to examine the whole in a natural setting to get the ideas and feelings of those being interviewed or observed (Lichtman, 2014: 320).

The first major theme that emerged from participants' interviews was the issue of class-based value judgments with regard to single mothers. Both Kerry and Gemma were aware of the negative categorization and existing societal stereotypes of single mothers. Gemma stated that:
'…people think they've [single mothers] all got kids with different dads, I think they think they probably have more children so they don't have to work, they [think] they probably smoke, eat junk food…' (226-228). Kerry outlined similar observations: '…I think people have this idea of single parents. Yeah, pre-conceived notions about them…of what single mothers are, especially if you have more than one child…I think you do get labelled as a slag…' (296-299).

Kerry and Gemma's perceptions of how society negatively views single mothers could potentially be informed by the class-based categorization of different types of femininity, in which the presentation of white, working-class women's bodies are read as repositories of low-brow culture, negative value and poor taste, in comparison with upper and middle-class women, who are seen as the 'ideal' representation of femininity. This reading of white, working-class, female bodies as 'bad-objects' has assisted in the reproduction of traditional

class based distinctions (Skeggs, 2004). Furthermore, in society the label of 'single mother' is regularly used as a euphemism for class and associated with stigmatization. Those who bear the label of 'single mother' are then blamed by society for moral failings, such as raising a generation of anti-social, 'feral' youths (Savage, 2011). These two aforementioned subjects combined have potentially assisted in the marginalization of single mothers, and this may explain why both participants felt stigmatized as single mothers, supporting Skeggs' theory of middle-class 'respectability' outlined earlier in the report.

The second theme that I identified when during the data analysis was that both participants found that their employment opportunities were constrained due to being single mothers. Both Gemma and Kerry had experienced difficulties in accessing childcare, and both participants cited the affordability of childcare as a key factor in enabling their return to the workplace, and consequently restricted the type of jobs they could apply for. Both participants also voiced concerns about the impact of paid childcare on children. Kerry, in particular, felt that placing her son into childcare whlist she worked would impact upon him negatively, due to his 'difficulties with emotions' (393). However, both participants intimated clearly that they wanted to work. Gemma and Kerry could both be categorised as 'adaptive women', a term coined by Hakim (1997 in Klett-Davies, 2007) to describe mothers who wish to combine mothering and part-time paid work. However, I found that both participants in my research, similarly to lone mothers in Klett-Davies' (2007) research study of lone motherhood in late modernity, are actually unable to be adaptive, because ultimately, the desire is to find employee-friendly work that fits around their childcare obligations, that is secure, and part-time, rather than employer-friendly work. This point also corresponds to the single mother as a 'social problem' discourse described earlier in the report. Both Kerry and Gemma wanted to work, but were constrained by external factors outside of their control, contributing to their marginalisation.

Lastly, the third main theme identified was the existence of negative media portrayals of white, working-class single mothers. Both participants thought that the media perpetuated the stereotype of the 'chav mum': a white, working-class, single mother who is promiscuous and has children for benefits, and fails to parent them (Tyler, 2008). Kerry mentioned that the negative media representation of single mothers '...gives people like me a bad name who try to do the best for their kid...'(346-347), and Gemma felt that '...they [the media] scapegoat...when it comes to single mothers...'(298-299).Both participants observations correlated with Cohen's rationale, that alludes to the issue of single mothers being utilised as 'folk devils' within the media, and used as scapegoats for moral and political failings.

Reflections

As both participants were well known to me prior to interviews, a good rapport already existed between us, which I found was beneficial during the course of the interviews, as both participants seemed to be relaxed and at ease throughout the interviewing process. According to Morton-Williams (1993), this is a key component in achieving a successful interview with a participant. I felt that my chosen method was suitable for the area of research, as the purpose of in-depth interviewing allows participants to act as the narrator of their own stories and experiences, and is a more 'natural' approach to data collection, as opposed to an artificially constructed approach (Bryman, 2012). One aspect I feel was less successful was the length of my first interview, which at thirty-five minutes duration was ten minutes short of the recommended forty-five minutes. However, I aimed to resolve this mistake in my second interview, and was able to do so, as my second interview lasted for forty-nine minutes. I feel I achieved this by listening back to my first interview, identifying where I went wrong (I felt I

spoke too much, and spoke over my participant at times), and corrected my approach for my second interview.

Conclusion

This research project has successfully documented the experiences of the white, working-class single mother within a society that has constructed them as figures of disgust and shame. One significant discovery that has emerged from this project is that single mothers continue to be stigmatised and experience negative judgments, despite becoming more visible and outwardly accepted in recent history. Additionally, the life opportunities of single mothers and their children are still unequal, with single mothers continuing to experience financial hardship through the lack of availability flexible, child-friendly employment, making it considerably harder for them to escape the 'poverty trap'. Lastly, we have seen how the saturation of the media within our daily lives has influenced public consensus with regards to single mothers, and perpetuated negative and damaging stereotypes.

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

Caterina Fantacci

This essay will set out to evaluate the extent to which the boundaries between prisons and society are becoming blurred. To do so, I will draw from some of the characteristics of prisons that Michel Foucault outlines of the prison system, in his "Discipline and Punish" (1977), as well as criticise and analyse them through the lenses of other literature. Firstly, this paper will focus on confinement in the prison, and spatial confinements in urban areas in today's society, through literature of other academics. Intertwined with social control in cities, the continuity of panopticism from prisons to outside society will be outlined and further analysed. By the end, the essay will have evidenced how formal methodologies of control stretched from penal institutions like prisons and extended towards society through formal and informal methods of social control, now used as a tactic of policing, establishing discipline and self-regulation, and will also serve capitalistic purposes of neoliberal society.

One of the first theorists to discuss and analyse the history of punishment, and the prison and its features, is Michel Foucault (1977). The French academic emphasises how punishment, in the beginning of the 19th century, turned from being mainly a spectacle of torture, to 'merely' limitation of spaces. Thus, the person's body in the prison is not physically hurt directly like with torture; it is now constrained in a limited physical space, deprived of liberty and of rights, obligated to follow the rules of the institution, prohibited from many opportunities of agency, and observed at all times by authorities (Foucault, 1977:11). There are two main key themes, interlinked with each other, in the conceptualisation of Foucault: spatial limitation, and surveillance. Prison however, is not the only place of confinement and observation. Foucault (1977) draws a parallel between prisons and other institutions. Just as in the prisons, where people are observed, their time is regulated, they are ordered within certain areas and sections, and are usually categorised in terms of offence, similar issues also happen in other social contexts. Foucault argues about the medical control and physical restraints in asylums and institutions for the mentally insane; about the surveillance of workers in factories; and even about time management and control of educational institutions like schools. All these environments regulate the organisation of the spaces, of time, and the agency of people. The argument that is built is that these carceral areas and institutions are not designed for offenders only, but are functional to anyone who deviates from the norm, even slightly (Carrabine et al, 2014). ✓This narrative that he describes in "Discipline and Punish" is called the "carceral archipelago"; the development of methods of social control by various institutions within society (Foucault, 1977:298-299). The other issue that makes the boundary between prison and society more blurred is surveillance. Foucault (1977) examines Bentham's panopticon: the prison cells would be disposed in a circle, around one central inspection tower. It would not have been possible, for any prisoner, to know whether he was being watched or not; this would push him to self-regulate accordingly. In this sense, Foucault reflects that the strategic power of surveillance, being pervasive but at the same time modest, discreet and invisible, pushes self-discipline. This powerful discipline then becomes the norm, a set of behaviours that individuals cannot but ascribe and conform to (Foucault, 1977:170). As these methods are used in other institutions, like mentioned above, the fact that architectures now allow close-distanced and in-depth control on

people, would manage to lead, shape, and change their behaviour, creating order and discipline.

Apart from surveillance, Foucault's work also provides a foundation from which to discuss wider issues surrounding social control, urban planning and architecture. While Foucault's work was criticised for not being able to differentiate between social life within prisons and social life outside of prisons (Carrabine et al, 2014), the limitation of people to a relegated space, and surveillance, are features that some scholars have linked to the planning of modern urban areas, with the concepts of hostile architecture and architectures of control. These terms refer to how urban planning in the modern and contemporary times have been oriented to seclude and isolate specific individuals and communities in certain spaces and places. In spite of rejecting the idea of 'great imprisonment' of Foucault, and arguing about the start of a decarceration process, Stanley Cohen (1979) develops his theory arguing for a dispersion of social control. Cohen brings the idea of the carceral archipelago further, when demonstrating that a more intense and continued use of social control mechanisms is also found in community-based approaches, as alternative means of punishment to the prisons (Cohen, 1985). This means that when the system would not be punishing individuals with prison sentences, these individuals would be drawn into a 'net-widening' process, the 'net' of criminal justice. If the terms of the community sentence are violated, then, a harsher sentence will be given. For this, Cohen (1985) uses the term 'uptariffing'. With this dynamic continuum of punishments, people would be caught in the 'net' of criminal justice and social control, to the point where the boundary between confining approaches and community approaches is blurred and not clearly defined (Cohen, 1985). Following Foucault's conclusion, even Cohen analyses this narrative as a blurring line between prison and wider society.

As evidenced and analysed in the first paragraph, in Foucault, some key features of imprisonment institutions are mainly limiting architecture, surveillance, ordering and classification (Foucault, 1977). Davis (1990) engages with these aesthetic characteristics of the prisons, relating them to urban areas and more specifically, to the city of Los Angeles. Davis examines how the city had integrated fortress-like gated communities: these living spaces are defended by fences, gates, and wall, monitored by cameras, and can be protected by armed guards (Davis, 1990). Guards can defend from 'the others', cameras can give a sense of security (and may hope to deter outsiders), and architecture can keep out 'the other'. The danger of those outside is addressed in towns and cities by employing more hostile architecture, such as benches where it is not possible to sleep (thus isolating and displacing the homeless), or private security in public spaces, that would ask anyone to leave who looked like 'not fitting in' to leave (Davis, 1990). The parallel with Foucault's (1977) idea of widened social control lies here: prisons would generally detain offenders, yet in all these instances, many policies and prevention methods are designed against anyone who does not conform to the norm or to the mainstream population of a certain area. It could be worth mentioning how the United Kingdom could also be drawn as a parallel: ASBOs policies in towns and cities and dispersal orders are used as a way of social control of anyone, not necessarily merely for those who have engaged antisocial behaviour (Bell, 2011). In fact, the threat does not have to be 'real'; these 'dangers' originating from outside of the gated communities, are perceived (Garland, 2001). Fear is so normalised in such contexts so that Garland (2001) calls it a "culture of control". He analyses this treatment of already marginalised groups, that are in fact, isolated more because they do not ascribe to the 'norm', as a result of neoliberal individualistic values (Bell, 2011; Davis, 1990:223-224). It could be argued that gated communities could be seen as a product of a neoliberal society, as they arguably are public spaces that, de facto, become private and

inaccessible. On the same line of argument, Wacquant (2012) analyses the blurring lines between prison and society through a less architectural lens than Davis; Wacquant discusses how ghettos in the United States were functioning like prisons in the past, but even today, after the abolition of the Jim Crow laws, entire communities, especially of black and ethnic minorities, are still isolated and marginalised. This is because some urban contexts that formed a 'black belt', still survive as almost exclusively inhabited by black people. The social control of (even indirectly) limited spaces relates back to the prison's confinement and control, further separating social classes in often racialised processes (Wacquant, 2012).

These theories of social control, whose lines and boundaries with the prison are not defined, are criticised by some authors for often having neglected the experiences of women in the criminal justice systems and their control in society (Howe, 2009). When Foucault (1977) draws on the controlling aspects and features of asylums and medical institutions, it could be argued, in fact, that women seemed overlooked (Carrabine et al, 2014). Women are the ones for whom medical formal and informal social control is mostly used on, argues Howe (2011:190-191), and it would not be possible to generalise or extend the same theories used for societal or carceral punishment for men, to women, essentialising and ignoring specific gender issues and gender bias. More efforts could be done to include intersectional and inclusive perspectives on social control (Howe, 2011).

Blurred limitations between prison and society are provided by the concept of panopticon of Bentham (Foucault, 1977). The surveillance plan of prisons (the few controlling the many) managed, in confinement institutions, to have offenders self-regulating: the true power of monitoring was influencing and prompting self-discipline. However, this surveillance would not stop indoors: other institutions would control and observe people, setting up, like in the prison, a norm of behaviour (Coleman and McCahill, 2011). Foucault and Cohen could not, however, focus on electronic forms of surveillance. The contemporary world offers technological advancements, and with those, the possibility of having online and connected spaces, not in a single institution or a single country, but globally (Coleman and McCahill, 2011). If we consider the internet and databases, the complexity of the 'original' panopticon get even more problematised and developed (Carrabine et al, 2014). The bodies of the socially controlled or the imprisoned disappear, to enter a place where social relations are maintained virtually: surveillance becomes more abstract, but it still retains its powers to certain extents (Coleman and McCahill, 2011). Social actors partially know that they are being watched; however, it would be difficult to truly grasp the extent as to how, and who is monitoring. Coleman and McCahill (2011) pose important implications as to how our digital embodiments (biometrics information, or mere personal data) are watched, and whether they could correspond to the very same person who walks down the streets. Lyon (cited Coleman and McCahill, 2011) calls this 'dataveillance', and examines how the boundary from what is personal and what is public, in the online spaces, are blurring: where does the control begin?

A key aspect of it all is also the question of who is watching (Coleman and McCahill, 2011): because both general public and private and public institutions can access the net and have access to databases of individuals, the panopticon gaze would shift from 'the few watching the many' to a context where the many are watching the few (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). This concept of 'synopticon' might seem in complete disagreement with Foucault's panopticon, however this new shift in gaze might be interpreted as a normalising dynamic of the powers of surveillance: as the masses are used to using online social spaces, the social control on others is amplified and widened (Mathiesen, 1997) (Doyle, 2006).

One of the main concerns of some academics, about the new technologies of surveillance, however, is still, the fact that surveillance tools are functional to neoliberal logics of making profits: Shearing and Stenning (in Coleman and McCahill, 2011) argued that because new methodologies of monitoring are being used in the private sector, these consumeristic-oriented values have replaced questions of moral right and wrong. In turn, the impacts of privatisation and the blur between private and public areas of policing can be seen as a parallel of prisons and social control between societies. Policing and prevention, as mentioned in Bell (2011), can be public but are more and more becoming privatised, in terms of urban social control (Davis, 1990): the same privatisation seem to be happening with technological surveillance and commodification of control, according to Shearing and Stenning (in Coleman and McCahill, 2011). The idea of commodification of surveillance methods, and control, is also linked to the hypothesis that privacy is something that some individuals might be prepared to negotiate and reconsider, in exchange for services, goods, and benefits that monitoring systems like the internet might offer (Coleman and McCahill, 2011).

Like urban planning and architectures embedded concepts of 'dangers' and 'safety', underlying within discourses on control (Garland, 2001), and highlighting discourses of 'otherness', and scapegoating within an 'us vs them' narrative (Cohen, 1979; Wacquant, 2012; Davis, 1990), new forms of surveillance might just do the same, with the synoptic gaze (Coleman and McCahill, 2011). Doyle (2006) considers some reality media, that are not seen as harmless and un-influencing: reality TV shows, in fact, might reinforce stereotypes on certain communities and individuals. The example that is drawn is how criminal justice approaches are presented: these TV accounts push narratives that essentially portray the punishment of crimes as strongly prosecuted, and present state prosecution as tough on tackling offences, to maintain law and order. The police are usually on the 'us' side of the 'battle', and the 'other', the 'deviant' is on the other side. The impacts and implications of these media messages have a direct effect on the panoptic social control: there might be a loud, public endorsement for more CCTV, prisons, data gathering, or law enforcement powers (Doyle, 2000). This last example provided complicates the issue of synopticon and panopticon even more: the mediatic social control of the many on the few, even if negotiated in media accounts, might reinforce support for stronger social control within the prison and outside of it, in physical panoptic spaces (Coleman and McCahill, 2011). This last analysis provides another layer of blur as to how social control within imprisonment institutions and outside of those could interact.

In conclusion, this essay has outlined a few key features of how prisons and wider society are not separated clearly by a defined boundary. In the first paragraph, I briefly introduced the concepts of "carceral archipelago" as Foucault (1977) depicts the shifting towards social control of bodies, and souls, of citizens in insitutions like hospitals, firms, and schools. Drawing from this move outside of the prison, I analysed how Cohen (1979; 1985) develops his theory demonstrating how, even in times of decarceration, the criminal justice system still benefits from informal social control enforced in community-based approaches that would serve as alternatives to prisons. Even in this analysis, the lines between imprisonment punishment and social control in society seem to be faded. More undefined boundaries can be seen in the architecture of confinements (typical of the prisons) that can instead be seen in cities as well: drawing from Wacquant (2012) and Davis (1990) the essay has evaluated how instead of punishing criminals, architectures outside of institutions of correction can control, observe, isolate and marginalise certain communities, while protecting others. It has been criticised as well that this happens within a context of

neoliberal and capitalistic society, as the privatisation of space that would otherwise would be public, the minimum interference of public institutions, and the prospect of profits are all key to maintaining social inequalities and control on marginalised and poor communities. A brief critique to these malestreaming approaches to social control has been however provided, because within those discourses around the social punishment of minorities (Davis, 1990; Wacquant, 2012), women and issues of gender seemed absent or essentialised from male experiences (Howe, 2009). In the ending paragraph, I presented two analyses of surveillance, the panopticon and the synopticon, that work together and reinforce each other, enforcing a powerful control on population in a similar way the urban architecture does: marginalising some communities through the media, and normalising public expectations for more punishment simultaneously within the prisons, and outside, alongside of it (Coleman and McCahill, 2011). The lines between prisons and societies are still in place, but they seem to be eroding with a social control more oriented towards the non-criminal who deviates from the norm, through the planning of urban places, and through a surveillance that seem to cross borders of penal institutions, social environment, and technological spaces.

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What is the relationship between attitudes and behaviour? How strong is the relationship? Draw from wider readings to give examples of the current state of theory on the relationship between these two constructs.

Rebecca Holby

There are a variety of definitions of what an attitude is, but it is usually seen as a positive or negative feeling about a particular object, event or group etc. Behaviour is defined as how someone conducts themselves, either on their own or in the presence of others. This essay will examine the relationship between attitudes and behaviour and discuss how strong this relationship is. This will be done by discussing several empirical studies that have looked into attitudes and behaviour and whether they have discovered a strong correlation between them or not. The essay will also discuss the limitations of these studies and why they have obtained the results they did. Not only will the influence of attitudes on behaviour be examined but also how behaviour can alter attitudes and how cognitive dissonance can alter our behaviour and attitudes to fit in with each other.

Early on it was considered that attitudes were what guided our behaviour, however there have now been countless studies in social psychology that show a non-existent or a small relationship between how we feel about something and how we act. For example, a study conducted by Clark (1971) found that most people say they would report criminal behaviour if they witnessed it but when given the opportunity 70 percent of participants did nothing at all. Similarly, Corey (1937) found that college students' attitudes towards cheating did not correlate with their behaviour when given the opportunity to cheat. One of the earliest, but also most famous study, was carried out by LaPiere in 1934. He found a weak relationship between attitudes and behaviour after discovering that 92 percent of hotel and restaurant managers claimed they would refuse service to a Chinese couple after only one of the establishments turning the couple away. These studies and many others provide a substantial amount of evidence to support the argument that there is only a small, or no relationship, between attitudes and behaviour. Wicker (1969) agrees with this statement and suggests that based on empirical evidence there are few studies that supports the counter argument.

Many researchers have challenged Wicker's views and have attempted to provide possible explanations as to why these studies have reached the conclusion that there is not an obvious relationship between attitudes and behaviour. For example, Janeksela (1978) argues that studies such as LaPiere's and Clark's shows a weak relationship between intended behaviour and behaviour rather than attitudes and behaviour. He claims that intended behaviour is different in that it is not a feeling towards something but rather what an individual would do in a hypothetical situation (Janeksela, 1978). Many researchers have pointed out also that attitudes can easily change over time. The managers in LaPiere's experiment were asked if they would serve a Chinese couple six months after the couple had entered the establishments. This shows that the result could easily have been down to a change of attitude rather than a weak relationship between attitudes and behaviour (Albarracin et al, 2014). In addition to this, critics have pointed out that attitude tests used in studies do not provide a valid reflection of an individual's true attitude towards something. Sherman et al (2013) suggests there is a high tendency for individuals to show social desirability when asked about their attitudes and that self-report attitude tests only

really measure explicit attitudes. They describe explicit attitudes as ones that we are consciously aware of and can easily be reported, whereas implicit attitudes are those we are unknown to us (Sherman et al, 2013). Through their study on attitudes towards smoking, they found that implicit attitudes are harder to measure and access, but they do predict behaviour a lot more accurately than explicit attitudes. This is because implicit attitudes can not be influenced by factors such as social desirability. Despite the fact that they are harder to measure, Albarracin et al (2014) points out that to measure implicit attitudes and ensure greater validity, techniques such as measuring physiological and neurological reactions have been used in studies instead of the usual self-report attitude scales. Janeksela (1978) agrees that attitude scales do not provide valid data as attitudes are far too complex to be evaluated by a single number. He argues that the reason studies looking into the relationship between attitudes and behaviour provide inconsistent results is because there is not a consensus on what the definition of an attitude is. Overall, these reasons make it difficult to measure attitudes and therefore make it difficult to establish the relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

Other critics, including Janeksela (1978), claim that many researchers do not take into account that other factors can influence whether attitudes coincide with behaviour. These factors include the commitment to the attitude, motivation, social norms, and any other situational factors that can influence how an individual behaves. Using the example of social norms, an individual may have the attitude that homosexual marriage should be allowed but will not become involved in behaviours that support this view in case they are looked down upon in society. Further to this, Albarracin et al (2014) suggests that individual differences can affect whether there is a relationship between their attitudes and behaviour. For example, those who have high self-monitoring are more likely to present behaviour that is socially acceptable rather than behaviour that is in line with their attitudes. Albarracin et al (2014) also agrees with Janekslea, arguing that the more important the attitude is or the higher the commitment to the attitude the more likely it will be in accordance with behaviour. Sivacek and Crano (1982) conducted a study to provide evidence that attitudes predict behaviour more accurately when there is a higher commitment to the attitude. They obtained a correlation of 0.6 between attitudes and behaviour when students were asked what they thought about undertaking an exam before graduation and how their behaviour correlated with this. The researchers believed that there would be high commitments to these attitudes as the exam would affect the students personally. It is easy to tell that this study obtained a high correlation between attitudes and behaviour as it has been pointed out by Wicker (1969) that many other studies measuring the same correlation rarely attain a result above 0.3. Then again, although it may be small, this still shows a positive relationship between the two factors. Furthermore, examining a range of empirical studies, Albarracin et al (2014) concludes that studies which involve measuring many behaviours provide a higher correlation between attitudes and behaviour. This is because just a single behaviour is inadequate at capturing a full attitude towards something. In addition, measuring a different range of behaviours can eliminate other factors that could cause inconsistencies between attitudes and behaviour. Despite this, some researchers have pointed out that it is very difficult to attain certain attitudes by observing behaviour. Although old, an argument stated by Thurstone (1931) is still relevant today. He suggests that multiple individuals may have the same attitude towards something but show a completely different behaviour towards it. The diverse ways in which individual's express their attitudes may explain why there are inconsistencies between attitudes and behaviour.

Although many studies have shown that attitudes are poor predictors of behaviour, there have been a number of criminological studies that show that criminal attitudes predict criminal behaviour (Rebellon et al, 2014). Rebellon et al (2014) found a strong correlation between attitudes and behaviour when they asked students how many times they had engaged in delinquent behaviours and what their attitudes were on certain delinquent acts. The study also challenges the view of Agnew (1994) who claimed that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is the same across all criminal acts. This is because the study found that the relationship weakens from substance use to violence. Despite this, this result can be related to the argument stated earlier that when other factors are involved, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour weakens. This is because criminal acts such as violence involves other factors such as the involvement of another individual. However, substance use does not involve as many factors which therefore there is a stronger relationship between attitudes and behaviour.

The main discussion so far has been on whether attitudes are a good indicator of behaviour. Many Social Psychologists have also studied how behaviour may influence our attitudes. Festinger (1957) proposed dissonance theory which states that individuals face psychological discomfort when their actions do not coincide with their attitudes. When an individual notices that there is an inconsistency, they are motivated to change their attitudes. He challenges the view that it is easier to change our behaviour rather than attitudes as the changing of behaviour may cause other dissonances. Festinger (1957) uses a classic example of cigarette smoking. He explains that when people smoke they change their attitudes in order to convince themselves that what they are doing is okay. For example, they will tell themselves that smoking is enjoyable, and they have a low chance of becoming ill. Festinger's views can be backed by the work of Brehm (1956) who conducted a study where participants were asked to provide their attitudes about two objects and asked to pick which one they would wish to keep. Once they had chosen out of the two they were asked their attitudes again on both the objects. Results show that attitudes on the object they had chosen to keep had increased in positivity and the attitudes on the other object are decreased in positivity. This study shows that we change our attitudes in order to confirm that we have made the correct choices and decisions. Cognitive dissonance has furthered the knowledge of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour by explaining that individuals realise and feel uncomfortable when their attitudes and behaviour are not in line. This shows they must have a positive relationship otherwise the inconsistency wouldn't affect us psychologically.

In conclusion, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour has shown to be rather weak. Many famous studies, such as LaPiere (1934), Clark (1971) and Corey (1937), have shown a low correlation between the two factors. It seems that other factors are more influential than our attitudes at predicting behaviour. For example, sticking to social norms seem to be much more important to us than displaying our true attitudes. This may be because it is easier to face cognitive dissonance than become excluded from society and looked down upon. In addition, many attitudes that individuals have may not hold that much importance to them, which therefore means behaviour will not always be in line. We may only hold a certain number of attitudes which fully correlate with our behaviours. Therefore, not all studies measure attitudes that are most important to an individual, rather studying attitudes that are less likely to predict behaviour. There have also been many other limitations of studies looking into the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. For example, the validity of self-report attitude scales and the absent consensus of a definition of what an attitude is. These factors have limited the knowledge of the true relationship between attitudes and behaviour. Overall, the relationship does appear to be

stronger when looking at the influence of behaviour on attitudes rather than vice versa. This is because of Festinger's (1957) argument that further dissonances could arise when there is a behaviour change.

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Explain de Beauvoir's ideas on the fundamental source of women's oppression and suggest solutions to the alleged limitations of her argument. The latter include her apparent lack of awareness of how class, race, and cultural distinctions shape women's lives.

Christabelle Quaynor

'One is not born, but rather becomes a woman' is de Beauvoir's most referenced quote to her ideology of women's oppression. She was the visionary of her time. Often referred to as a "cult-classic", 'The Second Sex' became a blueprint for not only her career as a philologist, social theorist and novelist but for 20th century women to understand the dynamics of sexism. But de Beauvoir had many advantages that ethnic-minority women did not benefit from – she did not have to question if society accepted her identity as a woman, but black feminists, such as Sojourner Truth openly questioned their identity: "ain't I a woman?" (Hill-Collins: 1990, 18). In this assignment, I will be evaluating de Beauvoir's foundations within second-wave feminism and the concept of women being considered 'secondary'. I will also be assessing and critiquing her key points and analysing her limitations such as the lack of intersectionality within her work and using Patricia Hill-Collins' 'The Politics of Black Feminist Thought' to critique this, as well as providing solutions. Topics discussed within this essay will include de Beauvoir's identity as a white-middle class woman and how that affects her ability to be an inclusive feminist, her vague perspectives (over demographics, such as 'man' and 'woman'), the neutralisation of 'male', the social, subject and cultural construction of women, internalised sexism, the labelling of women of colour, civil rights and slavery, religion and politics and de Beauvoir's subconscious segregation within feminism, varying in contemporary or historical contexts.

Although de Beauvoir's theories and concepts were relatively flawed, she birthed crucial discussions and debates within feminism such as the capability to distinguish gender and sex – both definitions do intertwine, but have clear differences hence why one of de Beauvoir's revolutionary questions were: 'but first we must ask: what is a woman?' This is a stepping stone in understand sexism, and the continuous discrimination of women. de Beauvoir considered all attempted theories to define women, such as biologically: 'tota mulier in utero', says one, 'woman is a womb'. But she criticises this definition: 'connoisseurs declare that they are not women, although they are equipped with a uterus like the rest' (de Beauvoir: 1949, 1). The word choice 'equipped' is de Beauvoir talking in a satiric context, but in a perspective of the controversial objectification of women being reduced to producers and creators. This led to de Beauvoir's conclusion that women are always the "Other" and are categorised as 'mothers' (reproduce), 'sisters, daughters' (in relations of men) – 'but never purely as a human being first': 'man is defined as a human being and woman as a female' (Burnett et al: 2005, 97). As de Beauvoir said: 'thus humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him' – they are, by default, the standard in society whereas the foundation of being a woman is relied on social construction (de Beauvoir: 1949, 3). This ideology can still be applied to contemporary society – to give an illustration, "Latino" is commonly used to describe the Latino demographic, but it is also biased in terms of grammatical gender hence why "Latix" is used by some instead, used to: 'move beyond gender binaries and is inclusive of the intersecting identities of Latin American descendant'. By contrast, men suffer from gender

roles in alternative circumstances, such as the pressure of hegemonic masculinity. Not all men are equal either – de Beauvoir should acknowledge intersectionality in not only women but men too, such as the "I Am A Man!" movement in the Civil Rights period stemmed from 'the American South, Black men, regardless of their age, were routinely referred to as "boy" by Whites' – black men faced dehumanisation and were stripped off their manhood. Not every man was privileged to be recognised as 'man' by default (Andersen et al: 2007, 61).

 Having said that, de Beauvoir's mentions that 'they [women] make up about one half of humanity' – billions of women have one common feature but they also have many varieties, including age, race, ethnicity, nationality, disability, cis and sexuality. de Beauvoir fails to recognise the differences: 'any standpoint theory that presumes that there is such thing as a single "woman's standpoint", which is clearly false; or that acknowledges that multiplicity of women's perspectives and yet privileges one of them (typically that of white, straight, educated middle-class woman) over others, which is clearly unacceptable' (Daukas: 2011: 59). A solution to avoid this utopian generalisation is to involve the feature of feminist standpoint epistemology and intersectionality, which avoids generalisation and assumptions: 'intersectionality, arguably, has contributed to feminist epistemology by incorporating concerns about 'difference' without destroying the category of gender' (Ballinger: 2016, 20). Another critique of de Beauvoir's philosophy of sexism is her consistent comparisons to very different social issues: 'women are not a minority, like the American Negroes or the Jews; there are as much women as men on earth.' But there are two definitions of minority: quantity: 'the smaller part or number; a number, part, or amount forming less than half of the whole' and social status: 'racial, ethnic, religious, or social subdivision of a society that is subordinate to the dominant group in political, financial, or social power without regard to the size of these groups'.

Being a minority is not solely down to quantity. With this in mind, white South Africans are considered a minority due to the proportion of black and white citizens, but they are not considered an ethnic minority, due to historical events (apartheid) and class status. A solution of this would be to distinguish both definitions. If the discussion was based on non-white people living in predominantly 'white spaces', then her ideology would be more credible, but she was very biased to western context and values. de Beauvoir also compares cultural and historical events to explain why certain communities are disadvantaged: 'a historical event has resulted in the subjugation of the weaker by the autonomy. The scattering of Jews, the introduction of slavery into America' – but she argues that women did not have a historic event that led them to being disadvantaged from birth. This point is creditable due to de Beauvoir realising 'no group ever sets itself up as the One without at once setting up the Other' but especially as a white, middle-class woman, comparing race and gender is very complex because de Beauvoir did not grasp what it is like to be an ethnic minority (de Beauvoir: 1949, 3-4). But black women did suffer from a historic event that led to their discrimination – not only solely due to their gender but their race: 'the vast majority of African-American woman were bought to the United States to work as slaves in a situation of oppression'. With this in mind, this differentiates the experience of a white woman and a black woman: 'the convergence of race, class and gender oppression characteristic of U.S slavery shaped all subsequent relationships' (Hill-Collins: 1990, 4). de Beauvoir speaks in a westernised context – acknowledges the standard difference between men and women, and not only fails to recognise the difference between women, but men too. She segregates her concepts and fails to perceive them as intertwining. It is ironic for her to claim women are 'the Other' but does not see that there is 'other' within 'other' – those who are not white or middle-class women. Similarly to feminism being critiqued as

'whiteness for feminist thought', The black social and political movement has been criticised for its "maleness", but one of Malcom X's most famous quotes is used for "white feminist" critique: 'the most disrespected woman in America, is the black woman. The most unprotected person in America is the black woman. The most neglected person in America is the black woman' (Hill-Collins: (1990, 15) (Luther et al: 2011, 191).

de Beauvoir's identity made it more difficult for her to consider race intersecting feminism as she cannot relate, but does not excuse her ignorance. She cannot help her privilege, but she can help by utilising her status and speaking for those who are more subordinate to dominant groups. Her personal life was seen as controversial by the media and general public – 'her partnership with the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre has been called the "original open relationship"'' – and her sexuality: 'their long list of sometimes mutual partners included well-known intellectuals as well as some of De Beauvoir's awestruck young women students'. de Beauvoir's sexuality intersected with her identity as a bisexual woman, and she wrote a chapter on lesbianism in The Second Sex: 'it must not be concluded that every homosexual woman is a "hidden man" in false guise" (de Beauvoir: 1949, 59). She is capable of writing about intersectionality in terms of sexuality, so as a solution, she should include other intersectional factors such as race. de Beauvoir believed women lack unity and accepted their role as 'inferior': 'why is it that women do not dispute male sovereignty?' Internalised sexism is another factor de Beauvoir discusses, such as her example of a woman wanting to be on the same panellist as men: 'a well-known woman writer refused to permit her portrait to appear in a series of photographs especially devoted to women writers; she wished to be counted among the men' (de Beauvoir: 1949, 2). This ideology shows how women see one another as less creditable in comparison to their male counterparts as Hill-Collins said: – 'people who are oppressed usually know it' (Hill-Collins: 1990, 11). de Beauvoir also recognises this – 'but women do not say we'. But she lacks unity herself, although she openly criticises it: 'if they are white, their allegiance is to white men, not to Negro woman' She is aware of the disproportions' – with this awareness, a solution to de Beauvoir's work would be forming an allegiance to all women, including black women. (de Beauvoir: 1949: 5).

The social and cultural construction of women is another of de Beauvoir's critiques, such as women being seen as mothers, pure, mysterious or temptresses. This is true – women are often categorised to be one thing or the other, they have designated roles. To provide an example, 'brains or beauty' is a sexist ideology, because it suffocates women into two agendas, to provide intelligence or look aesthetically pleasing. There is no spectrum – similarly to de Beauvoir's concepts towards sexism, it seems very black or white, or 'this' or 'that'. But women of colour have very different experiences of how they're represented. The labels of women that de Beauvoir claims (mothers, pure etc.) reflect the exclusive illustration of white actresses in Hollywood films, such as Alfred Hitchcock who was known for his signature "Hitchcock blondes", exclusively white women: 'as the mysterious blonde who epitomizes the Hitchcock woman of mystery and glamour' (Moral: 2002, 14). To improve de Beauvoir's original point, she could evaluate how women from different demographics suffer from cultural stereotyping. Asian women are represented as "sweet, innocent and submissive" (Hofstede 1996, 534). Hill-Collins' theory on the labelling of black women contrasts de Beauvoir's adjectives that are used to describe women as delicate and submissive. But Hill-Collins counter disagrees: 'if women are allegedly passive and fragile, then why are black women treated as "mules" and assigned heavy cleaning chores?' (Hill-Collins: 1990, 7). Black women are not typically seen as 'mysterious' or 'pure' – these labels seem race exclusive which is what de Beauvoir should be avoiding as a feminist. Black women have been under protected yet over-controlled due to the choice of

representation from ruling classes: 'from mammies, jezebels and breeder women of slavery to Aunt Jemimas on pancake mix boxes, ubiquitous black prostitutes, and ever-present welfare mothers of contemporary culture, negative stereotypes applied to African-American woman have been fundamental to black women's oppression' (Hill-Collins: 1990, 14).

In every dimension, women face sexism. de Beauvoir analyses all elements such as in education: 'a male student wrote in the Hebdo-Latin: "every woman student who goes into medicine or law robs us of a job', class: "within the working class, the men endeavoured to restrain woman's liberation began to see the women as dangerous competitors", all semantic fields: 'legislators, priests, philosophers, writers, and scientists have striven to show the subordinate position of woman is willed in heaven and advantageous on earth'. But one factor de Beauvoir consistently refers to is religion. Although she struggles to understand why women are 'The Other' by default (how no historical event contributed to this), religion is a concept that is repeatedly mentioned in The Second Sex and outside of it: 'The Second Sex has been called a "feminist bible," an epithet bound to discourage impious readers wary of a sacred text and a personality cult. de Beauvoir herself was as devout an atheist as she had once been a Catholic, and she dismisses religions — even when they worship a goddess — as the inventions of men to perpetuate their dominion'. Examples of religious criticisms in The Second Sex involve biblical stories: 'Eve is depicted as made from what Bossuet called "a supernumerary bone of Adam' and the expression of satisfaction and 'blessing' of being a man during prayer: 'blessed be God… that He did not make me a woman' (de Beauvoir: 1949, 7-8). de Beauvoir practiced atheism, and as well as the Old Testament of the Bible has been criticised for being dated, but it is still used as a form of blueprint and treated as sacred text despite its offensive remarks.

She was a student of higher education, thus being seen as intellectual by default. But Sojourner Truth, who would not been seen as intelligent because she 'was a former slave who could not read or write', even though she was ahead of her time (de Beauvoir is arguably dated) because she challenged the criteria for what it takes to "be a woman": 'rather than accepting the existing assumptions about what a woman is and then trying to prove that she fit the standards, Truth challenged the standards themselves' (Hill-Collins: 1990, 18). Both Truth and de Beauvoir are respectful to their work in their ways, due to them refusing to conform to gender norms, but Truth was more challenging, a former black slave who was illiterate and poor and lacked resources. One of Hill-Collins' criticisms on the progress of diversity within feminism is: 'black women writers are welcome in the multicultural classroom while actual black women are not" (Hill-Collins: 1990, 9). Yet, de Beauvoir mentions struggles of "the Negro woman" throughout The Second Sex but fails to explicitly talk about their womanhood. She acknowledges that women are disadvantaged politically – but within the suffragettes, there was an uncomfortable truth of segregation: 'white suffragettes found it would be better if they distanced themselves from black women' – not only does de Beauvoir not acknowledge the politics of black women, but she openly goes against segregation in terms of solving social issues: '"equal but separate" formula of the Jim Crow laws (…) as well known, this so-called equalitarian segregation has resulted only in the most extreme discrimination' – so where does that place de Beauvoir, if she disagrees with segregation but does not seem to fight it within feminism? Is she contributing to the most "extreme discrimination"? Political discrimination is still relevant today, such as Hillary Clinton's loss was greatly down to her gender, and Trump winning, despite a lack of political experience (unlike his former opponent) and his continuous objectification of women.

All things considered, de Beauvoir was not perfect (and neither was second-wave feminism) but she was ground-breaking. Even if her ideologies lacked inclusivity, she led feminism on the path of second-wave feminism, enabling discussions that looked at social issues, such as marital rape and domestic violence. She was necessary in the growth of feminism, but it is difficult to credit her greatly, when she did criticise society for not looking at women on an equal platform to men when she failed to look at the diversity of women (and men). de Beauvoir should not be referenced to contemporary feminism – but she did manage to grasp 'womanhood' and the basis of being treated as a secondary being. After all, one agenda of hers was women to gain full membership to humanity. Her ignorance of inclusivity has led to solutions to avoid feminism being exclusively white and middle-class, as we've witnessed the limitations of this. She did more than her female (and male) peers did for women during the mid-20th century. But she failed to assess billions of women and their unique intersectional differences and individuality, causing limitations to her credibility as a feminist.

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Explain De Beauvoir's ideas on the fundamental source of women's oppression and suggest solutions to the alleged limitations of her argument. The latter include her apparent lack of awareness of how class, race and cultural distinctions shape women's lives.

Safia Raja

De Beauvoir was one of the founding feminists in sociology. Her theories about what it means to be a woman, women's position in society and the oppression of women are widely acknowledged and set a foundation for much feminist and sociologist theory that is still being developed today. However, de Beauvoir has also been criticized as sociological theory has developed and her lack of awareness regarding race, class and culture, and the limitations or privilege it can carry has caused many to examine her work. This essay will explore de Beauvoir's ideas and theories of women's oppression as well as how her work lacks understanding of diversity amongst women. Solutions to the limitations of her arguments will be explored along with critiques and different perspectives such as that of Hill-Collins and Abu-Lughod.

De Beauvoir is often attributed as being the first to make a distinction between gender and sex- a theory often used in sociological work today and certainly she develops a concept of what it means to be a 'woman'. (de Beauvoir, 1949). She suggests that females are not born as a 'woman' but rather become a woman and that 'biological and social sciences no longer support the idea that there are unchangeable fixed entities that determine given characteristics such as those ascribed to women, the Jew or Negro' (de Beauvoir, 1949, p. 14). According to de Beauvoir no serious academic any longer suggests that there are biological characteristics that are ascribed to certain groups of people. She claims that attributes traditionally seen as 'womanly' are due to society and how it socialises, conditions and even subordinates' women. (de Beauvoir, 1949).

Society's conditioning is indeed one of the fundamental sources of women's oppression for de Beauvoir; women is defined as having a womb, uterus and ovaries which 'circumscribe her within limits of her nature' (de Beauvoir, 1949, p. 15). Whilst women have biological differences from men-such as a womb- patriarchal society has created the perception and culture of women being defined by their bodies and child-bearing abilities, keeping them suppressed. Moreover, de Beauvoir is acknowledging that the notion of fixed biological characteristics in different races or genders has not been taken as truthful by any serious academics for some time therefore the characteristics traditionally attributed to women are simply socially constructed to keep women oppressed under men.

Furthermore de Beauvoir suggests that , whilst man can think of himself without women, women cannot think of themselves without man; they are simply what man decrees and he defines them as relative to him (de Beauvoir, 1949). Whilst it is a valid point that women may be defined as what men will them to be in a patriarchal society, this can be viewed as disempowering to women, doing them a disservice even, in assuming they cannot define themselves through constructing their own identity and making their own choices. However, it can also be argued that de Beauvoir believes this to be in line with the concept of a 'woman' and not a female in herself. She is not suggesting that females cannot define

themselves but rather that they have been suppressed to accept passively the role assigned to them by society (de Beauvoir, 1949). Moreover, her work is heavily influenced by Sartre and existentialism, a philosophical theory that studies humans in their natural setting with all their complexities, challenging the idea of a fixed human nature (Scott, 2014). De Beauvoir therefore suggests that there is freedom for human beings to choose their own identity and existence; if humans define themselves through their choices then the world beyond them has no meaning-there are no fixed characteristics of women because existence precedes essence. However, de Beauvoir fails to acknowledge that there are also socially constructed ideas of masculinities which can be harmful towards men. Many intersectional feminists would argue that feminism is just as much for men as women in this regard; women too can hold sexist attitudes and beliefs and men too face the pressure of having to succumb to societies expectations and stereotypical gender roles (hooks, 2000).

De Beauvoir suggests that women are born as 'the other'; they are the other of men who are the subjects and society creates different versions of 'the other' that women can be, such as housewives, mothers or seductresses which all play out in society and contribute to the oppression of women (de Beauvoir, 1949). The othering of women as wives, for example, is a concept that de Beauvoir explores. She suggests that marriage is a form of oppression for women which only benefits men, going so far as to compare it to the legacy of slavery in the US, suggesting that the idea of the good, submissive negro mirrors that of the 'submissive wife' (de Beauvoir, 1949, p.20). De Beauvoir claims that the othering of women through the institution of marriage is one of the fundamental sources of women's oppression in society; marriage is only a part of a man's life but is seen as the main point of a woman's (de Beauvoir, 1949).

De Beauvoir certainly has a lack of awareness within her work, however, as she fails to acknowledge that women are not homogeneous creatures or that class, race and cultural distinctions shape women's lives. De Beauvoir's concept of 'the other' is indeed a notion that still has relevance today. Many would argue that women are 'the other' of men. However the concept is in need of expansion in order to fit within the more realistic and self-aware intersectional feminism and to simply include how race, class and cultural difference shape women's lives in general.

Interestingly the concept of women as 'the other' to man mirrors Said's (1979) notion of the East as 'other' to the West in his acclaimed work 'Orientalism', specifically the 'otherness' of Eastern women. Through the concept of orientalism, Eastern women are exotic, passive and readily available for sex (Said, 1979). This is not unlike the point de Beauvoir makes-that men see women as mere sexual machines, -but de Beauvoir fails to realise how race and cultural distinctions can influence not only women's lives, but also the sexism and suppression they receive. Moreover the likes of DuBois, who was writing before de Beauvoir, can also be seen to mirror this theory of 'the other'. His concept of 'the veil' (2007), in which white people view black people with certain views and prejudices through an imaginary veil, allows de Beauvoir's argument to be expanded. The veil symbolises how white people can see black people as the other but likewise could apply to how men see women through their own imaginary veil. A solution to the limitations of de Beauvoir's argument can be found by combining and merging theories which explore different types of oppression and seeing how they intersect. Though certainly one could argue that, due to de Beauvoir's lack of awareness towards the intersectionality of women, she is a rather outdated theorist. The likes of Hill-Collins (1990), for example, with her

notions on black feminism, intersectionality and the matrix of domination are more likely to still be well received and accepted as relevant in modern society.

Indeed, de Beauvoir is no doubt lacking awareness of intersectionality and Hill-Collins' (1990) theory of 'the matrix of domination' outlines the idea of seeing 'race class and gender as interlocking systems of oppression' (Hill-Collins, 1990, p.555). Hill-Collins suggests that placing 'excluded groups in the centre of analysis opens up possibilities for a both/and conceptual stance, one in which all groups possess varying amounts of penalty and privilege in one historically created system' (1990, p.556). Hill-Collins is suggesting that, by acknowledging how different groups or backgrounds impact oppression, one can more effectively see the balance and influence of said oppression in difference contexts. As she puts it - 'in this system, white women are penalized by their gender but privileged by their race' (Hill-Collins, 1990, p.556) and indeed, whilst it is a very relevant and even obvious point, de Beauvoir completely fails to acknowledge the intersections of race and gender when it comes to oppression of women. Even in her comparison between marriage and US slavery she seemingly lacks awareness of intersectionality and oppression, especially regarding race. To compare the legacy of slavery, and all the connotations that come with it, to marriage-which many women view in a positive light despite De Beauvoir's opposition to it- suggests an immense lack of awareness.

Moreover, intersectional feminism advocates the inclusion of diverse women recognising that there are multifaceted types of sexism that women face but also that diverse women can all be a part of feminism (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, intersectional feminism suggests that feminism should support all women and all women should support each other. Regardless of differences all women should recognise their oppression under patriarchy but also the privilege they hold (hooks, 2000) essentially recognising the matrix of domination (Hill-Collins, 1990). However, de Beauvoir fails to do this and, in many ways, her idea of feminism is one that largely only supports the perception of white, Western middle-class women and what they perceive to be right or wrong when it comes to women's lives. For example, de Beauvoir has lectured against the 'chador', a modest garment that shows only the face worn by many women, usually Muslim, in the East (Walters, 2014). This suggests an immense lack of awareness on de Beauvoir's part by assuming the stereotype of Muslim women is of being passive and needing the help of white Western women-as Abu-Lughod puts it 'Muslim women are portrayed as culturally distinct, the mirror opposites of white women' (2015, p.88)- whilst also suggesting that it is white Western women who have the 'correct' ideas about what liberation means and what oppression of women looks like. Indeed, it is essentially the concept laid out by Said (1979) in 'Orientalism'. It is also outlined by Abu-Lughod in her work 'Do Muslim Women need Saving?'(2015) in which she discusses the perception that Muslim women are passively oppressed and need the help of Western or white women to lift them out of their oppression when, in fact, many use religion and hijab as a source of empowerment and the basis of their right to equality with men. For example, de Beauvoir suggests that women have always been stuck in the private sphere as opposed to the public because they have been limited in defining themselves only in terms of their body. It is men who can define themselves within the public realm and transcend their own bodies (De Beauvoir, 1949). However, de Beauvoir fails to acknowledge that many Muslim women feel that wearing the hijab allows them to do just this; it forces men to see them for their thoughts and personality rather than for their bodies. In this sense they are transcending their own bodies, which can be a source of empowerment ,and allow the public, male- dominated space to be accessible to them (Abu-Lughod, 2015). Moreover, whilst De Beauvoir comments on the way women have been defined sexually and in terms of their appearance,

similarly hooks (2000), has argued that women need to liberate themselves from the belief that their value is based on their physical appearance. Hooks suggests that women did this by rejecting constricting forms of clothing and destroying their bodies to look a certain way, particularly in the early days of second-wave feminism (2000). In many ways the hijab is just this and is therefore a very feminist symbol and way of dress. It could be argued De Beauvoir is completely unaware of, not only her own cultural and racial privilege but also, the diversity among women and how acts of liberation can be perceived in different ways.

Social class is a key component when it comes to the dynamics of feminism and has great influence over an individual's position in society and how they are perceived. De Beauvoir is a middle- class woman from a background of privilege which, just as with race, she fails to acknowledge or comment upon in her work (De Beauvoir, 1949). Hooks, in her writing 'Feminism Is For Everybody' (2000), comments comprehensively about the dynamics of social class and how it intersects with gender and feminism. She suggests that issues highlighted in the mainstream media about feminism were presented 'as a crisis for women when it really was only a crisis for a small group of well-educated white women' (hooks, 2000, p.38). Hooks suggests a huge majority of women were in the workforce and had to deal with the disenfranchisement of being a working-class woman in the public sphere putting up with long hours, low pay and the domestic work inside the household too. Interestingly she comments on the dynamics of being a housewife-working women would have seen the right to stay home and not have to work as freedom, rather than constraining (2000). De Beauvoir's argument would be more advantageous if she acknowledged and explored the impact of social class among women- how so many working-class women cannot afford to study women's issues and feminism to such a high degree and the unique oppression that women who are working, particularly in low paid jobs, face. Moreover, gender again intersects with race and class, particularly in the working environment; stereotypes and gender assumptions have led to a gendered division of labour and exploitation and poor terms of work for women. For example, stereotypes that portray Asian women as docile, passive and nimble-fingered, have led to exploitation in the assembly line of factory work (Hewmanne, 2015). The importance of recognising social class and how it interlinks with gender is apparent -however De Beauvoir certainly lacks awareness of how these distinctions can shape women's lives. ✓

In conclusion, De Beauvoir no doubt was a pioneer in academic feminist theory and many of her ideas are key in understanding women's position in society and how they are suppressed and exploited. Her concept of distinguishing biological sex from socially constructed gender is a foundation for feminist theory and has played a large part in how feminism has progressed. Likewise, her ideas about women's suppression and patriarchal society give an insight into how and why women are oppressed and how ingrained in society and culture these ideas are. However, de Beauvoir fails to acknowledge how race, class and cultural distinctions shape women's lives; there is no homogenous 'woman' that can define all of women's experiences and these distinctions impact women in different ways. As Hill-Collins' theory of 'the matrix of domination' suggests there are different parts of individuals such as race and class that either put them in positions of power and privilege or positions of disadvantage and hindrance. Moreover, de Beauvoir seems unaware of her own matrix of domination and how her race and class put her in a position of privilege even though her gender does not. Her lack of awareness when it comes to other women and how culture, race and class influence them and their feminist perspective can be viewed as outdated and hence irrelevant in modern society. Whilst many of her notions can still be applied in society today her theories need to be adapted and her ideas

combined with other sociological theorists and theories to have any place and relevance in modern society.

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Critical Book Review;
'The Gangs All Queer' & 'Masculinities and Crime'

Ashlin Richards

This critical review will focus upon two books, which are both written with reference to the assumptions of the links between perceived, or normalised gender roles of masculinity in relation to criminogenic behaviours. The first book 'The Gangs all Queer', written by author Vanessa Panfill, is a two-year ethnographic fieldwork study on almost fifty gay gang members and their lives. In the book, Panfill (2017) attempts to highlight the identities and experiences of individuals who identify as both homosexual and crime involved young men, in an attempt to challenge some commonly held beliefs of the wider public in relation to what is expected of gang culture and certain communities. Panfill (2017) casts light upon the accuracy of what is really known about these men and their complex lives, and addresses whether such popular beliefs are a truly accurate portrayal of the community's real- world situation, analysing her findings and concluding upon whether the gay gang is all that queer after all. The second book 'Masculinities and Crime' written by Author James W. Messerschmidt explores with considerable depth the many authors' differing theoretical views over time on the concepts of gender and crime in a broader context, ranging from the more reductionist perspectives of historical thinkers such as Lombroso and Bonger, to the more contemporary and socially influenced ideas of Cohen and Parsons. Messerschmidt (1993) explores through the varying perspectives, echoed in the fieldwork conducted by Panfil (2017) that conventional criminology is somewhat lacking in its ability to account for gendered crime. Both books, although in different in structure and context, discuss family structures, informal social controls and how an individual's race, class and sexual orientation act interchangeably to shape societal beliefs upon what the defining characteristics of masculinity are, and how they are subject to change over space and time. Both the broad ranging and critical approach of Messerschmitt (1993) and the narrower focus of the field study by Panfil (2017) are insightful into providing further understanding of the recently developed queering criminological perspectives. This review discusses the content of the books, while comparing the similarities in each books ability to successfully convey understanding of how social forces impact on the fluidity of masculine behaviour in criminal context.

Vanessa Panfill's interest in the research topic of her book stems from her early work alongside the LGBTQ community as an activist for their rights. Panfill (2017) shares with her participants the identity of a person who does not conform to 'normalised' sexual identity, as a gay woman, and as such was able to challenge existing heterosexist assumptions from the viewpoint of the 'out group' and provide pioneering research in respect of contemporary queer criminology. Panfill (2017) notes there is very little research in respect of the lives of gay gang members, and attributes this to how gay identities complicate the idea of 'malestream' criminology. The book identifies and responds to two pervasive assumptions; that both male gang members and those who actively offend are exclusively heterosexual, and that gang membership and violence ae simply ways to construct stereotypical masculine or heterosexual identities only, this being at the expense of those that do not follow normative gender rules. Explained in the book is how class and race, but also the sexuality of youths combines to shape certain paths in their lives, particularly around choices to join gangs, their methods of innovative financial gain

as gang members such as selling drugs and sex, and the expectations placed upon them to engage in physical violence.

During the study, many of the participants suggested that the difference between acceptance or non-acceptance of their sexuality by their community was attributed to religiosity. However, the intersectionality of race, cultural factors and gender roles meant that being gay is not as readily accepted in minority groups when compared to other communities. It is perceived by a participant's community as a white culture phenomenon, and that minority individuals that 'come out' are seen to be denying their blackness (Panfil 2017). Gay and bisexual youth as CDCP (2009) notes, are more likely to be rejected by their families. A study conducted by Centre for Disease Control and prevention or CDCP (2009) compared gay youth who experienced strong rejection from their families with their peers who had more supportive families. The research found those who experienced higher levels of rejection were much more likely to engage in self injurious or risky behaviours. Messerschmidt (1993) discusses this by drawing upon the writings of sociologist Talcott Parsons (1956) who suggests that the familial prohibition of homosexuality has the function of reinforcing the differentiation of sex roles, and as such is necessary to maintain a well-balanced society. However, as Messerschmidt (1993) explains, sex role theory is based upon the assumption that there are only two roles to identify with and that gender is fixed, an assumption that is challenged in Panfil's (2017) study. Such a fixed explanation of how society should do gender completely ignores the agency of those that do not conform, and skews gender variability or fluidity, which is something participants regularly experiment with.

Despite the theory being somewhat outdated in the modern world, prejudice is still commonplace, and this is reflected in the experiences of Panfil's participants. This results in the acceptance into one group at the cost of being excluded from another; participants likened this to having to choose between being accepted within one community or the other. There was, for several of them, no hybridity in belonging. Often due to the perceived deviance of traditional norms and values, participants often found themselves an 'out group' in some situations that included their families and part of the 'in group' in others, referred to as their gay or gang family (Panfil 2017). Many of the participants suffered difficulty within biological families, with some reporting one or both parents having been incarcerated for lengthy periods of their childhood. Some reported abusive upbringings, and how coming out to their families resulted in punishment, disapproval, conflict and unacceptance, therapy to 'fix the problem' and an attempt by parents to place participant in military school for being gay. Such isolation presents as serious issues for those already at risk of varying forms of social and economic marginalisation. Messerschmidt (1993) discusses the role of the family at length, drawing upon Hirschi's Control Theory and suggests that higher levels of informal control result in less opportunity for youth to engage in criminal acts. Low level informal control appears to be the consensus throughout Panfil's participant disclosures. Both race and socio-economic status also has a crucial impact upon crime levels of young males, and that the tendency for marginalised youth to feel emasculated within their environment only serves to be exacerbated by their sexual orientation. The choice of participants to join their gangs was as Panfil (2017) explains, borne from the need to belong or feel part of something. Classical literature on gangs as Alexander (2008) suggests the gang as a symbol of cohesion, seeing each other as family, and belonging to the gang culture awarded the individual a reputation and respect within their group, and to an extent the wider public.

To become 'known' in the context of the gang relies primarily upon violence to build upon this reputation, with the result of becoming a legitimate and respected member of their chosen clique, however those members that identified as being gay were more likely to engage in violence due to their sexuality being perceived by other gender norm following gangs as a weakness (Panfill 2017).

As Messerschmidt (1993) explains, because masculinity is a behavioural response to particular situations or conditions that individuals participate in, youth 'do masculinity' in ways which reflect their assimilation to a particular group. In the case of Panfil's respondents, the acts of violence that often occurred was from being labelled in what they perceived to be in certain contexts offensive, such as the term 'faggot' evokes violence as a response to the undermining of their perceived maleness, despite their sexual preferences. However, the shared sexuality of individuals seems to be the difference of youth becoming part of or initiated into a gang, in that heterosexual gangs are primarily built upon space or place such as post codes, neighbourhoods or drug selling turfs, whereas all gay gangs were simply organised through their shared sexual identity rather than location, and often did not face any kind of initiation tasks as straight gangs often do (Panfil 2017). Ideological gender norms still impact upon the gay community and shape opinions, and this is evident in the way the groups regulate not only their own behaviour, but also the behaviour of their peers in an attempt to conform to the norm, and this is done with the intent to reduce the level of discrimination from others by self-policing. Messerschmidt (1993) addresses the concept of status frustration through a discussion of Cohen's (1956) study upon delinquent boys. Not only is social class a factor of understanding gangs as male-dominated cliques developed through status frustration, but encompassed within this is sexuality. As an aspect of frustration for the non-heterosexual male, those with a gay identity are subject to strong social pressure to conform to expected ideals, in order to establish true masculinity and define their difference from a feminine identification. A common anti-gay slur is usually as Panfil (2017) explains, associated with high visibility and men behaving in an overly flamboyant manner. The general consensus among participants was that this behaviour was not acceptable, thus gender patrolling is a form of managing certain behaviours and is still a process of achieving masculine ideals (Messerschmidt 1993).

In concluding, authority and control become the defining features of the social construction of masculinities as Messerschmidt (1993) notes, and this is inclusive within the context of gender relations. Heterosexual men are perceived as being able to exert more power and control than a man who identifies as gay, even though this concept has been widely contested in the outcome of the study conducted by Panfil (2017), partially due to the levels of violence engaged in by participants, however noted within the interviews are admissions of fraudulent crime, theft and occasionally the selling of sex, although the latter was by no means the participants primary source of illegitimate income. Challenged is the assumption that sexuality somehow takes away from male identity and is dependent upon which types of crimes are committed. Despite there being startling similarities in criminogenic behaviours between males with differing sexual orientation, structural constraints still enforce the idea of deviance through sexual identity, and those that identify as gay are often repressed, and overpoliced by other communities as well as facing level of control within their cliques. Messerschmidt (1993) identifies the experiences of how men both construct and reject ideals of masculinity on the basis of social class, race and also sexuality, and concludes that sexuality produces unequal masculine identities. This is a concept that is echoed in Panfil's (2017) study that gay gang members fight for equality through displays of violence. Although independent field work studies have limitations in

both replicability and generalisability of sample and findings, and this is acknowledged by Panfil (2017), the study Is incredibly informative in challenging previous assumptions of gay men's involvement in crime to be limited to sexual offences, thus offering an alternative perception on sexuality and criminal acts.

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Review of Race Ethnicity and Crime

Ashlin Richards

This critical review will focus upon the module session of Race, Ethnicity and Crime. The session first defined the concepts of race and ethnicity, before explaining how they have an impact within all levels of criminal justice proceedings, from preconceived ideas of who is first labelled as a criminal, to exploring how those of a certain ethnic background are treated within the judicial system. The session addressed how the concepts impacted upon the pervasive and widespread fear of crime. The importance of the concept of race and the impact this has upon different areas is also addressed using the example of a case study of police brutality resulting in the death of a young man, conducted in Baltimore USA, and how racial prejudice affects policing methods throughout. This review explores how certain privileges are not afforded to those of particular ethnicity, how this perception of privilege is deeply entrenched within the ideas of what constitutes a criminal, and how these perceptions shape the modern-day processes of the criminal justice system.

In defining the concepts as addressed within the lecture and the key reading, 'Race' can be explained as a collection of physical or biological traits, but has minimal scientifically evidenced value of genuine existence, instead is a socially constructed phenomenon with the purpose of categorising a society's individuals. While race is a construct focused upon physical traits, 'Ethnicity' can be defined as an individual's national origins, their language, cultures, values, and behaviours (Mason 2000). The key reading for the session is a chapter from the book Class, Race, Gender and Crime by Barak et.al (2014). Within the chapter the authors offer a brief overview of the history of prejudice and racial injustices for those of African-American heritage, being subjected to oppression and segregation under the Jim Crow Laws that operated within post-colonial America. Alexander (2012) likens contemporary methods of policing and punishing ethnic minorities to that of a new Jim Crow Law suggesting that society's members of colour pay a heavier price for their crimes, and that the assigning of individuals into racial categories is yet another ideological attempt to segregate society on the perception of their worth, depending on their colour by those who perceive themselves to be white supremacists.

In the eyes of the Law, the underpinning value of judicial conduct states that the constitution is colour blind, in that it shall see no superiority, that man is seen as man, and as such does not take into account a person's colour or social status when enforcing Law (Barak et al 2014). It is based upon this value, that the assumption of policing without prejudice applies as a universal trait of contemporary criminal justice systems (CJS) in their entirety. However, contrary to this, the CJS has as Barak et al (2014) explains, played a significant role in the exploitation and marginalisation of minority groups in the form of racialised ideological and discriminatory practises. Racial profiling by police is responsible for stereotyping the typical offender as a young, poor, black male, and in many cases the presence of minority groups is simultaneously linked to high urban crime rates in the USA and the UK (Barak et al 2014). Police presence is found to be more heavily enforced around areas that have a lower socio-economic stratum, and the people who occupy these areas, have an increased vulnerability in a society that places higher value upon those who hold more privileged socio-economic positions (Barak et al 2014). This is apparent within the way the police conduct themselves whilst on patrol, and is often seen in the way police use their powers of discretion. It Is reflected in their personal values and experiences, although

minority vulnerability is also dependent upon the political, not just social economy. In many instances within both the USA and the UK there have been issues of minority groups being grossly overrepresented within the CJS as a result. From entry point into the CJS through to sentencing, treatment whilst incarcerated and an offenders specific release conditions, there is considerable disparity between minority and white individuals (BJS 2015).

The Baltimore riots of 2015 are one example of the consequences of police brutality. A young man perceived to be a criminal who, matching the stereotypical offender status was pursued by officers for suspected possession of an illegal weapon, only to be fatally injured whilst in transit after his arrest. It was later found the young man was not carry an illegal weapon. All six of the arresting officers were charged but later acquitted of murder, despite neglecting the man's needs for urgent medical treatment and inflicting injuries from violent acts that were ultimately responsible for his death. No one was brought to justice despite the case being rules as murder, the riots saw over one hundred police officers injured and resulted in two deaths (Woods and Pankhania 2016). Consequentially, such methods of policing are still seen in modern day forces, and continue to remain deeply entrenched with racial bias, that serves to repeat historical unjust and tension, doing little to move forward into a more equally served society (Alexander 2012).

To conclude, as Barak et al (2014) suggests, changes cannot be brought about by legislation alone, but need to be addressed by society also. The widespread public fear of crime based upon who is a typical offender is reproduced and reinforced by disproportionate representations of minority groups within the CJS. CJS methods of policing and punishment act to serve only those of whom hold a perceived status of privileged, allowing an unjust system to operate from entry, such as a disproportionate amount of minority stop and searches and actual arrests, to end, such as a white prisoner's eligibility for early release from incarceration being twice as likely as that of an African American prisoner's chance of parole (BJS 2015). Such practises replicate socio-economic vulnerability and inequality between individuals that are deemed inferior by the more privileged, preserving as Alexander (2012) explains, continued oppression of minority groups in contemporary society.

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The term 'crisis' has been common currency in both media and academic accounts of the penal system for well over 20 years" (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007:11). Why do commentators view the penal system as being in "crisis"?

Emme Ross

This essay will explore the reasons why commentators such as academics and the media view the penal system as being in crisis. The orthodox account of the penal crisis will be explored due it being at the forefront of media attention, consequently influencing attitudes and beliefs of both the penal and the prison system. It will be made apparent that the problems within the penal system are comprised of a number of intertwining crises including the crisis of legitimacy and the crisis of resources resulting in issues in relation to prison population sizes and overcrowding. The rise of prison riots as a result of the breakdown of social order within the prison system will be explored in order to exemplify the effect the penal crisis has on prison inmates and the sheer scale of the problem itself.

In order to understand why the penal system is constantly being referred to as being in crisis it is necessary to define what is actually meant by the word crisis in relation to the penal system. Morris (1989) claimed that the penal system can be viewed as being in crisis on the basis of two clear perspectives. The first is that it is at the point which involves danger as mentioned previously. Danger in regard to the individuals themselves that are imprisoned at the hands of the criminal justice system and danger in reference to society as a whole, that if a breakdown occurred then society would be severely affected. The second reason which justifies the penal system as being defined, as in crisis is the fact that the future of it is pinnacle. It has reached a stage where it can either be reformed, improved and proven effective again, or it is destined for failure by which it is unsalvageable and will remain a problem for society. The penal crisis is said to be a result of a number of intertwining crises including the crisis of resources and the crisis of legitimacy (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007).

The orthodox account views the prison system as being at the forefront of the reason behind the penal crisis. The conditions inmates have to withstand in prison, create an environment which fuels behaviours which come to the attention of the media such as violence and the uprising of riots. The factors that contribute to the orthodox account and consequently are seen as the cause of the crisis include the overcrowding and understaffing of prisons as well as the sheer number of inmates and the bad conditions, individuals have to live and work in. These factors combined with the toxic combination of prisoners and poor security generate an environment full of tension and resentment by prisoners towards prison guards and against the state (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007). Rising prison populations, overcrowding, gendered prisons and youth justice will be explored individually to ascertain how much of an influence they each have on both the penal and the prison crisis.

After the Second World War the prison population began to rise and despite efforts implemented to try and reduce the ever-increasing number of prisoners, figures continued to climb. By the end of the 1980's the prison population had reached nearly 50,000 despite

thoughts at the beginning of the decade that the numbers might significantly reduce. In order to try and combat the problem of overcrowding, the government in power at the time, the Conservative party, implemented a number of techniques to try and limit this growth. By introducing bail information schemes, giving advice to sentencers on restricting remands in custody and time limits on how long an individual's case can be brought for trial, there was hope for change. The effects of these attempts at solutions were short lived and the prison population again began to rise, yet it is the numbers that follow that conjure up images of crisis and create a sense of moral panic. In 2007 the prison population stood at approximately 80,000. Home detention curfew was introduced with it being monitored by means of electronic tagging as well as an extension of the maximum curfew period. This was a risk as it meant individuals would be released back into society with a chance of them reoffending. The rising prison population can be seen as a result of a number of different factors including an increase in severity of sentencing, an increase in the number of individuals being caught and consequently sentenced and an increase in crimes being prosecuted in relation to their seriousness. The result of this is a further issue of overcrowding, demonstrating how one crisis can lead to another seamlessly (Newburn, 2017).

Overcrowding is most frequently explained by the lack of resources available and restricted prison space. Resources are often only distributed to training prisons where they will be put to best use whilst local prisons and remand centres are left with overcrowding complications. The reasoning behind this is that those who are residing in the local prisons and remand centres are individuals who are serving relatively short sentences in comparison to other prisoners, therefore resources would be wasted on them due to the time spent on them being too short for it to have an effect. The problem of overcrowding forms part of the overall penal crisis as it has a severe effect on the physical living conditions of the prison. Sanitary levels are extremely low with inmates living in cramped damp cells with often one or two extra people than the cell was originally designed for. Inmates are fed almost inedible food and told family visits will be restricted and extremely brief. This combined with a daily routine that lacks training, work or freedom demonstrates a clear crisis within the prison and penal system (Carrabine, Cox, Fussey, Hobbs, South, Thiel and Turton, 2014).

This problem of overcrowding and a rising prison population indicate that at the centre of the penal crisis is the underlying problem of deprivation. Deprivation occurs in every prison as a means of punishment, inmates are restricted from freedom, told to eat at certain times and are under surveillance to create social order. It is these deprivations that Fox (1981) refers to as contributing to the powder keg theory in relation to prison riots and a breakdown of social order. Prison riots when they occur generate a lot of media attention and highlight to the general public the severity of the crisis that seemingly is out of sight out mind behind the prison walls. The deprivation and living conditions prisoners have to withstand during long sentences create an environment that mirrors a ticking time bomb. Inmates adopt a 'nothing to lose' attitude towards rioting and causing disorder which can result in a trivial incident sparking a period of disruption and uprising (Carrabine, 2005). The formation of prison subcultures adds to the pressures inside the prison and therefore makes it possible for disorder to occur. The importation model suggests that the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of individuals from beyond the prison walls are brought into the prison space. An inmates' view of the world is generally criminogenic in order for them to have committed a crime and consequently ended up in prison, therefore their capabilities in terms of planning, preparation and action are transferable to the prison environment. It is the blurring of these boundaries between the

outside world and the prison walls which make it possible for deprivation to trigger disorder (Blevins, Listwan, Cullen and Jonson, 2010).

The Strangeways riot in Manchester exemplifies the sheer scale of what deprivation in prison can cause individuals collectively to achieve if deemed necessary. The riot that took place in April of 1990 was the most serious in British history and became the subject of media campaigns at the time. The prison itself met many of the criteria outlined above, it was overcrowded with an extraordinary number of inmates (Newburn, 2017). Prisoners were fed up of their dreadful living conditions as well as the treatment they received by members of the prison service. The riot itself broke out in the chapel on Sunday 1st April before quickly spreading to the rest of the prison, with many inmates taking to the rooftops to protest until the riot was deemed over after 25 days of unrest. 194 people were injured and 2 killed in the proceedings before riot officers managed to regain control of the prison. The prison however was inhabitable with it being completely gutted during the 4-week disturbance. This inspired copycat riots throughout the UK as individuals realised the deprivation they were suffering and the need for change in prisons across the country (Allison, 2010).

The fight for better living conditions led to an inquiry carried out by Lord Justice Woolf into the reasons behind the disturbance and consequent copycat riots which occurred shortly after it. In his report Woolf (1991) outlined that security, justice and control are necessary in order for a prison to remain stable and it is these breakdowns that result in the riots witnessed. In regard to justice it was discovered that the individuals who had recently been transferred to Strangeways played a key role in the riots. Transfers are deemed stressful for prisoners, particularly if the conditions they are being transferred to are worse than those they have come from. In light of the disruption a number of recommendations was made in order to improve conditions and eliminate the chance of it being repeated. An interesting recommendation was the elimination of control categorisation meaning that prisoners should not be under security either high or low depending on how dangerous they are to members of the public. The most notorious offenders outside of the prison walls may be extremely unlikely to be involved in disruption inside prison therefore control categorisation can be extremely unfair for some inmates. This combined with appalling living conditions adds extra pressure to individuals which could be easily prevented. Other changes were also recommended such as only carrying the keys for the cells an officer intends to open as well as physical security, so inmates are unable to reach roofs or gain access to objects which could be used as weapons (Prison Reform Trust, 1991).

The crisis of the penal system focuses heavily on the circumstances and actions that take place within the prison system however the sheer scale of the problem extends far beyond that. Bottoms (1980) argued that the crisis is caused by a general lack of resources in relation the penal system of which the size of the prison population and the demands of the probation service are to blame. The capacity of a prison is extremely limited however this often means that community resolutions are implemented in the form of probation. The demands on those involved in the probation service increases as a result of this meaning the crisis is displaced to other areas of the criminal justice system (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007).

A further contributing factor to the penal crisis is the social consequences that occur as a result of prior decisions made within the system. An example of this is the decision to make the age of criminal responsibility 10 years of age after the brutal killing of James Bulger by two 10-year olds in 1993. Prior to this it was not considered possible that children as

young as this were capable of having criminal intent and capabilities of committing criminal activities. By lowering the age of criminal responsibility, it requires a system shake up in order to incorporate and appropriately deal with young offenders. Child custody was seen as an appropriate measure; however this resulted in a substantial number of children being locked up, with figures reaching 1,643 in August 2012 (Carrabine et al, 2014). This adds pressure to the system as even more individuals are needed to be dealt with in a system that is already failing. This further highlights the ongoing issue of the penal crisis and that it continues to be an issue in today's society.

Similar to the issue of children and youth justice is the crisis in relation to women in prison. The prison population is very heavily dominated by males which is reflected in its practices and regimes. Women as a result are treated differently to male offenders due to their being far fewer in the criminal justice system. The number of women's prisons is substantially less, which is a pressing issue as the number of women offenders is rising. The poor treatment of women is also apparent within these separate institutions. Behaviour such as inappropriate drugs testing and the restraint of women during child birth are a small glimpse of the practice that occurs daily. It is obvious that the needs of both men and women inside prison are very distinct and different. Women's prisons however are becoming places of social care, where individuals are undergoing treatment for drugs or mental illness, indicating that sending more women to prison is not the solution to the problem of women offending but instead heavily contributing to the penal crisis (Carrabine et al, 2014).

Deprivation within the prison system cannot be solely to blame for the penal and prison crisis. Riots are a rare occurrence and even the most deprived of prisons are not subject to disorder and breakdown. An underlying crisis which remains unmentioned in the orthodox account is the crisis of legitimacy. There are certain conditions in which as individuals we are either less or more likely to adhere to rules. Legitimacy and authority are therefore important in maintaining order within the prison environment. This indicates that the problems occurring inside the prison are in fact a result of a much larger scale problem in the form of the penal system at the hands of the state. It is argued by Useem and Kimball (1989) that if a prison adheres to a certain standard involving effective communication channels, adequate resources and competent staff then individuals are much more likely to conform and consent to authority. This is due to the prisoners themselves feeling a sense of justice in relation to their punishment, understanding that they are being punished but in a way that is collectively accepted. When however administrative breakdown occurs such as understaffing and disorganisation, legitimacy is lost and obedience to authority is jeopardised (Carrabine, 2005).

Legitimacy in relation to the penal system needs to occur in three different ways in order to be effective. The public including commentators and the media, the penal staff and the penal subjects all need to be legitimised with the penal system in order to maintain the sense of justice that Lord Woolf (1991) made apparent in his report. It is when this legitimacy breakdown occurs that the more visible forms of crisis occur as mentioned previously, such as the breakdown of order between inmates, staff resigning leaving the prison understaffed and the political problems that arise. Cavadino and Dignan (2007) refer to the penal crisis as a moral crisis in the sense that the system is unjust. The implementation of bifurcation during peak times of overcrowding was a decision that could have been avoided. This indicates that a number of decisions being made by policy makers have serious consequences on the notion of the penal crisis itself, hinting that it was not inevitable and as a result can be salvaged.

It has been made clear that the penal system is viewed by commentators and the media alike as being in crisis due to a number of intertwining factors. The complicated notion of deprivation in relation to overcrowding and rising prison populations results in inmates feeling a sense of injustice in their attitudes towards the penal system. This in turn results in disorder displayed in the form of riots and disobedience to authority. It appears to be the administrative breakdown of the penal system that is the result of the ongoing issue and subsequent prison system crisis. If the administrative aspect of the system remains strong and just, then this is reflected in the maintenance of legitimacy and resources within prisons on the ground. It is clear however that a balance occurs amongst these crises within the penal system resulting in it being in a stable crisis for a number of decades with no signs of a resolution.

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With reference to Milgram and Zimbardo's work, give an example from current events that you feel represents the effect of conformity and obedience on individuals today. Specifically discuss how you can use Milgram's and Zimbardo's work to both understand and explain the event you chose. You may also draw from the wider readings on obedience and conformity to supplement your argument.

Laura Seager

American social psychologist Stanley Milgram suggests that some structure of authority is necessary in all 'communal living arrangements' and 'obedience is as basic an element in the structure of social life as one can point to' (1974:3). Social influence, specifically where somebody responds to an order in a way they would not normally act, is extremely powerful and features heavily in many historical, tragic events such as the My Lai massacre and the Holocaust (Kelman and Hamilton 1989). This essay aims to address links between two renowned psychological experiments undertaken to test conformity and obedience and the election campaign and subsequent inauguration of Donald Trump as President of the United States. The two works of interest are Stanley Milgram's (1963) studies of obedience to authority and Philip Zimbardo's (1971) Stanford Prison Experiment, both famous (or maybe infamous) for their controversial ethical implications and ground-breaking findings on the impact of social influence. Whilst outlining the concepts and theories behind this research, such as the need for a legitimate authority figure, the paper will explore what the outcomes of these experiments can tell us when applied to Trump's rise in the political popularity stakes and how this has been achieved. By analysing Trump through as psycho-social lens, the essay will endeavour to uncover what particular social situations and personality types allow for obedience and conformity to manifest and what the consequences of this may be.

Influenced by the atrocities carried out by the Nazi's and the work of other scholars such as Solomon Asch and Max Weber, Stanley Milgram (1974) led a series of highly controversial studies to investigate how far people would go under pressure and how obedience to authority can shape or alter a person's behaviour towards others (in Blass 2004, Lunt 2009). The basic procedure in Milgram's experiments involved forty participants brought to the Yale University psychology department to be part of, what they believed to be, a study into the effects of punishment on learning (Gross 2010). Each was greeted by a man wearing a white lab coat, who called himself the experimenter, and introduced to another 'participant' (in fact a confederate). The naïve participant was assigned the role of 'teacher' and the stooge the 'learner'. The 'teacher' was to read a series of words pairs to the 'learner' who was required to memorise them, each time the 'learner' gave an incorrect answer, the 'teacher' had to administer an electric shock, which increased in voltage every time (Milgram 1974). The results were surprising to Milgram, with sixty-five percent of participants obeying the experimenter's cues to continue shocking even when they believed the 'learner' may have passed out or even died from the shocks administered (Lunt 2009).

Philip Zimbardo set out to test how 'good' people can turn 'bad' and how processes within institutions such as prisons can provide the perfect conditions for this to happen. In his 1971 Stanford Prison Experiment a mock prison was constructed in the basement of the psychology building at Stanford University. Participants were assigned roles as either 'Guards' or 'Prisoners' (Zimbardo 2009). After only six days, the experiment was called off as the behaviours of the participants had become extreme, with guards showing signs of dehumanising and degrading treatment towards inmates and prisoners displaying excessive levels of conformity (Coon et al 2008). Zimbardo (2009) terms this the 'Lucifer Effect' whereby situational powers influence otherwise ordinary, healthy individuals, to behave uncharacteristically.

The results of Milgram's research led him to suggest that there were specific psychological processes involved in obedience. Firstly, where a real or perceived legitimate authority figure is present, (in this case, the experimenter with his lab coat on) people have a stronger tendency to obey or conform to the instructions given by this person. In everyday or real-life situations, appearance is a strong indicator as to how authoritarian a person is perceived to be. Therefore, a doctor's coat or police officer's uniform can play a big part in how they are seen by others (Bushman 1983). A good illustration of this was a study devised in New York by Bickman (1974) who researched the effect of authority on obedience in the street using members of the public. A confederate was used to dress as either a milkman, civilian or uniformed guard and passers-by were asked to pick up litter or stand elsewhere. Results found that more people obeyed the confederate when he was dressed in the guard's uniform as they saw him as a more legitimate authority figure (in Bushman 1983). Whilst this experiment supports the basis of Milgram's theory, it may also be useful in understanding how the President has managed to gather support.
Billionaire Trump has long been a figure in the public consciousness due to his successful business enterprises, wealth and fame. It could therefore, be suggested that his trademark 'uniform' of a suit and tie helps identify him as a strong and powerful authority in American society. In addition, during his election campaign, by repeating positive words and phrases in relation to himself whilst purveying a negative rhetoric about his rival Hilary Clinton, Trump further established himself as a 'legitimate authority figure'. By dividing the public into those who are 'winners' and those who are 'losers', Trump is able to manipulate those who want to identify as the former into joining his cause (Savoy 2017).

This authority figure effect can also be seen in Zimbardo's study whereby the participants had two options; to be dominant and powerful or dominated and powerless. The guard's uniforms and reflective glasses played a part in the construction of the perceived powerful group who were able to de-individuate and dehumanise the weaker group (Zimbardo 2009). The Stanford Prison Experiment highlights how important leadership can be and that when mixed with a certain social milieu, it can enable, encourage and normalise behaviours which may not manifest in another climate. Fiske et al (2004) relate this mix to the Abu Ghraib abuse scandal and suggest that the stressful working environment and low morale coupled with an 'in-group' and 'out-group' mind-set against the prisoners meant that soldiers began to dehumanise the prisoners and treat them in an abhorrent way. Once some guards began to behave in this way, it made it easier for the other to follow suit to maintain power relations and secure their individual places in what was perceived as the stronger group (Zimbardo 2009). If Donald Trump as the country's leader shows disdain for certain minority groups and the social situation is a blend of disenfranchisement, fear and uncertainty regarding immigration in the US, it can heighten racist and discriminative behaviours among those who look to Trump for guidance.

Leading on from the part authority figures play, Milgram (1974) argued that another factor involved in obedience was that it is possible for people to experience something he termed as an 'agentic shift', moving from an autonomous state to an agentic state of mind. Milgram (1974) believed that when people are in an autonomous psychological state, they are in control of their own actions and feel a sense of responsibility for them but when they enter an agentic psychological state, they believe their actions are regulated by a person of higher status and therefore relinquish responsibility (Blass 2004:216). In short, whoever assumes the role of the authority figure becomes the agent of the others actions (Gibson 2013). When Milgram's participants were debriefed, many reported that they knew it was wrong to deliver dangerous electric shocks, but that they felt the experimenter was responsible and not them which goes some way to support these ideas (Gross 2010). It could be said that those in favour of Trump may be experiencing this agentic state which explains how whilst some fiercely object to The President's way of thinking, his actions are rationalised, legitimised and endorsed by those who are committed to his agenda. Furthermore, in a letter written by Milgram, the author discusses how his experiments show that Germans were not unique in blindly obeying orders from a 'malevolent authority'. The author expresses his fear that Americans had also been proven to be 'moral imbeciles' and possess the potential to behave the way the German people did when obeying Hitler's totalitarian regime (in Blass 2004:100).

Continuing thought regarding the shaping of supporter's attitudes, MacWilliams (2016) discusses the distribution of Trump advocates across a varied demographic and the specific personality trait, he argues, they have in common. Authoritarian Personality Theory, as researched by Adorno et al (1950), suggests that people with an authoritarian personality traits tend to behave in a suspicious or hostile manner towards people in minority groups or people they deem inferior in some way to them (in Gross 2010). Authoritarian personalities are generally narrow minded towards anybody who does not fit in to their perception of 'normal' and intolerant or contemptuous of any supposed weakness (MacWilliams 2016). This personality type desires moral order in their lives therefore, by Trump suggesting multiculturalism is a threat to the neat social fabric of America this induces Authoritarians to agree to limitations and restrictions being imposed on any minority groups whose culture may deviate from what they see as good American norms and values (Pettigrew 2017). MacWilliams (2016) proposes that authoritarians are drawn to strong leaders who say they will 'fix' things which could help explain the diverse demographic of Trump supporters. The disenfranchised lower status people of America see Trump as making something happen and regaining (what they believed is lost) order in America due to social issues such as immigration. However, Trump also appeals to those of higher status due to his own success and power and the belief that he will keep the interests of the rich at the forefront of political agenda (Pettigrew 2017).

To its citizens, crimes against humanity such as genocide may seem destined never to happen in a country like America. However, as seen in an historical context and in the experiments discussed, normal, healthy people are capable of obeying and conforming to the most extreme and destructive orders providing the authority appears legitimate and the situational conditions are right (Zimbardo 2009). Trump has assumed his role as leader in the US and has already begun indoctrinating supporters with an anti-immigration rhetoric and divisive attitudes about minority groups such as Mexican's, people of colour and amongst others. This serves only to raise hostility and the risks the creation of a stronger sense of who does or does not deserve social power (Major et al 2016). It could therefore be argued that Donald Trump is carrying out his own contemporary version of the Milgram experiment. DIrecting metaphorical 'shocks' to those who do not fit his agenda

of 'making America great again' by way of increasing negative, unaccepting attitudes and discriminatory practices such as building walls or altering immigration rules for those from certain countries (Holpuch 2017). Furthermore, the president has command over other powerful institutions such as the US military and other security services meaning that these beliefs and their associated behaviours and actions can run deep through the fabric of society not just in America but on a global scale.

To conclude, results from both the Zimbardo and Milgram studies illustrate how a legitimate authority figure or even perceived authority figure can influence uncharacteristic behaviour in normal people which can be very harmful. The essay had applied these ideas to attempt to explain the rise in popularity of businessman Donald Trump and his subsequent inauguration as President of the United States. Referring to factors such as the way Trump dresses through to his clever use of specific words and phrases when addressing the American public, the paper examines the authoritarian personality types that are most likely to submit to this rhetoric. Finally, the essay discusses what the consequences of Trump's leadership style may be by considering the damaging impact on minority groups in America and by using extreme historical examples to illustrate how dangerous totalitarian leadership can be for humanity.

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Why have criminologists been relatively silent about crimes of states?

Temilola Amole

This essay aims to explain why crimes of states have been a complex area to study and explore within the discipline of criminology. It seems that criminologists have mainly been focussed on conventional crimes committed by the powerless but not so much on crimes committed by those in power, i.e. the state. One of the greatest problems that the field is facing at the moment is that such crimes are largely denied and tend to be ignored. Some scholars add to this by supporting that crimes committed by the state are, to an extent, justifiable. While there has been some gradual interest in attempting to understand the topic, scholars may still lack the tools to do so. This essay will explore how crimes of the state have come to be concealed, ignored and normalised, and contribute to the understanding of what state crimes may consist of. It will also consider the inclusion of social harms into the definition of state crimes. Firstly, it is important to define what a state is, which most criminologists fail to do because of the complexity of a state. However, in his book *State Criminality: The Crime of All Crimes,* Dawn Rothe helps to define a state as:

> The institutions, organizations, and or/ agencies composed of actors representing and entrusted with the functions of the political apparatus governing the corresponding population via the legitimate and symbolic use of power, contained within a historically and culturally defined milieu and bound territory (2009:11-12).

Crimes of states have not been a recent occurrence and do have their roots from periods of colonialism, slavery, and major genocides during the 20th century in places such as Rwanda and Germany. However, such events have been understudied in criminology as they tend to focus on conventional street crimes which actually cause less harm to society in comparison to crimes of the state. They lean towards individual responses to crime and investigate the reason why they are committed, which "is much in line with the inclination of modern law to attach criminal liability to individuals" as criminologists tend to work with the state's definition of a 'crime' (Savelsberg, 2010: 50). As a result, the law reflects the interests of the state which means that it is no longer seen as a potential culprit for criminal activities.

Early scholars such as Chambliss, in his 1988 Presidential Address to the American Society of Criminology, helped to define state crime as "acts defined by law as criminal and committed by state officials in the pursuit of their job as representatives of the state". This definition was criticized for being too narrow as it ignored other forms of state crime, for example, war crimes. Chambliss saw the limitations of this definition and added onto it by including that "[c]riminologists must define crime as behaviour that violates international laws and agreements established in the courts and treaties of international bodies" (Rothe, 2009:5). There has been some criticism of this definition too, as international laws, specifically of the UN, may be considered biased. That is because several of these laws work in favour of the western nations that constitute the UN, rather than representing "universally valid conceptions of human nature" (Kramer and Michalowski, 2005:447). Nonetheless, this definition has enabled the study of particular state crimes such as war crimes and crimes against humanity which I will now explore using as examples states

such as Turkey, America, Germany and Rwanda. These examples will also further explain why crimes of states may be overlooked by criminologists.

Stanley Cohen has made significant contributions to the understanding of how states undergo 'spirals of decline' which either helps to justify and normalize their crimes or it allows the states to completely deny their crimes. Cohen applies Sykes and Matza's (1957) theory of "techniques of neutralisation" which "assumes that motivational accounts which actors (offenders) give of their (deviant) behaviour must be acceptable to their audience (or audiences)" (Cohen, 1993:107). In other words, the state uses techniques of neutralisation to justify its criminal acts by claiming one of the following; denial of injury, denial of victim, denial of responsibility, condemnation or appeal to higher loyalties (Cohen, 1993). This has been evident in the Armenian genocide that was committed by the Turkish state during and after World War I. In 1915, the Ottoman Empire's government carried out the genocide of 2.5 million Armenian citizens which occurred in the Ottoman territory and within Turkey (Theriault, 2009). These acts constitute the first two phases of the genocide, but the third and fourth stage are just as important. In the third phase, The Ottoman government began to displace women and children from their homes, leaving them susceptible to being killed or dying from starvation. In the fourth phase, the Armenians who survived were held in barren places in the Syrian Desert where they were left to die; approximately 1 million Armenians died at this stage. Furthermore, children were taken into Turkish homes where they were used as slaves, while women and girls were forced into sexual and domestic slavery (Theriault, 2009). However, Turkey has denied the genocidal events that took place and has made efforts to try and cover up them up. The Turkish government has campaigned:'

> ...to prevent US recognition of the Genocide...even to the point of ambassadorial visits to state governments in the United States. It also pays millions for the lobbying of US legislators (Theriault, 2009:86).

This demonstrates the use of techniques of neutralisation as the Turkish state denied that the events took place in an attempt to hide away from any scrutiny or interrogation. This shows how criminal acts committed by states can be concealed and how that can make it difficult for criminologists to investigate them.

In addition, Turkey has been known to 'normalize' its crimes and rely on the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights to legalise them so that is not penalised. State crimes tend to be 'justified by standard criminal defences such as 'use of reasonable force in the prevention of crime'', which Turkey relies on to neutralise its crimes and use "the language of human rights and extending recognized legal defences" (Green and Ward, 2000:103). Furthermore, the invasion of Iraq by the US in 2003 is another example of a state crime that has been overlooked and of techniques of neutralisation used to justify the behaviour of the US. This war crime violated the International Humanitarian Law that prohibits attacks that are "expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians [or] damage to civilian objectives . . . which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated from that attack (Human Rights Watch 2003: 9)" (Kramer and Michalowski, 2005:451). However, the invasion of Iraq caused over 10,000 deaths, including Iraqi civilians. Cohen highlights the use of the phrase 'war on terrorism' which the US adopted when referring to their invasion in order to avoid having their acts being seen as torture. They were able to do so as the unipolarists in the Bush administration saw the 9/11 attacks as an opportunity to attack Iraq, even though there was no evidence to suggest that Iraq was responsible for the events. Furthermore, America

used the term 'collateral damage' to describe the deaths of so many people, in attempt to undermine the seriousness of the situation of 77 firebombs and uranium munitions used in the attack. These posed short- and long-term health complications to everyone who was exposed to it (Kramer and Michalowski, 2005). The US were able to justify their behaviour through techniques of neutralisation as:

> [t]hey denied responsibility (the war was Saddam's fault), denied the victims (most were terrorists), denied injury (there was only limited 'collateral damage'), condemned the condemners (protesters were unpatriotic and the French were ungrateful and cowardly) and appealed to higher loyalties (God directed Bush to liberate the Iraqi people) (Kramer and Michalowski, 2005:463).

In addition to the techniques of neutralisation there was a lack of social control that allowed the invasion of Iraq as the United Nations do not have enough power in deciding whether powerful nations, like the US, comply to their laws or not. This is due to the system they follow, where they only allow the use of sanctions after a Security Council vote majority. The US can easily avoid this situation, being one of the most powerful nations and being able to veto against their own interests. Lastly, the media at the time failed to provide the "American public with an accurate assessment of [the] Bush administration claims about Iraq" leading to a favoured view that worked for the interests of the US (Kramer and Michalowski, 2005:462). The example of the Iraq invasion is an example of state crime, however, through techniques of neutralisation and the lack of social control, the US invasion was justified and not formally given any sanctions for. This poses questions for criminologists, as state crimes are only defined if they break international laws. In this case they have not, meaning that they can be overlooked.

Furthermore, contributions to the understanding of state crimes such as genocides may be excluded from criminology because the study itself has become accustomed to generating theories that help explain traditional and conventional crimes, as for example the strain theory. Savelsberg (2010) in his book *Crime and Human Rights*, helps explain how genocide scholars and criminologists enrich each other's work, as genocide scholars point to a set of explanations that correspond to those of criminologists. However, criminologists still have room for improvement as they would have to be able to apply their theories in order to explain state sanctioned atrocities like the Holocaust. For example, in order to understand how the events of the Holocaust took place, there would need to be theories put forth that explain the emergence of deviant and murderous political cultures and not just delinquent youth cultures. It has been argued that the mass killings of the Holocaust were not carried out due to fear, but merely due to obeying those with higher authorities; hence the obedience of the Police Battalion 101 to carry out the killings they once considered repulsive. Contributions made in the book, *Crime and Human Rights,* help in explaining how assigned killings occurred more frequently within groups of shared ideological convictions. This happened because the groups were 'provided with opportunities to learn the use of brutalities against fellow humans' carried out in concentration camps in the beginning when the SS men carried out their training (Savelsberg, 2010:53). Edwin Sutherland's theory of differential association could have been applied to the process of the SS men learning how to become criminals in the concentration camps, as he argues that:

> ...a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law (Savelsberg, 2010:54)

...which means that those engaging in criminal activity learn the norms, values and skills needed to live a criminal way of life.

However, in order to understand where the sources of deviance derive from, genocide scholars look beyond Sutherland's argument of differential association. They argue that such groups are firstly selected by the state, and then the state proposes learning through campaigns such as the Ministry for Propaganda in Berlin. It is through these campaigns that the Nazis were able to spread their own stereotypical views of the Jews. Thisworked favourably for the interests of the Nazi Party as they simultaneously propagated the 'glory' of their faction (Savelsberg, 2010). This shows how Sutherland's criminal explanation has the potential to explain an element of the Holocaust but is too narrow to completely apply this theory to an explanation of the sources of deviance that arose from the SS men. Furthermore, his definition argues that deviance arises when there is an excess of definitions that are favourable to violations of the law, which in the case of the Holocaust may be the complete opposite. Adolf Hitler was the political leader at the time, meaning that those under his command had to obey his laws, which is exactly what they did. This is an example of 'crimes of obedience' in comparison to crimes of deviance that criminologists are used to exploring and may, therefore, struggle to explain it.

The Rwanda genocide that occurred in 1994 entailed the mass killings of an ethnic group, the Tutsi, by another ethnic group, the Hutu. Rwanda was colonized by Belgium in 1894 who classed the Hutu as subordinate to the Tutsi. However, Rwanda gained independence from Belgium and through their democratic elections, brought the Hutu into power with their leading president Habyarimana who used ethnicity as a means of discriminating the Tutsi (Carrabine et al, 2014). Consequently, tensions arose between the two ethnic groups which eventually escalated after the death of their Hutu president due to a plane crash. The blame was instantly put on the Tutsi and this gave the opportunity for the planners and instigators, i.e. the political elite, to order for the Tutsi and anyone who refused to help to be killed. Smeulers and Hoex (2010) help to explain how the political authorities' use of propaganda provided justifications and rationalizations for the violence, similar to those of the Nazi party. Smeulers and Hoex (2010) start by comparing ordinary delinquent groups to these Rwandan killers, arguing that they have similarities. For example, delinquent groups normally have a leader and have their tasks being divided amongst their groups. Contrastingly, in the case of the Rwanda genocide they differ because the Rwandan killer groups were ordered to operate on these mass killings by those who held political power. Therefore, their crimes were condoned and seen as legitimate. If there was no legitimization from the political elite, law abiding citizens might not have taken part in the genocide. The Rwanda genocide and the explanations put forth by Smeulers and Hoex (2010) help us to understand how such crimes are able to take place. In order for criminologists to understand state sanctioned atrocities like the Rwanda genocide, they would need to develop the right theoretical tools in order to do so.

So far I have explained examples of state crimes that have occurred by using Chambliss' definition of what state crimes entail, such as war crimes and crimes against humanity, specifically genocides. From the examples above, it has been illustrated how criminologists may have found difficulties with studying such crimes as state crimes are ignored, justified or come across as legitimate. Furthermore, criminologists are limited in their theoretical tools to explore crimes of the state, meaning their contributions to this topic have been minimal. In addition, by using Chambliss' definition of what state crimes entail, the scope which criminologists can focus on when studying crimes of the state is narrowed. His definition has been criticised for using legally defined crimes by international treaties

because states are able to evade international laws because they have the power to do so; this can also be observed in the Iraq invasion by the US. Furthermore, the definition has been criticised for ignoring the social harms that states may cause, which could be of consideration for criminologists when studying state crimes.

The concept 'crimes of globalization' which was developed by Friedrichs and Friedrichs (2002), builds on the social harms perspective by explaining that states can engage in activities that harm masses of people, "especially within developing countries, that arise as latent consequences of the development and expansion of global capital" (Rothe, 2009:19) as living in a industrial era, "globalisation is driven by the interests of capital over people" (Rothe, 2009:19). Crimes of globalization are of importance as they not only involve international finance institutions, such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO, but they are also under the influence of Western states as they work together to impose policies that may socially harm civilians in developing countries. An example of this was seen in Rwanda, as structural adjustments were imposed by the IMF and World Bank which led to 'currency deflation, rapid inflation and government debt', leaving Rwanda in a crisis. It was suggested that this led to their genocide as the mass unemployment of the young Tutsi men as a result of the crisis encouraged them to join in the main military group, the Interahamwe (Carrabine et al, 2014). By studying crimes of globalization, which uncovers social harms that states can cause, it helps to look beyond the legally defined definition of state crime that is given by international treaties, which can be brought to criminologists' attention. However, this could be up for discussion as such crimes are not considered to be breaking the law. These activities might cause social harm, be problematic and have injurious effects for state activities, and so they should be identified and understood in the discipline of criminology.

To conclude, it can be argued that criminology has been silent about crimes of states, but not intentionally. Studying crimes of the state is a complex topic area to study because of how easily states are able to get away with their criminal activities. As previously discussed, international laws only criminalise state activities to an extent, and when violated, the states are still able to justify their actions. In addition, state crimes undergo techniques of neutralisation which are used to justify these activities, leaving the majority of state crimes ignored and unrevealed. This has also left crimes of the state understudied by criminologists. Furthermore, criminologists' theories are mostly based on exploring crimes of the powerless, such as working-class delinquents, so they may need to adapt their theories to be able to explain crimes of the state too. Lastly, by broadening state crimes to include social harms and not only legally defined definitions of state crime, criminologists could have more to contribute to the understanding of crimes of the state.

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What does Du Bois understand by the term 'Double Consciousness'? How useful is it for thinking about inequality today?

Shannon Hines

Renowned Scholar and Civil Rights Activist, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born in 1868 in Massachusetts, America, and lived until 1963. Du Bois introduced his endeavour into the 'race problem' in his early recognised publications: *The Philadelphia Negro* in 1899 and *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903*.* Though this essay will focus primarily on the notion of "double-consciousness" which is introduced in his latter publication, though the former is relevant for understanding how his ethnography may have contributed to his ideas. *The Philadelphia Negro* was the first case study of a black community in the United States, in which Du Bois commented on major pressing issues such as: poverty, high infant mortality and prostitution (The Biography.com Website). What is incredibly insightful about the work of W.E.B Du Bois, is his interaction with the social injustice of 'race' not only sociologically, but from a philosophical approach, too. In fact, it is greatly contested that he 'invented the field of philosophy and race' which ultimately paved the way for further philosophical enquiry into the matter (Gooding-Williams, 2017). This essay will begin by looking into what Du Bois understands by the term "double-consciousness", and how his work is pertinent to his experiences as an African-American man during the emergence of the twentieth century. Furthermore, it will be followed by demonstrating how this understanding of a "double-consciousness" can be useful for the way we think about racial inequality today –from the Du Boisian focus, but also how we can utilise this notion in order to understand other forms of inequality, too.

W.E.B Du Bois is celebrated for his identification and contribution to the 'race problem', this is not to say that this issue had gone by unnoticed beforehand, as it was only a few years before Du Bois was born, in 1865 with the 13th Amendment to the United State Constitution, slavery was abolished. So, there was a recognition of some sort of power imbalance that needed revising. However, the work of Du Bois suggests that even years after this, and after personally experiencing racial subjugation whilst growing up, there was still an issue worth investigating. As he writes in the Forethought for *The Souls of Black Folk*: '…the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color-line' (Du Bois [1903], 1994: v). Hence, Du Bois alludes that his focus is regarding racial segregation. Du Bois reports a particular event as a child that triggered this realisation that he was 'different from the others', he recalls his encounter with a young girl, a newcomer, who refused his exchange of visiting cards 'with a glance' (Du Bois [1903], 1994: 2). From this experience, we can begin to understand how Du Bois; as a young African American boy, first recognised what it was like to be a 'problem'.

It is from this personal feeling, that Du Bois announced his two most recognised concepts: "the veil" and "double consciousness". These two concepts exist in duality – they are inter-related notions that Du Bois uses to symbolise his African American experience and racial segregation in the emergence of the twentieth century.

The Double Consciousness can be considered a social-philosophical concept, referring to the 'inward "twoness" putatively experienced by African-Americans because of their

racialized oppression and devaluation in a white-dominated society' (Gooding-Williams, 2007). Du Bois expresses that he had always felt as though he was looking at himself 'through the eyes of others' which contributes to an internal feeling of 'twoness'. This 'twoness' he describes is an internal conflict, being both and American and a 'Negro', as he felt he could not be both. He uses the 'veil' as a way of depicting that which he was born with, which separates him from the rest, he explains that he was 'gifted with a second sight in this American World' that forces him to see himself through the revelation of the other world (Du Bois [1903], 1994: 2). Subsequently, this inspires him to allude this metaphor which depicts he has 'two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings' (Du Bois [1903], 1994: 2). It is important to note here that there is a historical influence; Du Bois is demonstrating that this feeling is something that he came to realise but is based on a pre-existing social framework. The Du Boisian issue is that there had been many historical changes that aimed to be progressive, but instead, he struggled to see little effective change. Furthermore, In Paul Gilroy's 1993 publication 'The Black Atlantic', he argues that race is intrinsic to modernity, and this notion of double consciousness can be understood by the way in which race was constructed through history. For Gilroy: 'Double consciousness emerges from the unhappy symbiosis of three modes of thinking, being and seeing', these are: racially particularistic, nationalistic and hemispheric/ occasionally universalist' (Gilroy, 1993: 126). This means, if a person is to find themselves embodying a double consciousness, this is because they find themselves internally displaced on all three parts. Gilroy's thinking regards the importance of the slave trade in influencing the way in which structures have since been established, and how this ultimately creates racial identities. This seems incredibly useful when thinking about inequality that exists today because it creates a mode of understanding how and why double consciousness is embodied in the 21st century.

The notion of double consciousness is relevant to Du Bois' depiction of racial inequality, but as many scholars have contested, 'race' is merely a social construct, therefore, by looking at the historical construction of 'race', we might then understand how it has been embedded in history and subsequently, influenced social structures. The modern concept of 'race' – the understanding that the human species can be divided into groups based on physical features or cultural background, is a concept that is inherent to the origins residing in science. An example of this is from Swedish Naturalist; Carolus Linnaeus, who is considered the first to pioneer a taxonomy of mankind into 'races'. By analysing the morphological differences of the human species, Linnaeus published *Systema Naturae* in 1735 which classified humans into four distinct groups: *Homo Euopaeus* (Europeans), *Homo Africanus* (Sub-Saharan Africans), *Homo Asiaticus* (Asian) and *Homo Americanus* (Native Americans). What is also interesting about the formation of these categories, is that he ascribed descriptions of each race which ultimately implied a hierarchical ranking amongst them: Homo Euopaeus were defined as 'confident' and 'inventive' and in contrast, shamed Homo Africanus' who were defined as 'lazy' and 'self-centred' (Tatteresall and Desalle, 2011) thus suggesting a preferential race based on these favoured attributes. It might be suggested that a preferential race has transpired through history in the emergence of 'white supremacy'.

In addition to this, philosophers such as David Hume also displayed this notion of a superior race: 'I am apt to suspect the Negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites' (Hume, 1777), so it was an attitude that was reinforced in education, too. Furthermore, this contributes to Du Bois' later work as he is referring to the racial inequality that causes the identity crisis that is, double consciousness. In contrast to this, recent genetic discoveries have uncovered that 'race' may not be as distinct as we once thought.

According to DNA analysis, Britain's oldest skeleton known as Cheddar Man, which is around 10,000 years old, is revealed to have had 'dark to black' skin (Devlin, 2018). This therefore shows that the racial categories modern society ascribe to groups, may not be at all applicable to past geographic regions like we thought, which further alludes this argument that 'race' is simply just a social construct.

In *The Black Atlantic,* Gilroy claims that Du Bois' introduction of "Double Consciousness" was 'initially used to convey the special difficulties arising from black internalisation of an American identity' but he aims to suggest that Du Bois used this as a way of not only depicting his own experiences as a African American man, but also to 'illuminate the experience of post-slave populations in general' (Gilroy, 1993: 126). Therefore, this demonstrates that there is a historical importance when analysing Du Boisian concepts and this is also useful, in amplifying how racial inequality is still prevalent today. Arguably, the history of slavery is the most prominent reason that the problem of race became such a popularised matter in the 20th century and continues to be in the 21st century, too. As Du Bois writes; 'the history of the American negro is the history of his strife' (Du Bois [1904], 1994: 3). Consequently, demonstrating that this duality- the inability to reconcile between two 'identities': as an American, and as a 'Negro', is a direct result of the historical emergence of the African-American.

The problem of race that Du Bois refers to, is an inequality issue, and as inequality still exists today, in various forms, then his notion of double consciousness can still be considered extremely relevant to our understanding as a whole. In a 2014 Tedx talk titled 'the (re)birth of the double consciousness', Gallatin student Nicole Johnson expressed the way in which the double consciousness is still an internal conflict that persists amongst young American minorities today. She describes how this arrives as an 'African American struggle with a multi-faceted idea of self – a double consciousness' (Johnson, 2014), which seems to be the path that history has paved for minorities that results in this identity crisis.

 She goes on to explain that embodying the double consciousness concludes that there are two separate cultures: black culture and white culture. Understandably, this is of course applicable to Du Bois, who was writing in the twentieth century when racial segregation was still very much an issue, but the fact that it is still able to be applied today, in the twenty-first century, is perplexing. However, if these negative connotations are relearnt or, namely, 'reborn' then double consciousness would still apply but the effects would be far less detrimental and these new ways of understanding the 'self' would follow. The argument that Johnson seems to suggest is that, double consciousness is relevant to our understanding of racial inequality, because racial ideologies continue to be reinforced. The problem she raises with this is: 'we hold onto this history as if it is our intrinsic nature' (Johnson, 2014). And although the metaphor of double consciousness is not ascribed directly today, it is replaced by other metaphors that refer to the same thing. Johnson uses the example of being called an 'oreo' whilst growing up, representing her black and American culture and the inability for them to co-exist. She points to the work of Cognitive Linguist George Lakoff to explain a possible reasoning for this. In his 2003 publication 'Metaphors we live by', Lakoff analyses the use of everyday metaphors and explains how we are significantly influenced by the metaphors we use to describe complex phenomenon, like double consciousness, and these regulate our reality, eventually becoming our norms (Johnson, 2014). Again, this is because they are reinforced. As Johnson stipulates:

Lakoff would argue that Du Bois successfully used metaphors to convince this nation of African Americans, that we in fact, were experiencing an identity crisis...we still adhere to it as if it were a 21st century ideal (Johnson, 2014).

This is relevant to our understanding of inequality today, for example, in education. Referring to a 2011 statistic that states 37.1% of African Americans are enrolled in school, the concern might be, what about the rest? Johnson argues that the indifference we see in education may be due to a misunderstanding, deriving from the construction of educational paths: educational establishments in America were primarily built by white individuals for white individuals, and although this is no longer the case, it has constructed the idea that to be educated is a white attribute. As a result, the identity crisis is that if a person is both black and educated, there is this 'twoness', this double consciousness that Du Bois describes. So, it is possible, that African Americans are still living in hindsight of this prior historical racial imbalance, and because of this, they are reinforcing the idea that they cannot exist with this duality- being African *and* being American; being black *and* being educated.

Further to this, we might also consider the way that double consciousness is reinforced by other external means. For example, regarding President Donald Trump's fairly recent campaign to 'Build a wall along the US-Mexico border', this would be to restrict illegal immigration and create a distinct divide between Mexico and the United States (Graham and Midgley, 2017). Much like the duality of being an African American, this reinforces the ideology that one cannot have this dual US-Mexican identity. Thus, showing how, even to this day, metaphors contribute to the social construction and Du Bois' notion of double consciousness is useful when thinking about inequality today.

This essay has so far discussed the history of 'race' as influential for Du Bois' integrative construction of the double consciousness and the veil, and how these notions usefully aid our understanding when thinking about inequality today. Following on from this, we will briefly look into another type of inequality that is not purely racialised, to consider how this concept might still apply.

W.E.B Du Bois' broadly recognised concept of the "double consciousness" has been shown to be extremely useful in understanding how racial inequality does not cease to exist but becomes internalised and reinforced by individuals. Furthermore, this concept may also be useful in application to other forms of inequality, such as, gender. Feminism is a movement that aims to tackle gender inequality, and many scholars argue that is it is born out of capitalism which ultimately suppresses women. Considering this, this appears similar to the sort of subjugated history Du Bois is talking about. Feminist and political activist; Frances Beal, argues that racism is the 'after birth' of capitalism and we can therefore consider the two to work hand in hand. In its first publication, Frances Beal wrote the 'Black Women's Manifesto; Double Jeopardy to be Black and Female' in which she argues not only are African American men suppressed for being Black under the racialised capitalist system, but African American women are supressed and devalued almost twice as much for being both black *and* a woman. (Beal, 1970). We can see how someone, in this position, might embody double consciousness because the structures in society are forcing them to believe they are suffering from an identity crisis. Du Bois would argue that one would certainly feel her 'twoness'. Of course, this is from the late 20th century, so does this still apply today? The crusade of feminism into different 'waves' implies that as a movement, it is constantly reshaping and adapting to the changing societal values, and if race is merely a social construct, then it should ultimately adapt to this change, too. Since

the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw from the 1990's, feminism is adapting to not only fight for the equal rights amongst human beings, but also to encompass issues faced and beforehand, ignored, regarding minority groups. Crenshaw coined the term 'intersectionality' which follows: that many of our 'social justice problems' like sexism and racism, are overlapping which creates multiple levels of social injustice (Crenshaw, 2016). This term is what we can use to describe all the 'intersections', ultimately, to encompass all aspects of a woman's identity and not treat them as separate entities. Feminism is a movement that was first introduced by white women, for white women. Crenshaw challenges this and argues it should be fully encompassing. Furthermore, Beal would argue that if anything, black women suffer from this inequality even more so. In his 20th century work, Du Bois uses double consciousness to demonstrate how racism is embodied and therefore reinforced at a personal level. This is relevant when thinking about feminism, too. If women are taught under the framework that they cannot do the same things as men, this is reinforced in society and ultimately it will change the way it is governed, and then women *won't* be able to do the same as men – this is exactly what the intersectional feminist movement is challenging. Therefore, the double consciousness is important for understanding how this form of inequality came to be.

In conclusion, as discussed in this essay, race is not a fixed biological fact, rather, it is a socialised phenomenon. Double consciousness is the inability to reconcile two distinct cultural identities, John Scott defines this concept as applicable to people who hold 'two apparent inconsistent sets of beliefs' and this is usually because they receive a set of beliefs 'through general socialisation into a dominant culture but have another set of beliefs based on their own practical experiences of life' (Scott, 2014: 190). We have also understood, from George Lakoff, the important role that metaphors, like double consciousness play in reinforcing oneself within society. Conclusively, we can understand how W.E.B. Du Bois' concept of double consciousness is useful when we begin to understand how and why racial inequality still exists today, and this is largely due to pre-existing historical conceptions of minority groups. Furthermore, this notion can also apply to other forms of inequality – such as gender, as we can see how women can also feel as though they are suffering from a conflicted identity crisis.

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Current concerns over the treatment of African Americans in the criminal justice system show that little has changed from previous times in US society when whites took the law into their own hands. Discuss

Keleigh Horton

Eldridge Cleaver wrote in 1969 that 'the racist conscience of America is that murder does not register as murder, really, unless the victim is white' (Cleaver, 1969: 75). Looking at the current climate in the United States it would be hard to disagree when faced with the barrage of young black people being killed at the hands of the law and the constant inability to indict those behind the killings. Police brutality towards African Americans has been a long running issue but has recently come to attention on an international scale and the lack of response to this issue highlights the systematic racism that is prevalent within the American criminal justice system. Furthermore, African Americans are overrepresented on death row, and often for crimes that their white counterparts would only receive prison time for (Vogel, 2009). Vogel compares this with the illegal public lynchings which took place during the late 19th and early 20th century, but through the criminal justice system white people can now punish black people legally. This essay will address the history of the American criminal justice system, the lynching, police brutality and its links to white supremacy, and the assumptions of black criminality. The assumption of black criminality will focus on the cases of Trayvon Martin and Tamir Rice with an examination on the overrepresentation of African Americans on death row and how all these cases are reminiscent of terror lynching to some certain degree.

Race has been a significant factor in the shaping of the criminal justice system in the United States. As Walker (1992) argued, 'in some respects, the slave patrols were the first modern forces in this country' (1992:6). These slave patrols 'were a government-sponsored force that was well organized and paid to patrol specific areas to prevent crimes and insurrection by slaves against the white community' (Turner, Giacopassi and Vandiver, 2006:186). Turner, Giacopassi and Vandiver mentioned that these slave patrols were dated earlier to 1704 in South Carolina. The patrols required two militia groups, one for the external Spanish threat and the other for the internal threat from their slaves. Those who performed slave duty where often from poor white groups but those on duty were exempt from the militia, but plantation owners and other higher-ranking white people could also volunteer for the slave patrol (Turner et al, 2006). These slave patrols were known for their cruelty and brutality whilst performing the duties of searching slave lodges, breaking up slave meetings and keeping the enslaved off the roads (Hadden, 2001). David and Melissa Barlow (1999) noted that by 1837, the Charleston Police Department had 100 officers 'whose primary function was to patrol the neighbourhood regulating the movement of the enslaved (including free Blacks) by checking their documents, enforcing existing slave codes, preventing foreseeable revolts by the enslaved and catching runaway enslaved people' (Durr, 2015). After the civil war these groups were not completely disbanded as the early Reconstruction that saw the development of federal military, state militia and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) from the disbanded slave patrols as a way to keep 'individual and societal control over African American citizens, being even crueller than their predecessors' (Durr, 2015:3).

This legacy of slave patrol shaped the criminal justice system which was found on the history of lynching African Americans. In the years following the Civil War, most white people in the southern states struggled to adjust to the freedom that black people attained and thus, they developed ways to enforce their continued supremacy over black people. An example of this domination and display of supremacy was Sharecropping, which was developed as an alternative to slavery. For sharecropping to exist, the southern states, in 1866 passed the Black Codes, which meant that black people could be prosecuted for crimes such as loitering, vagrancy and breaking curfew. This leading to the mass incarceration of black people whose labour as prisoners were sold for state profit.
To further heighten the domination of black people, white confederate veterans, after the war, formed the KKK as a form of backlash when the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted black people complete citizenship, were enacted in 1866. The KKK was formed in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee by six confederate veterans and was quickly spread to nearby states drawing members from all echelon of white society. The Equal Justice Initiative (2017) found that nearly the entirety of the white population of York County, South Carolina joined the KKK. The KKK were not the only white supremacist group at the time, different white supremacy groups targeted black men for alleged sexual transgressions against white women. Charges such as rape and sexual assault were trumped up, many of which were routinely fabricated and potentially originate from minor violations of social code such as giving a white woman a compliment (EJI, 2017).

While it is hard to know exactly how many people were lynched, it is estimated that 400 African Americans were lynched between 1868 and 1871. In some cases, an entire black community were attacked with violent and sexual acts. The EJI describe these acts as white vigilantes using terror to 'revive the privileges of white masculinity over the bodies of their former slaves' (Cardyn, 2002). Southern lynching were 'primarily a technique of enforcing racial exploitation as black lynching victims outnumbered whites by 17 to 1 after 1900. The EJI estimated that 4084 African Americans were lynched and these lynching were 'a matter of white mobs murdering African Americans' (Tolnay and Beck, 1992). These lynchings were also characterised by their public nature because they became a form of festivity for the community, which saw a large crowd of white people who were either watching or participating in the long torture of a black victim. Of importance to note is that many of these victims were not accused of any criminal act but were lynched based on the fact that they were just 'black and present' or infringed upon by some social custom such as speaking to white people informally (EJI, 2017). In some cases, some of these mob lynching acted based on accusations of criminal acts and they became the judge, juror and executioner. A typical example of mob judgement was the case of Edward Johnson in 1906, a black man convicted and sentenced to death for raping a white woman. His case was appealed and he won a stay of execution, but he was seized by a white mob from his jail cell and hanged and shot more than a hundred times. Edward Johnson would eventually be cleared of the rape 100 years after this event. (EJI, 2017). While the number of lynching decreased, it can be argued that the legacy can be felt in different factions of the criminal justice system as the criminal justice system actively promoted and fostered the racialisation of criminality in which African Americans were labelled as more criminal and more dangerous than their counterparts-a narrative that is still employed today. Furthermore, states that had high numbers of lynching in the early 1900s now have the death penalty, this suggests that 'the most important reason that lynching declined was that it was replaced by a more palatable form of violence.' (EJI, 2017).

There have been many arguments that the death penalty is a direct descendent of lynching and acts almost as a form of 'legal lynching' (Vogel, 2009). When examining the statistics

surrounding death row there is a clear racial bias. As of 2018, 31 states currently have the death penalty and 41% of all death row inmates are black (Death Penalty Info, 2018). Furthermore, the race of the victim in death penalty cases is also very significant as over 75% of murder victims in death row cases are white whereas the national rate of white murder victims is only 50% (Death Penalty Info, 2018). In addition to this, Pierce and Radelet (2011) found that the odds of a death sentence were 97% higher for white victims than for black victims as there is one punishment for white criminals and another for black criminals.   Vogel (2009) explained that since 1976 only 15 white defendants have been executed for murdering a black person, but 228 black defendants have since been put to death for murdering a white person (2009:17). This is highly reminiscent of the punishments given by white supremacist mobs. Significantly, the south committed the majority of lynchings and continues this legacy by having the highest number of executed people at 2201 people (Death Penalty Info, 2018).

Peffley and Hurwitz (2010) found that when asked 'some people say that the death penalty is unfair because most of the people who are executed are African Americans'. Black respondents favouring capital punishment fell to 38% while the white favour increased to 77% from 65%. White support towards the death penalty increased when presented with the racial bias in the system, which could suggest ingrained racial bias and further highlighting how the ideas of white supremacy and black criminality are still prevalent. In addition to the overrepresentation of African Americans on death row, the processes leading to prosecution also show racial biases. For example, during trials there is little racial diversity as often only the defendant is the only person of colour in the room. Furthermore, there is also a widespread racial discrimination during jury selection, even more so in the South when it involves a death penalty case. EJI states that 'in Houston county, Alabama prosecutors have excluded 80% African Americans from juries in death penalty cases' (EJI, 2017). Hence, the racist mentalities of white supremacy continues to infiltrate the court process for African Americans meaning that African Americans are unfairly prosecuted and they face much higher rates of incarceration, which is 5 times more than the rate for white people. Black people also face harsher punishments than their white counterparts (NAACP, 2014).

This systematic racism within the criminal justice system is also seen within the actions and beliefs of the police officers themselves. Police brutality have become a topical issue that a study by The Guardian in 2015 called *The Counted* which records the number of African American deaths at the hands of American law enforcement officers. The study found that African American men between the ages of 15 and 34 accounted for 15% of the 1134 deaths counted despite only making up 2% of the total population of the States (Swaine, Laughland, Lartey and McCarthy, 2015). Furthermore, The counted also found that these statistics combined with official data suggests that about one in every 65 deaths of a young black man was at the hands of the police. The data strongly suggests that there is an issue with race within the American police force which is highly systematic; there is a culture of racism within the police which has only recently been addressed. Jeff Pegues (2017) uses the example of the San Francisco police force where it was discovered that police officers and some higher police officials had been sending extremely racist, sexist and homophobic messages to each other. These texts often featured discussions of white supremacy and lynching black people. They demonstrated clear patterns of racist behaviour which negatively impacted people of colour in San Francisco (2017).

Additionally, there was also the issue of Ghost Skins where at least one white supremacist group have actively promoted covertly infiltrating the police force and other influential positions to spread white supremacist ideology and act upon their beliefs (Pegues, 2017). Equal Justice Initiative identified 6 lynching circumstances one of which was based on social transgressions, intentional or accidental violations of social offensives, which resulted in a lynch. An example that is of similarities to the circumstances today occurred in 1940 when Jesse Thornton was lynched in Alabama. Thornton was lynched because he referred to a white police officer by name without using the title 'mister' (EJI, 2017). Carbado and Gulati (2013) discuss how African Americans are taught tactics of how to talk and act around the police. A lesson taught to African American boys is always to use the correct title; 'they are taught to immediately demonstrate subservience and respect when confronted by a law enforcement official' (2013: 103). Furthermore, Carbado and Gulati also address the issue of racial profiling which when examined can be reduced to ideas of 'good blacks' and 'bad black'. These are ideas of perceived criminality associated with black people based on speech, dress and general working identity. Johnson and Simring (2000) offer strategies for dealing with racial profiling, they consist mostly of remaining calm and cooperative. However, having to act subservient in order to avoid police violence or escalation is comparable to lynching being used to enforce racial hierarchy to terrorise the African American communities, keeping them in a constant state of fear (EJI, 2017). There are some specific cases of excessive violence towards black individuals that have shocked and angered communities, of these being the shooting of Trayvon Martin in 2012. Trayvon Martin was a 17-year-old unarmed black student who was shot by George Zimmerman. Zimmerman called the police after deeming Martin suspicious and then stalked him. An altercation between Martin and Zimmerman resulted in Martin's death, which was followed by Zimmerman being arrested and when eventually charged was acquitted of all charges by the jury. If properly considered, Zimmerman's actions were comparable to the slave patrols monitoring the movements of free black men. Jones and Yancy (2013) discuss the civic death and virtual probation that Martin experienced due to his position as a black man. He was automatically assumed to be a criminal and dangerous; the dangerous stereotype which constructs black people as criminal due to their race alone means that black Americans are often 'guilty until proven innocent' (Jones and Yancy, 2013:92).

Another example was of Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old boy who was shot in 2014 by two police officers at a Cleveland, Ohio playing ground within 2 seconds of their arrival. The police shot him because he did not immediately put his hands up since they believed he was armed as they mistook his toy gun for a real one. This immediate response by the police to shoot a 12-year-old black boy is extremely problematic, as Martin, Rice was deemed dangerous on sight and when comparing the response of police to dangerous white criminals there is a clear difference in treatment. For example, Dylann Roof, a white domestic terrorist who was calmly arrested and treated to Burger King while in custody highlights this racial disparity in treatment. One was shot on sight before any crime is even committed while the other was treated humanely after a mass murder (Vice, 2015). White supremacy has been deeply rooted in the American criminal justice system since its beginning, from the slave patrols which regulated free black men's movements to the eventual formation of the KKK and the lynching of thousands of black people which were rarely punished by law. The legacy of these lynching and the slave patrols can be seen throughout the criminal justice system through the ongoing racist mentality that criminalises black bodies which is frequently perpetuated by police officers when they target those ideologically viewed as 'bad black'. Equally, white supremacists who deems black lives as less important and undeserving of life, which has been highlighted in both the

continuous police brutality towards black people, and the death penalty where black people are convicted at higher rates and white victims are deemed less worthy of stronger punishment. Nonetheless, there have been improvements since the lynching era of the United States, but 'race and racism continues to shape the American life as they have for the last three and a half centuries' (Silbermen, 1978:160). The lingering white supremacist ideology still deems to this day black lives unworthy and criminal.

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What does Du-Bois understand by the term double-consciousness? How useful is it for thinking about inequality today?

Stacey Howlett

This essay will discuss William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B) Du-Bois' (1996 [1903]) understanding of the term double-consciousness. Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) coined the term double-consciousness in his book *The Souls of Black Folk* following his observations, and experience of racial inequality in America. The essay starts by introducing Du-Bois and explaining what he understood by the term double-consciousness. It will then highlight how double-consciousness is useful for thinking about racial inequalities in America, such as racism. Other terms coined by Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) and drawn upon in his work include the veil and the gift of second-sight. These terms will also be discussed because they are relevant to his understanding of double-consciousness. The next part of the essay will assess the biological significance of race from a historical perspective because according to Bulmer and Solomos (2008) an understanding of the historical context of race is central when thinking about racial inequality today. The essay then argues double-consciousness is useful for thinking about social and political debates in contemporary America because 'racism [is] a social and political issue in the contemporary global environment [as] socially constructed racial inequality and disadvantage persist[s]' (Bulmer & Solomos, 2008: 3). I will then discuss the negative impact racial inequality has on opportunity for African American's today and argue Du-Bois' (1996 [1903]) term is useful for thinking about this type of inequality. Finally, I argue Du-Bois' understanding of the gift of second sight is useful when thinking about how African Americans respond to the experience of racial inequality.

W.E.B Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) was an African American scholar born in 1868 (died in 1963) which meant he grew up in an American post slavery era when the Jim Crow laws were introduced (Hall, 2003). Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) devoted his life to fighting for the rights of black people and vastly impacted American civil rights. He founded the Niagara Movement, and co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). These two movements are considered important (if not central) for understanding the enforcement of civil rights for black people (Hall, 2003). In Du-Bois' (1996 [1903]) book *The Souls of Black Folk,* he focused on the African American's experience of oppression, racial inequality and how American culture negatively impacted the black persons social identity. Such inequalities were surprisingly prevalent in society more than a decade on from Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. Du-Bois claimed, 'the problem with the twentieth century is the problem with the colour line' (1996 [1903]: 1) (a problem I will argue, is still relevant today). The first chapter of *The Souls of Black Folk* (1996 [1903]), entitled *Of Our Spiritual Strivings,* illustrates the moment Du-Bois recognised himself as being different to white people, different in a sense that was problematic. He stated, 'I remember well when the shadow swept across me' (Du-Bois, 1996 [1903]: 4). That is, when a white girl refused to buy a visiting card from him, Du-Bois proposed:

> ...it dawned on me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil (1996 [1903]: 4)

The 'veil' Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) proposed as a metaphor to describe the unequal experience of being an African American as opposed to a white American. The African American's skin colour forces them to wear an (invisible) veil of which they must shamefully hide behind as white privilege dominates the culture.

Upon self-reflection of this continued experience of social inequality Du-Bois proposed, 'being a problem is a strange experience —peculiar even for one who has never been anything else' (1996 [1903]: 4). His term double-consciousness (another metaphor) is useful for understanding the feelings that arose from this daily experience. He described it as a:

> ...sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body (Du-Bois, 1996 [1903]: 5).

Thus, it reflects his understanding of how African Americans develop two aspects of the self, two self-concepts. The self-awareness of being American, but also the African American's distressing awareness of how they are negatively perceived by white people. According to Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) the possibility of forming a true self-consciousness is thus prevented. His understanding of double-consciousness highlights a negative view because the feelings that arise from the experience coexist in a conflicting manner, which in turn suggests the experience of being African American is rarely (if ever) a pleasant one. Despite not referring to the term double-consciousness directly, Fanon's work on the black person's identity described an experience that echo's Du-Bois' understanding of double-consciousness. He claimed, 'Without a Negro past, without a Negro future, it was impossible for me to live my Negrohood. Not yet white, no longer wholly black, I was damned' (1967 [1952]: 138). Furthermore, according to Moore (2005) there is no evidence to suggest that Fanon was influenced by Du-Bois' understanding given that Du-Bois' ideas were written first.

The positive aspects of double-consciousness are also proposed by Du-Bois when he claimed the negro, despite being 'born with a veil is 'gifted with second sight' (1996 [1903]: 5). His reference to this second-sight being a gift suggests the additional knowledge that double-consciousness offers can possibly serve to benefit the receiver. Furthermore, in the editors' introduction to *The Souls of Black Folk* (1996 [1903]), Gibson points out that unlike other black people Du-Bois moves in and out of the experience of wearing the veil, such as 'living above the veil'. Gibson argues, although Du-Bois is unclear when making this statement it is likely he refers to the times when he has felt equal. That is, competing 'successfully with whites, with those who live outside' the veil (1996 [1903]: xii-xiii). A likely example is when Du-Bois earned his PhD- he was the first African American in history to do so at Harvard (Hall, 2003). This suggests that successfully competing with white people and living beyond the constraints of the veil was a rare occurrence for the African American. Thus, Du-Bois' (1996 [1903]) understanding of double-consciousness is useful for thinking about racial inequalities arising from white supremacy (namely, racism). That is, despite laws put in place to prevent the occurrence of racial inequality. Racial inequalities derive historically from the enlightenment when Johann Blumenbach (1752-1840) classified five human races; Caucasian (white race); Mongolian (yellow race); Negroid (black race); American (red race) and Malayan (brown race). Four of which can be credited to the work of Linnaeus. The difference between Blumenbach's and Linnaeus' classification was Blumenbach's addition of the Malayan race. A small difference that is key to understanding an important change in the way we think about racial classification.

Unlike Linnaeus' model that was geographically grounded, Blumenbach's model was also grounded on, as Gould (1994) puts it, 'a hierarchy of worth'. That is, a hierarchal order of subjectively perceived preference in terms of beauty. According to Blumenbach, the Caucasian race were the superior human race and he justified this because he was himself Caucasian (German). However, scientific research suggests these phenological differences (skin colour, facial characteristics) do not correlate with genetic difference, nor is there any evidence to support biological differences in intelligence (Scott, 2014). Although humans are genetically diverse, this is attributed to individuality rather than racial difference. Evidence suggests there are different races of chimpanzees but not humans. The physical differences used to classify humans in to different races are an outcome of environmental factors (Templeton, 2013). Thus, when referring to humans today it is relevant to question what exactly is meant by the term race.

Bulmer and Solomos (2008) claimed that racial classification grounded on physical characteristics are central to understanding contemporary social, as well as political, arguments surrounding race. They proposed that beliefs about differences between human races have become embedded in Western culture over time and 'show no signs of disappearing' (Bulmer and Solomos, 2008: 9). Thus, the problem of the colour-line in the 20th century that Du-Bois referred to is very much a problem in the 21st century, as shown in recent social and political movements (Bulmer and Solomos, 2008). *Black Lives Matter* (BLM) (2018) is a good example of an activist movement that highlights the problem of racial inequality in American contemporary society. Those who created the movement describe it as an 'ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise'. It developed in response to the killing of black adolescent Trayvon Martin in 2012, whose case highlighted inequalities in the way it was handled by authorities. This included the prolonged period of 45 days that passed following Trayvon's murder before George Zimmerman was arrested, as well as the fact Zimmerman was eventually acquitted for the crime he committed (Woodly, 2016). Du-Bois' (1996 [1903]) understanding of double-consciousness is thus useful for thinking about this type of racial inequality. The fact that the people who created the movement are committed to 'the liberation of all black people' because they believe black people in America are oppressed (*Black Lives Matter*, 2018) suggests the contemporary African American is still living within the veil Du-Bois described. The movement marked a point when many contemporary African Americans realised from a political perspective, a black person will always, as Woodly (2016) puts it, 'experience his being through others'. That is, being aware of themselves as a person but also being aware of a black self 'as it is constructed by the ideology and historiography of white supremacy'. Thus, shadowing Du-Bois' (1996 [1903]) understanding of what it is to experience a double-consciousness. That is, despite critics of the term, such as Allen (1992) who has argued Du-Bois' understanding of double-consciousness is too narrow and cannot possibly apply to every African American. I would argue against Allen's (1992) claims and propose, the term applies to all African Americans who experience racial inequality.

The term double-consciousness is also useful for thinking about the impact racial inequality has on opportunity for African American's. Du-Bois stated how 'he simply wishes to make it possible to be both a negro and an American' that is 'without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face' (1996 [1903]: 5). Proposing to experience a double-consciousness negatively impacts life opportunities, such as securing a job. A contemporary study by Pager (2003) found African Americans still experience racial inequality, impacting on opportunity. Findings showed black men with criminal records were unlikely to secure a job compared to white men, and black men with no criminal

convictions were equally as likely to be considered for a job by employers as white men with criminal convictions. Suggesting being an African American is equivalent to being criminal. As Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) point out, black Americans are 1.34 times more likely to be arrested and imprisoned compared to their white counterparts and this is not due to them being more likely to commit crime compared to white people. White Americans are more likely to commit violent offences and more likely to have their charges reduced following arrest than black Americans. Furthermore, police officers are highly unlikely to be held accountable and prosecuted for such inequality (Woodley, 2016). Thus, racial inequality is evidenced throughout the criminal justice system and the impact of having a criminal record on job opportunities is notably worse for African Americans.
To target racial discrimination and encourage equal opportunity for blacks and whites, the civil rights movements, such as the American Civil Rights movement, and Black Nationalism were enforced between the 1950's and 1970's. The American Civil Rights movement enforced a ban on employment discrimination and Black Nationalism encouraged African Americans to develop their own identities (Peller, 1995). In turn, this suggested an opportunity to develop their true self-consciousness which, according to Du-Bois (1996 [1903]) proposed a shift away from the negative aspects of living with a double-consciousness. However, the evidence discussed so far in this work suggests this has not been achieved in the contemporary world. Racial inequalities still occur and are seeming difficult to prove. To be treated equivalently to a white American criminal merely because of your skin colour further illustrates evidence of a colour-line between whites and blacks still existing today. Thus, when faced with unequal opportunities compared to their white counterparts, the 'peculiar sensation' (Du-Bois, 1996 [1903]: 5) deriving from the experience of double-consciousness is likely to resurface for the contemporary African American.

Double-consciousness is also useful for thinking about how African American's will respond to racial inequality. Du-Bois claimed to 'attain a self-conscious manhood' he had to merge his 'double-self in to a better truer self' (1996 [1903]: 5). He did not wish to lose his dual identity because African Americans were 'gifted with second-sight', a gift that could serve to benefit the world (1996 [1903]: 5). According to Allen (1992) this gift can be interpreted as the insight of living with the dual identity of double-consciousness. He proposed, African American's acquire the white persons view from an African Americans cultural perspective. Proposing, this additional knowledge can only be understood by African American's themselves, and not by white people. This is useful when thinking about what motivated Trayvon Martin's parents as well as BLM activists to become activists. As Trayvon's parents claimed, the decision was forced upon them and when his mother (Sybrina Fulton) was asked why she became an activist she stated, 'I did it out of anger' (Ramaswamy, 2017). Similarly, BLM activists described themselves as being 'enraged by the death of Trayvon Martin' (*Black Lives Matter*, 2018). Thus, all the activists described here claimed learning of racial inequality triggered a powerful emotional response. For Trayvon Martins parents this motivated their decision to become activists. Ture and Hamilton (2008) claimed for victims of racial inequality to accept the negative perception of the white oppressor is to lose their will to fight. Thus, proposing Trayvon's parents as well as BLM activists did not except such negative views. Arguably, the gift of second-sight offers a deeper understanding of the experience of inequality and it is this additional insight that can motivate African Americans to find the determination and passion within themselves to fight back. Furthermore, becoming an activist does indeed serve to benefit the world. However, as Allen (1992) argued Du-Bois' understanding of the gift of second-sight is ambiguous. Although, he referred to this gift as the negro spirituals at the end of *The Souls of Black Folk* (1996 [1903]), it is unclear what he meant by this. The gift of

second-sight was the least developed of his concepts. However, despite Du-Bois' meaning of the gift being unclear I argue it is useful to think of it as an insight gained from a negative experience that can be applied in a positive manner.

To conclude, Du-Bois' understanding of the term double-consciousness is useful for thinking about inequality because it refers to the negative impact of racial inequality on the African Americans identity. Such views are supported (albeit indirectly) in subsequent work by Fanon (1967 [1952]) which also focused on the feelings that arise from racial inequality. However, the positive aspects of double-consciousness are also highlighted by Du-Bois when he refers to the gift of second-sight (acquired by African Americans from this negative experience). Furthermore, his understanding of the veil is useful for thinking about how racial inequality can cause victims to feel constrained to a subordinate position. A position that it can be argued has been socially constructed, given that the enlightenment failed to teach us racial categorization is in any way scientific, in fact quite the contrary. Initial racial classification was highly subjective, which is useful for thinking about inequality because it suggests the term 'race' is racist. Racial inequality is still relevant today with contemporary social movements illustrating an obvious colour-line in American society. Similarly, unequal opportunity between blacks and whites (evidenced in the over-representation of black people in criminal statistics) suggests, not only are the doors of opportunity closed for black people, but the ability to move in and out of the veil (proposed by Du-Bois) is still rare for African Americans. However, Du-Bois' understanding of double-consciousness has received criticism. The subjective nature of his concepts discussed in this work proposes ambiguities and this is particularly relevant when he refers to the gift of second-sight. Nonetheless, the concept can be useful for thinking about how victims will respond to racial inequality. However, the evidence provided here fails to directly support such claims.

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To what extent are the problems that African Americans faced in US society from slavery onwards principally problems caused by the racist thinking of the white majority?
(In addressing the question, you may choose to look at segregation, discrimination, voter suppression, denial of opportunities and police violence)

Vanessa Inyang

The racist thinking of the white majority has generated centuries of problems for African Americans that are still evident today. Historically, the racist thinking from the white majority led to racist actions which is clearly demonstrated by the tolerance of slavery for two centuries, the implementation of the Jim Crow laws, systematic racism and so forth, which has ultimately become an inherent burden for black people in The United States of America (USA).

Bell (1988: 767) argues that regardless of what black people are called, whether it be:

> "colored", "Negroes", "Afro-Americans" or "blacks", [they] are marked with the caste of colour in a society. As a consequence, [they] are shaped, molded, changed from what [they] might have been…into what [they] are

Bell (1988) highlights the consequences of the white race's dominance over their black counterparts, which has caused the narrative of black people to change: as their history, their identity and their culture has entwined with slavery, discrimination and other racial issues. An example of the white majorities' dominance includes the notion that 'there was a conscious effort on the part of the slaveholders to eradicate African tribal or ethnic difference' (Waters, 1991: 60). Fredrick Douglass (1852: 13) re-affirms this notion in his speech *Meaning Of July Fourth For The Negro,* as he states how slaves were kept ignorant of 'their relations to their fellow men'.

Because the white majority had greater power, they could entrench their racist thinking into American society, which meant, particularly from the 17th to 19th century, the black identity became synonymous to slavery and inferiority whilst race-relations reflected a dominant-subordinate relationship. This historical narrative still deeply affects race relations in contemporary American society. However, in order to go into depth on this broad question, this essay will specifically focus on two problems. The first is the prevalence of white supremacy during slavery, and the second is the segregation era, which both caused major problems for African Americans in the US.

According to the description of white supremacy – which 'refers to attitudes, ideologies and policies associated with rise of blatant forms of white or European dominance over "nonwhite" populations' – slavery in America exhibited the prevalence of white supremacy based on this particular description (Fredrickson, 1982: xi). Specifically, focusing from the 17th century to 19th century, this definition of white supremacy epitomizes the way in which the white race held a dominant position in US society and had access to social, economic and political power to cultivate the hegemonic beliefs and ideologies in regards race. Thus, a 'racial hierarchy' was created that black people were forced to adhere to due to their subordinate position in US society (Fredrickson, 1982: xii). Furthermore, Fredrickson (1982: xi) remarks on how white supremacy also refers to 'systematic and self-conscious efforts to make race or colour a qualification for membership in the civil community'. Therefore, the biological makeup of slaves became a limitation from being a member in the US society.

In hindsight, we can look back at history and pinpoint racist thinking in regards to slavery. However, from the perspective of proslavery advocates, the key reasons slavery was accepted (and not seen as racist thinking) was due to the economic prosperity the slave trade generated and the shared belief that 'black Africans were enslaved because they were viewed as inferiors' (Hall, 2005: 1). For example, George Fitzhugh (2003: 190), a proslavery theorist, believes that the 'negro race is inferior to the white race' and attempts to justify black slavery as a tool to 'christianises, protect, support and civilize' black slaves (Fitzhugh, 2003: 196). Moreover, Cohen (1969: 6) describes how the words and actions of Thomas Jefferson, an American Founding Father, were 'paradoxical' as he owned more than '180 slaves at the very time when he was proclaiming that all men were created equal'. However, he too believed that 'Negroes were inherently inferior to whites' (Cohen, 1969: 6).

On the other hand, Thomas Paine, an English-born American and advocate for American Independence, wrote an essay regarding his stance on slavery in America in 1775 (Paine, 1775: 1). He berates the slave trade due to the buying and selling of the 'unnatural commodity' of African people and he states how people 'sacrifice conscience and the character of integrity to that golden idol' (Paine, 1775: 1). Interestingly, more than a hundred years later, W.E.B Du Bois (1954: 91) echoes a similar response in his book *The Suppression of the African slave trade to the United States of American* where he expressed how the 'moral standard of people is lowered for the sake of a material advantage'. Therefore, both these figures highlight the suppression of or disregard to the unethical aspects of slavery, where the trading of people (like products) is justified for economic and material advantage.

As a victim of white supremacy (in the form of slavery), Frederick Douglass – an abolitionist who was born into slave-hood– shares his disdain towards slavery in his profound speech *The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro.* He states how 'the American slave-trade is a terrible reality. When a child, my soul was often pierced with a sense of its horrors' (Douglass, 1852: 16). As a former slave, he provides a significant and vital perspective describing the brutality and dehumanization slaves faced. For instance, Douglass (1852: 13) lists the injustices experienced by slaves, such as working without wages, their owners whipping 'their flesh with the lash...sell[ing] them at auction..., burn[ing] their flesh and starv[ing] them into obedience and submission to their masters', and with such practices he wondered how people could still justify slavery.

The way Douglass constructed his speech forced the audience to reflect on the injustice of slavery whilst people celebrated America's Independence. Douglass (1852: 10) asks 'are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us [black slaves]?' He elaborates further by stating that slave-owners in the Southern states acknowledge that slaves are human by forbidding the 'teaching of the slave to read or to write' (Douglass, 1852: 12). Yet, they are treated like animals and recognized as property by the slave codes. Fehrenbacher (1981: 8) reaffirms this paradox where slaves were 'not hired any more than a working horse or ox;' and were 'bought and sold' like property, however they became human when related to the criminal law as slaves were 'fully responsible and punishable for his own misdeeds' (Fehrenbacher, 1981: 150).

This leads to the legal aspect of slavery, as slaves were not protected by the same laws as their white counterparts, including the fundamental laws of freedom and rights. Instead, their status and race limited their autonomy and instead fluctuated between being human and property (Fehrenbacher, 1981: 6). The American Slave Codes were state laws that detailed the restrictions over slaves and the entitlements of their slave masters. Ultimately, it includes rules such as, slaves 'cannot have the rights of a husband, a wife', and thus no state legislation recognized slave marriages, allowing the slave-owner to separate the "married" couple (Fehrenbacher, 1981: 105). Also, there was a prohibition of 'literary and religious rights' for slaves as lack of knowledge may hinder slaves from escaping or rebelling. However, it did not prevent the multiple slave rebellions in American history; instead it incited them.

In 1865, the 13th Amendment – the abolishment of slavery – was added to the United States Constitution, and eventually the era of the Jim Crow laws arose, whereby legitimatized segregation took place. Yet, this major change in US society did not suddenly eradicate the history of slavery as the psychological effects still remained. In the segregation era, African Americans continued to face obstacles as a result of the racist thinking of the white majority, in spite of slavery ending. The particular focus of this section is discussing the prominent prejudice and discrimination, and race-relations in Jim Crow America.

The Reconstruction period in the 1860s and 1870s symbolised a progressive direction in regards to racial equality and integration in the US. For instance, the 'Congress in 1875 passed the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited racial discrimination in public accommodations' (Kousser, 2003: 479). However, this period did not manage to uphold this progress, with the introduction of the Jim Crow laws in the Southern states between 1877 and 1965 that permitted racial segregation (Tischauser, 2012: 1). The origin of Jim Crow derives from 'a song and dance performed by a [white] actor in [a] very popular minstrel show' where the white actor 'portrayed an elderly black slave, Jim Crow...in "blackface"' (Tischauser, 2012: 1). This demonstrates how a racially insensitive minstrel show was utilized as a label for racial segregation policy.

Most Southern states 'during the 1880s and 1890s passed laws' that advocated segregation which embodied the poor race-relations between whites and blacks (Kousser, 2003: 479). Klarman (2006: 10) lists the ways in which race-relations in the South started to worsen as:

> ...the number of blacks lynched each year rose dramatically, [and] the same Democratic politicians who had earlier campaigned for black votes now demanded disfranchisement, states adopted poll taxes and literacy tests to suppress any black voting not already nullified by fraud and violence and segregation in railway travel increased.

This list exemplifies the struggle, prejudice and discrimination black people faced living in Jim Crow America, yet Kousser (2003: 479) describes how 'normalised' this 'American way of life' was.

Derived from a Louisiana law, The Plessy v. Ferguson case in 1896 advocated this "separate but equal" doctrine for railway seating, which then became the mantra of racial segregation in general (Kousser, 2003: 479). However, in reality this doctrine was not upheld by society, as the racial hierarchy from slavery remained dominant in Southern states which inevitably meant black people were living in substandard conditions compared to their white counterparts. There are still images which display physical evidence of racial segregation where 'some southern cities and states [had] separate drinking fountains, restrooms, entrances to public buildings and even Bibles for use in court' (Kousser, 2003: 479).

Furthermore, the creation of the Black Ghetto and the Black line is the 'visual evidence' of the racial division present by the 1940s (Drake, 1993 [1945]: 174). Particularly in Chicago, white residents did not want black neighbours and consequently 'used formal and informal social controls...to isolate the latter within congested all-Negro neighbours' (Drake, 1993 [1945]: 174). Furthermore, during World War One, due to the housing shortage, property owners decided to prioritise white people and create exclusively white neighbourhoods, which meant taking any measures as a means to get rid of black households (Drake, 1993 [1945]). For example, people went as far as bombing which led to 'fifty-eight homes' being bombed, 'an average of one every twenty days', and resulted in two black people dying (Drake, 1993 [1945]: 178). This demonstrates not only how white people had the power to act on their racist thinking and cause serious harm to black people, but also continue to exert their racial superiority and dominance over them.

Delany (1852: 4) argues how:

> ...those of their [slave] descendants who are freemen even in the non-slaveholding States, occupy the very same position politically, religiously, civilly and socially, (with but few exceptions) as their ascendants.

Du Bois (2008 [1903]: 11) re-affirms this reality in *The Souls Of Black Folk* where he states 'the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land'. In spite of being legally free, the racial divide and injustice still remained which brought huge 'disappointment to the black race due 'the unattained ideal'' (Du Bois, 2008 [1903]: 11).

Experiencing the inequity of Jim Crow America, black scholars challenged the unjust American system by vocalising their individual views on the prejudice and discrimination of the white majority against the black race. They offered their own tactics on how black people can overcome this racism. In particular, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, two historical figures and leaders of the black community in the late 19th to 20th century, both insightfully developed ways in which to elevate the black community in America. They had different priorities and approaches in how to change the current conditions black people faced. Washington (1900: 20) considered vocational schooling a powerful tool and foundation for African Americans to be their own 'self-support' and have 'industrial independence'. Yet, a controversial matter was Washington's proposal of compromising the prospect of civil rights for African Americans, in exchange for education and agriculture which 'allowed the white South to assume that justice could be achieved without granting Negroes political and civil rights' (Meier, 1966: 101).

On the other hand, Du Bois strongly disapproved of Washington's compromise of equal rights for black Americans in the chapter *Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others*, in his renowned book *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). He states 'Mr. Washington withdraws many of the high demands of Negroes as men and American citizens' and encouraged that black people 'must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that colour discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white' (Du Bois, 1903: 3, 5).

In hindsight, many echoed Du Bois' disapproval, in which they criticized Washington's willingness to jeopardise the African Americans civil rights and instead perpetuated the racist thinking of the white majority. In this sense, it could be argued that there are cases where African Americans can become their own hindrance to their race when they internalise the oppression that originated from the white man. Generally, the endeavors of the two leaders represent what they consider priorities in elevating the black race as Washington founded Tuskeegee University, whereas Du Bois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

In conclusion, for centuries 'black rights have been sacrificed throughout the national's history to further white interest' (Bell, 1988: 768). Due to the racist thinking of the white majority, especially those in positions of power, they had distorted what is deemed as basic human rights as privileges for black people as well as create systems of oppressions in the epoch of slavery and segregation. The outspokenness of black leaders, like Douglass, Washington and Du Bois, meant they were able to articulate and encapsulate the struggle of the black race in their speeches and/or writings in order to expose the struggle, discrimination, prejudice and racism present within white America. Hence, history reveals how the trials and tribulations African Americans went through was a result of the racist thinking of the white majority.

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What and how is the relationship between age and religiosity? Do people get more religious as they get older, or are older people religious because they grew up in more religious times in the past?

Yara Issa

Examining the relationship between age and religiosity through cohort and period effect

Abstract

This study seeks to assess and explore the relationship between age and religious affiliation. The primary focus of this paper is religiosity and age among Western societies, with reference to Europe and the USA. Furthermore, this study will discuss the impact of periods on religiosity, whose relationship will be investigated through the examination of a body of literature.

Introduction

A vast number of researchers whose focus on the degree of age effects on religiosity use one of three theoretical frameworks; the effect of ageing on religiosity, the changes of one's life course and the variations of religiosity in regards to age which is associated with periodical effects (Argue et al. 1999). The present study of this effect is an attempt to understand the impact of ageing and the period on religiosity by presenting some studies from the literature examining these relationships.

Literature review

Although there has been an effort to understand the relationship between age and religiosity, there is still no clear answer on the nature of this relationship. For example, some studies such as Argyle and Beit Hallahmi (1975) points out that there was a significant decrease in religious activity in the middle ages. Another study claimed that there was a stable trend in religious affiliation during adolescent followed by a rapid increase in religiosity after the age of 30 (Regnerus and Uecker, 2006). One more strand in the literature shows that there was also a continues deterioration in religiosity with the increase of age. This study is an examination of the most influential research related to this field. The majority of the studies reported in the essay were conducted in Europe and the USA. Noticeably, almost similar results were reached in these studies supporting the assumption that older adults tend to be more religious than younger ones and also with the conclusion that religion was vital for older people for different reasons.

Tornstam (1997), Willmott (2004) and King and Furrow (2004) documented that there was a significant proportion (48%) of elderly Americans aged 65 and more who were daily churchgoers. However, among the younger generation, aged 18-27, this percentage plunges to 27%, thus indicating that younger people were less likely to go to church on a daily basis compared to elderly people. Sociologists have attempted to investigate the potential factors that could affect the differences in religiosity between older and younger people in any given society. For instance, religion and religious practices are essential elements for older

people as they try to find the meaning of one's life and the need for psychological support. It could be argued that one's religious affiliation and spirituality becomes stronger at an older age since religion becomes a way to maintain security and reduce fears among the elderly group. Vail et al. (2010) found that interaction between religion and age is critical to the study of religion. Their conclusion was that the positive effect of age on religiosity becomes stronger at a higher level of age. Vail et al. further explain that this relationship by proposing that ageing implies people's fears of death and insecurity during the final stage of human development. Thus, religious beliefs and practices were significantly essential to reassure those concerns among the elderly.

Similarly, Güveli and Platt (2011) investigated the regular religious attendance for Muslims in two secular countries- the UK and the Netherlands. By adapting the secularisation theory in their research, the authors found that Muslims coming to secular countries remain secular in their values and norms that were inherited from their country of origin. Another similar study found that age was associated with the high frequency of attending religious meeting among Muslims in the Netherlands and in the UK. However, they found that no quadratic relationship between age and religious attendance in the Netherlands. The indication was that there was an evidence of the positive effect of age on participation became higher when individuals become older. When comparing the involvement of Muslims from a different age group in the Netherlands, it appeared that because of the assimilation process for the second-generation immigrants, young Muslims attended religious meetings less frequently when compared to older Muslims. The study concluded that the mechanisms of religiosity differed for migrants and second generation migrants. Hence, older Dutch Muslims were less religious than older British Muslim.

Voas and Crockett (2005), whom in their thesis, "Religion in Britain: Neither believing nor belonging" used data from the British Social Attitudes surveys, was another crucial sociological research. They suggested that the number of people who believed were higher than those who attend religious meeting in Britain. The authors compared individuals from different age groups during the 1990s and found that in the sample they used, older people were more religious than younger people. However, when comparing individuals within the same age group, the authors found that between 1999 and 2000 people were less religious than those at the same age between 1991 and 1992. Thus, the differences between generations contribute to the decline in religiosity. The researchers, however reached no conclusion on the reason why their religiosity increased when they aged, but Voas and Crockett provided two potential effects on why religiosity decreased. They suggested that the effect of age on religiosity was insignificant and the impact of the period acted upon an individuals reduced religiosity.

Another study with more conclusive results was conducted by Aleksynska and Chiswick (2013). They examined the differences of religious behaviour between two groups- native-born and immigrants in European countries. Using the European Social Survey, the authors measured the religious behaviour by using self-reported religiosity method, that is, the frequency of praying and church attendance. They proposed that immigrants were more religious than native-born because age, income and education attainment were important factors that influenced religiosity among immigrants and native-born. The authors found that religiosity increased by age and decreased with the level of education. A similar finding was reached by Stolzenberg et al. (1995). They investigated the effect of age on religious participation in the USA by using data from National Longitudinal Study of a High School Class of 1972. They considered different aspects that explained the effects of age on religious participation. First, they found that there was an indirect effect between age and

religious involvement. For example, older people were more likely to have children compared to younger people. Consequently, having children increased the possibility of participating in religious activities. Second, there was an interactive relationship amongst age, marital status and parenthood. The authors proposed that a parents' religiosity depends on whether they had children, and on the age of the children and their parents. Based on this study, a parents' religious participation rose as they grew older as parents were more likely to engage in religious activities.

While age was positively associated with religiosity in the literature, there was another important aspect to religiosity, that is, the effect of period. Hayward and Krause (2015) undertook a primary research titled, "*Do elderly people become more religious because of the effect of time and period that they were born in?".* This study examined the influence of the period, the time when religion was significant to the American culture and on religiosity of the American older adults. The authors conducted two measurements to test this aspect of religiosity; how God is important to one's life and how often the participants, aged between 12 and 104 went to church. They performed a comparative cross-culture study that compared the level of religiosity across 80 countries and found that the relationship between age and religiosity in some religious nations were stable, that is, there was no relationship between the decrease and the increase in their level of religiosity and their age in those religious countries. Muslims countries, on the other hand, were very religious, therefore, the effect of period on religiosity was moderate in those countries as Muslims, arguably, practiced the religion throughout their life. A result also documented in Norris and Inglehart (2004) study claimed that religiosity was stronger among poor and insecure societies, whereas in rich and secure societies religiosity was more loosed. This claim was also documented by Musick and Wilson (2003). Based on this study, one could concluded that the effect of period on religiosity depends on the social context of the country.

Ruiter and De Graff (2006) presented the same findings in their study of National Context, Religiosity, and Volunteering results from 53 Countries. The authors examined the effects of the national religious context on volunteering. Based on the analysis from the data, the authors explained that church members were more likely to volunteer compared to non-church members. Also, Ruiter and De Graff proposed that the degree of volunteering was influenced by the devoutness of the society. European Values Study Group and World Values Survey Association were used to test these hypotheses. While this study was focused on age, it was also focused on the cohort effects as a main influence on religiosity. The relationship between age and volunteering was curvilinear, which indicated that the positive effect of age on the ability of volunteering becomes stronger as one got older. However, when taking the cohort effects into account, the positive effect of age on volunteering was partly explained. Thus, age was influenced by the cohort's effect as it was documented that older birth cohorts who lived in a more religious culture were religiously more active than younger cohorts.

Voas and Crockett (2005) documented the same result in their study. They concluded that the effect of period decreased religiosity in the UK as the level of secularisation increased by time. Furthermore, consistent results were reported in the study of Güveli and Platt (2011), they explore the national contexts of Muslims' first countries and found that Muslims' religiosity was influenced by the degree of the country they came from. For example, Muslims in the Netherlands are mainly from Turkey and Morocco, since Turkey was more industrious to Morocco that was agrarian, they concluded that the level of religiosity was different among those two societies. This conclusion was based on the fact

that people of Turkish origin attend religious meeting less than people of Moroccan origin in the Netherlands.

Some studies pointed out that war time and economic changes in Europe played a major role in religious changes across time. For example, Requena and Stanek (2014) proposed that after the First World War the number of religious people started to decline in the UK. Although, there has been an extensive research that demonstrated that religion was already declining in the 20th century. Nonetheless, the secularisation process differs across European countries; while the Netherlands and the UK are considered to be secular countries, secularisation was seen as new phenomenon in Spain and Portugal. Beside, after the collapse of the communist regime in Russia, religion was intensively observed. These differences between countries regarding religion emphasises the fact that religion is influenced by the political and economic changes of a country.

In conclusion, according to the literature reviewed, I suggest that there is a positive association between age and religiosity. Furthermore from the literature, it shows that there is a significant effect of period on religiosity, but the multifactor causal processes would produce change on religion affiliations across time.

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What are the risks of violence from individuals with a mental illness?

Aimee Lowe

Mental illness is defined by the American Psychiatric Association as a non-physical health condition that causes negative changes to an individual's thinking, emotions, or behaviour. A mental illness can affect as few as one of these things, or as many as all three, in order to be branded as a mental illness. The relationship between mental illness and the violence is very complex and although there is a general perception that individuals with a mental illness appear to have a more violent mentality, this is not always the results that are obtained from existing research. The longstanding belief that serious violence is interlinked with mental illness is questioned by Lewis (2011) who argues that this surrounding area is multifarious as various studies have often drawn very different conclusions.

The mentally ill face many risks in relation to violence, whether it be the way they are perceived by the remainder of the population, the violence that they may unintentionally commit to themselves or the community, or the violence that may potentially be inflicted on them by others. It is particularly important to recognise the incomprehensibility and self-destructive violence that they may commit through a result of their own mental illness (Macdonald, 2008), which will establish the distinction between whether the mentally ill are more of a danger to themselves or to the rest of society. Macdonald (2008) proposed the idea that comprehensibility is a concept that can be used to differentiate between the individual's wildness and the individual's violence, which would be beneficial in deciphering how high the risks of violence truly are.

As previously mentioned, there is a general consensus that individuals whom suffer from mental illness tend to be more dangerous and are an increased risk to others, due to the overall public focusing predominantly on their unpredictability (Hiday, 1995). The perception that others have of the mentally ill could be a result of the risk society that we, as individuals, are now a part of (Beck, 1992). Due to the fact that society is constantly evolving and is becoming more risk conscious, it is important to tell apart the public's perceptions of the violent risks that mentally ill individuals impose, and the actual level of violence that they commit. To provide a clearer picture, Shaw et al. (2006) identified that between the years of 1996 and 1999, 34% of those that were convicted of homicide were found to have a history of mental illness. These studies could suggest that mentally ill individuals do in fact pose a risk of violence through the use of murder, which has led to the American government conducting some work in an effort to give thorough background checks on people before they are permitted to purchase a gun. The government is attempting to keep guns and firearms out of the possession of the mentally ill, thus Lewis (2011) recommended that the state and federal agencies must ensure their communication is consistently in-depth in relation to minimising the risks of violence from individuals with a mental illness. It was also found that out of the 164 people who exhibited symptoms of mental illness at the time of their offence, nearly half of these had symptoms of psychosis and 62% showed symptoms of depression and/or hallucinations (Shaw et al., 2006). Although this provides evidence to support the claim that the risks of violence from mentally ill individuals are present, it does not account for the remainder of the sample, who committed acts of homicide in the absence of a mental illness. Thus, it is unfair to

categorically state that mentally ill individuals are more dangerous than the general population. Furthermore, the fact that mental illness accounts for only a mere 4% of reported violence (Mulvey, 2005) is a huge indication that mentally ill individuals should not be perceived as more dangerous than the rest of the population, as the remaining 96% must have been committed by mentally healthy individuals.

When investigating the claims of the relationship between violence and mental illness, it has been argued that there are three main forms of supporting evidence that should be explored. Firstly, the dangerous behaviour reports among mental patients before, during and after hospitalisation (Hiday, 1988; McNiel, Dale and Binder, 1986), secondly, the high rates of mental illness among jail inmates (Washington and Diamond, 1985; Swank and Winer, 1976), and finally, the higher arrest rates among mental patients compared to the general population (Giovanni and Gurel, 1967). Due to the nature of the relationship between mentally ill individuals and violence, it is essential to recognise the different areas of examination; particularly the direction of association, the situation in which the violence occurs, the role of substance abuse, and the role of psychopathy or personality disorder (Hiday, 1995). She also argues that by establishing the larger context of society can be beneficial in providing a clearer picture of the individual's background, and recognising their socioeconomic status provides a clue of how an individual's position in the stratification system could affect their life conditions. What can be concluded from these findings, is that the conditions and disorganisation of society are a strong enhancer of the violence that is embedded in mentally ill individuals. As a result, the risk that they pose to others drastically increases when they are in vulnerable conditions (Hiday, 1995). Withstanding this, a Canadian study has found that 50% of psychiatrists have reported being assaulted by one of their patients on at least one encounter during their course of treatment (El-Guebaly, 1994). These results are not only substantial, but also convincing, as El-Guebaly reiterated that Canada is renowned for being a peaceful country, whereby violence in the general population is low in comparison to most other countries, thus illustrating that the mentally ill do pose a risk of violent attacks.

The dynamics between the risks of violence and the mentally ill are very complex, as there are various areas that should be given close attention. It is important to recognise not only the dangers that the mentally ill individuals impose, but also the ones that they face from others. Generally, the public do not acknowledge that individuals with a mental illness are at a greater risk of violence than the rest of the population, whether it be self-harm or prejudice attacks from the rest of society. The recognition of a severe mental illness is crucial to the wellbeing of an individual, as suffering from at least one mental disorder is closely linked to short-term risk of repeat self-harm (Olfson, Marcus and Bridge, 2013). As a sufferer of mental illness, the risk of self-destructive violence is much greater than a non-sufferer of mental illness, and the risk that they impose on themselves can lead to them being involuntarily hospitalised if the danger increases (Ward, 2014). Due to the nature of this violence, the self-destructive aspect makes it a more intricate area to study, and therefore results in ambiguity in the findings. What can be concluded, however, is that the mentally ill are undoubtedly at a greater risk of self-harm (Menzies, 2005). Menzies (2005) concluded that 58% of spousal killers who suffered from amnesia and/or alcohol abuse exhibited actual self-harm actions, whereas only 3% of the non-sufferers threatened it, without going through with it. All these findings are of huge relevance to the risks of violence that mentally ill individuals face, as significant correlations have been concluded between self-harm patients who had recently been treated for multiple mental illnesses such as depression, bipolar or substance abuse (Olfson, Marcus and Bridge, 2013).

A case study of a suicide that was conducted in the United Kingdom of a sufferer or personality disorder and schizophrenia is a convincing piece of evidence when exploring the correlation between mentally ill individuals and rates of self-harm. When analysing the medical records, Stanesby (2002) identified a numerous amount of deliberate self-harm episodes, which continues to highlight the risks of violence that the mentally ill face from their own actions. In this particular case, Stanesby (2002) clarified that the schizophrenia was a key influencer in the onset of the self-harm actions that were performed by the individual prior to committing suicide. Additionally, a cohort study has found that within a population of 7968 self-harm victims, these individuals were up to 30 times more likely to attempt suicide after their episode, compared to the general population who have never self-harmed, in England and Wales (Cooper et al. 2005). A key finding from this study emphasised the importance that should be placed on the risks of violence that mentally ill individuals face from themselves, as the first 6 months after their self-harm episode is when they are most at risk of suicide (Cooper et al., 2005; Olfson, Marcus and Bridge, 2013).

Despite the danger that the mentally ill are at risk of from themselves, Szasz (1963) controversially stated that this should not be the main point of concern. He argues that self-harm is their own decision, and if this is the choice that they opt to make, they should be free to make it without being penalised by others. In his view, it is the violence that they could possibly inflict on others that should be the main concern, as the victim would have a complete lack of control over what the mentally ill perpetrator could do.

Another aspect to this area revolves around whether individuals with a mental illness face a larger risk of violence from the rest of society, compared with non-sufferers of a mental illness. The focus that is on the risks of violence that mentally ill individuals face from others is significantly less than the risks they impose, but multiple studies have clarified that the concern in this area should be much greater than what it is. There has been a convincing amount of research which suggests that individuals who suffer from severe psychiatric disorders are most vulnerable to being victims of violence; particularly assault, rape, robbery, or murder (Hiday et al., 1999). Support for this claim comes from Dean et al. (2007) who conducted a study in England, following 632 individuals who suffer from psychosis, for a two year period. They concluded that within this timeframe, 23% of these individuals had become a victim of violent crimes committed by others. A Los Angeles study provides further evidence for these findings, as the study consisted of following 172 schizophrenics for three years. By the end of the duration, 34% of these individuals had been a victim of at least one of the four aforementioned violent crimes identified by Hiday (Brekke, Prindle, Bae and Long, 2001). They also identified that those who exhibited the most severe symptoms were the ones whom were most seriously victimised, which suggests that the poorer the state of an individual's mental health, the higher the risk that they face of being violently victimised. Silver (2002) conducted a similar study; this time in Pittsburgh, whereby 15% of 277 sufferers of psychiatric disorders were violently victimised over a 10 week course, compared to 7% of 477 mentally healthy individuals within the same time period. The similar findings between these three studies illustrate the severity of this issue, and the results should increase the amount of concern that is focused on this area of the mental illness and risk of violence relationship, as it is clearly a problem area.

A piece of work that is highly valued when attempting to combat the ongoing issues between the risks of violence that mentally ill individuals impose on others is the ECA study. The study consisted of a sample of 18,571 individuals who were questioned on

violence related behavioural questions which occurred in the previous year. A mere 3.7% of this sample (687 individuals) reported violent behaviour, but 56% of this proportion qualified for having a psychiatric disorder. Substance abuse appeared to be a major contributor to the violence, as 42% of the violent group exhibited symptoms of alcohol or drug abuse, compared to 9% of the non-violent group. Unsurprisingly, schizophrenia was also a common mental illness in this sample, as 4% of the violent group had been diagnosed with the illness, compared to 1% of the non-violent group (Busfield, 2018). These statistics imply that there is a fairly close association between the two variables, but it remains ambiguous as to what extent.

The ECA study delved deeper into these statistics, as they sought to identify a change in statistics when the focus was specifically on those that were suffering from a mental illness. During the year that was being analysed, 22% of the sample reported having a mental disorder within this time. The fact that this percentage is noticeably higher than the percentage of violence that was reported implies that the majority of mentally ill individuals do not inflict a greater risk of violence than others. In continuation, 90% of the mentally ill individuals who were suffering from a serious disorder were reported as non-violent, as well as 65% of sufferers of substance abuse. Swartz et al. (1998) concluded that after the removal of sociodemographic characteristics, combining substance abuse and lack of medication were very intricately associated with serious violent behaviour. Further support surrounding the work of the ECA which states that there is an over exaggeration of perception of mentally ill violence comes from Swanson et al. (2006). The study concluded that out of 1410 schizophrenics, 80.9% reported no acts of violence, 15.5% reported minor violence, and only 3.6% reported serious violence. Withstanding this, as previously mentioned, the risk of violence that an individual could impose is closely associated to psychoticism. However, when the researcher considered the clinical and service-use variables of an individual, sociodemographic predictors became minimally significant in relation to the violence (Swanson et al., 1997). Once again, these results should aid the research surrounding this area as they suggest that the perceptions that surround the violence that is committed by mentally ill individuals is blurred and should be re-evaluated.

Overall, it is easy to recognise that the complexity around the area of the risks of violence that individuals with a mental illness face are far from being clarified. However, researchers should pay closer attention to the ambiguous aspects of the area, particularly the risks of self-destructive violence that they are at greater risk of (Macdonald, 2008). The self-destructive and incomprehensibility section of this essay is clearly the most important aspect, as the risk of violence that they face from themselves is harder to manage than the risks of violence that they face from others. As Szasz (1963) argued that self-harm is the choice of an individual and they should be free to make whatever decisions they wish, professionals are unsure on how to approach the situation, thus the risks of violence that they face from themselves are the most dangerous and difficult to control. It can be concluded that the general perceptions that the public have of mentally ill individuals in relation to the risks that they pose to others are utterly exaggerated, and this is clearly an area that should be focused on improving. Although there are undoubtable amounts of cases that convey a link between mentally ill individuals posing risks of violence through assault, robbery and murder, it is essential to acknowledge that these statistics are fairly similar to mentally healthy individuals. A big factor in blurring the line between the actual levels of violence that they impose, compared to the public's perception of this relationship comes from the over exaggeration of the media. Furthermore, the risks of violence that individuals with a mental illness face from others should be given closer attention, as the main focus tends to be on the dangers they impose as opposed to the dangers they face.

Regardless of all of these factors, it is clear to see that there is a lot of work that remains to be done in this area of psychiatry, whether it be improving the way the mentally ill are viewed, or finding better ways to overcome the risks of violence that they are facing from society and their own actions.

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To what degree was the Rwandan genocide a result of influences outside of Rwanda itself?

Ciara Mole

This essay aims to argue that the 1994 Rwandan genocide could be attributed to influences outside of Rwanda itself. To begin, the essay will provide a brief explanation of the crimes and atrocities committed throughout the genocide, as well as outlining the immediate aftermath. Following this, it will be argued that the Rwandan genocide was influenced by colonial processes of racial demarcation throughout the ninetieth and twentieth century that prevailed even after Rwandan independence. It will then be contented that the failure of international intervention is an exemplar of a second influence of the genocide outside of Rwanda itself. Lastly, the reluctance to label the genocide as such by international leaders and the very definition of the term genocide itself will be discussed in regards to the effects of our ability to comprehensively contextualise and appropriately respond to acts of genocide.

In 1994, after the assassination of the moderate Hutu President Melchoir Ndadaye, members of the Hutu community began to massacre, torture and rape the Tutsi minority group. In a one hundred day period, eight-hundred thousand Tutsi and ten- thousand moderate Hutus were murdered, wiping out seventy-five percent of the Tutsi population, described as 'the twentieth century's fastest genocide' (Straus, 2006: 41). Prior to the genocide, decades of racial demarcation between the Hutu and Tutsi community, introduced by colonial rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Mamani, 2001), had arguably prevailed into political unrest, social revolution, Rwandan independence, civil war, and lastly but by no means least, the genocide of 1994. The effect of the genocide was catastrophic. Whilst killing nearly one million people, one-hundred and fifty thousand homes were destroyed and three-hundred thousand children were orphaned as a result (Prunier, 2009).

This essay will now provide arguments that could be contended to explain the Rwandan genocide in a context of influences outside of Rwanda itself. Firstly, it will review the Rwandan genocide within the framework of racial, social and political demarcation of the two groups introduced by colonial rule. It will then proceed to suggest that the failure of international intervention could also be argued to have been an outside influence on the Rwandan genocide.

One century prior to the merciless event of the Rwandan genocide, Europeans colonized Rwanda in order to extract natural resources, labour and occupy land. As Belgium was ruling indirectly, they selected the Tutsi group to administer and maintain order in their absence, a group that Fanon (2017) termed the comprador class. Such a class would become so normalised to the rules, norms and values introduced by their white occupiers that their black skin would be 'masked by it' (Fanon, 2017). Many scholars have contended that the Rwandan genocide cannot be understood comprehensively without reference to colonial power and colonial processes of rule (Lemarchand, 2002; Mamdani, 2001). Although 'European rule did not invent the terms *Hutu* and *Tutsi* ...colonial intervention changed what the categories meant and how they mattered' (Straus, 2006: 20, emphasis in original). Colonial rule of Rwanda arguably created a racially, socially and politically charged demarcation between the two groups for purposes of power and subjugation, with catastrophic and genocidal consequences.

Much of the Belgian-initiated distinctions between the Hutu and the Tutsi groups were heavily tied up in Western ideas of race, origin and hierarchy:

> ...under Belgian rule Tutsi identities were radically altered by a racial myth, the Hamitic myth, that tended to turn Tutsi into settlers, thus setting in motion a settler/native dialectic which reached its horrendous climax in a genocidal apocalypse (Lemarchand, 2002: 307-308).

Furthermore, the racialisation of the Hutu and Tutsi groups arguably altered their senses of identity and how they came to see each other, 'by racializing Hutu and Tutsi as identities, it signed the distinction as one between indigenous and alien' (Mamani, 2001: 75). The hierarchy in which the Tutsi group was situated at the top was then arguably exploited and embedded throughout Rwandan society, 'the whole social system revolved on the superiority of the Tutsi, who were regarded by the Hutu as different from themselves, not only physically but morally' (Mason, 1970: 14). As previously noted, indirect Belgian rule relied heavily on the power of the Tutsi group over the Hutu. The ways in which Belgian colonial occupiers imposed, manufactured and established the racial/ethnic demarcations between the Hutu and Tutsi groups ranged throughout rigid socialisation and educational processes. The Tutsi group were granted dominance of the Hutus by Belgian colonialism, provided with a Western/Belgian style education, owned the best land and occupied the most attractive jobs. The differences between the Tutsi and the Hutu were exacerbated continuously, ideas of the Tutsi as cultural elites, as aristocrats and as morally superior human beings in comparison to the Hutus unsurprisingly created and incited hatred.

Not only moral, but physical and biological distinctions between the two groups were introduced by colonial rule. Obsessed with theories of natural and innate superiority, Belgians in Rwanda continuously described Hutus as 'inferior, short, stocky, dark-skinned and wide-nosed' and Tutsis as 'natural-born rulers, tall, elegant, light-skinned and thin-nosed' (Straus, 2006: 20-21), believing they were 'scientifically' measuring the physical differences defining the Hutu and Tutsi populations. These eugenicist projects of examining and measuring so-called physical difference were arguably used by the colonial rulers as an ideological apparatus to further infiltrate, embed and normalise the racial hierarchy needed for the success of colonial power in Rwanda. The 1930s saw the introduction of identity cards by Belgian colonial officers, cards that displayed and labelled Rwandans according to their ethnicity, and these identity cards would play 'a significant role in the singling out [of] Tutsis as targets for the 1994 genocide' (Longman, 2001: 352). European projects and ideologies of race became the basis of Belgian indirect rule, 'reinforcing Tutsi dominance and increasing arbitrariness and repression of local rule' (Straus, 2006: 21). These racial hierarchies became embedded and exploited, arguably contributing to the violent conflict and genocide that later emerged.

The deeply embedded ideologies of ethnic and racial hierarchies aggressively introduced and infiltrated by colonial rule in the nineteenth century remained and were still being taught in schools and institutions to impressionable children. The notions and ideologies of the hierarchy of the Tutsi community were then slammed at the time of the Rwandan independence. Rwandan independence in 1962 'gave rise to a form of ethnic nationalism, which in turn became Rwanda's official postcolonial ideology' (Straus, 2006: 31). As explained by Rothe et al (2008: 66):

...once independence has been obtained, ethnic identities are often internally enhanced for the political purposes of the new ruling regime. Like their colonial forebears, the rulers of the new regime often employ the strategy of pitting one ethnic group against the other.

In the Rwandan context, the social revolution in 1959 of the Hutu one-party state rule in the lead up to Rwandan independence in 1962 left the Tutsi population as a minority. Those oppressed by colonialism were now the oppressor and vice versa. As a result, the postcolonial state of Rwanda arguably reproduced the political, social and economic conditions first introduced by colonial rule. In this case, the colonial legacy had left its mark on Rwanda and the Rwandan people. As argued by Rothe et al (2008: 66):

> ...histories of postcolonial states frequently degenerate into civil wars or other internecine conflicts that undermine the fragile forms of social organization built out of the anomic social rubble of colonial decampment. In the most extreme cases, such as Rwanda, genocides arise.

The hatred created between the two groups was free to spread throughout Rwanda. The magazine *Kangura* published the 'Hutu 10 Commandments', a list of instructions set for Hutus and 'a manifesto against Tutsi, which was not only an outright call to show contempt and hatred for the Tutsi minority, but also to slander and prosecute Tutsi women' (Melvern, 2004: 50), to name just one of the methods of 'racist propaganda that [Hutu] extremists spread through newspapers and radio broadcasts' (Smeulers and Hoex, 2010: 439). Tutsis were dehumanised and referred to as anything but human beings, this being one of the rationalising factors of modern genocide (Bauman, 2000). The RTLM radio station, a station used as an apparatus for extremist Hutu propaganda, continuously broadcasted hatred and anti-Tutsi ideology. Such broadcasts included "[t]he 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" (Melvern, 2004: 210). The use of physical description is arguably an example of the colonial ideologies that still prevailed after Rwandan independence.

The colonial processes of racial demarcation explained above arguably led to and are examples of influences of the Rwandan genocide outside of Rwanda itself. It was argued by Fanon (1994), an influential postcolonial theorist, that colonialism and European rule created barbarianism in the lands in which they occupied by generating hatred and constructing hierarchies between groups, of which whom prior to colonialism conflict of this nature may not have occurred. Furthermore, the demarcations created by colonial rule in Rwanda between the Hutu and the Tutsi and 'patterns of dominance' (Mason, 1970: 15) were then reversed during the social revolution and Rwandan independence, a time in which the Hutu majority became the dominant political and social group. The Rwandan independence and election of a Hutu Prime Minister left the Tutsis as a targeted minority, forcing them to flee and resulting in the formation of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Early 1990 was characterised by civil war and the invasion of Rwanda by the RPF. This strengthened the Hutu hardliners' hatred of the Tutsi community in Rwanda and they were seen as the enemy. The preceding paragraphs have attempted to argue that colonial processes of racial demarcation acted as an influence to the Rwandan genocide outside of Rwanda itself. As argued by Mamdani (2001:15):

> I argue that the Rwandan genocide needs 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. Whereas the former was obviously despicable, the latter was not

The failure of international intervention could also be argued to illustrate an influence of the Rwandan genocide outside of Rwanda itself. The political vacuum surrounding the Rwandan genocide depicts a mirage of international influences, policies, legalities and treaties that were all arguably related to and involved in the genocide to some degree. As argued by Prunier (2009: 29):

> ...the international community considered the Rwandan genocide with a mixture of shock and indifference. Some, including intellectuals and those politically aware were shocked at the violation of the promise of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention of Genocide. However, to some, Rwanda was an unimportant country with no economic interests involved.

It was also further commented that 'the US has no friends. It has interests, but none in Rwanda. Therefore there is no incentive' (Anthony Lake, National Security Advisory, *Ghosts of Rwandan*, 2014).

It has been argued by many scholars that the Rwandan genocide could have been prevented by international intervention and that inaction was a key influence in the atrocity. In 1993, the moderate Hutu President signed a Peace Treaty, and as a reward, UN Peacekeepers were deployed to Rwanda as a form of 'referee'. Major-General Dallaire flew to Rwanda and began to establish a United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) headquarters in Kigali. The peacekeeping mission:

> ...was intended to be small, it had the weakest mandate and it was to run on a shoe-string. The persuading arguments had been that this was traditional peacekeeping and that the two most important ingredients were present – a ceasefire and a peace agreement (Melvern, 2004: 71).

In early January 1994, Dallaire had received information from a trusted informant that Hutu hardliners were training and recruiting new members of the Interhamwe and had weapon holds in many locations (Straus, 2006; Melvern, 2004). However, when Dallaire sent a fax to the UN headquarters in New York, he did not receive the response he was hoping for. 'Many observers malign the United Nations for failing to act decisively when Romeo Dallaire cabled to UN headquarters... to say that he had evidence that hardliners were training militias to kill Tutsi civilians' and that he was planning on raiding weapons holding places, 'officials at UN headquarters...opposed the plan, telling Dallaire instead to inform President Habyarimana' (Straus, 2006: 240). This was arguably a recommendation that failed to take into account the relationship between the president and the militia. The UN Security Council 'voted to reduce Dallaire's already small force by 90 percent' (Shiffman, 2008). In the knowledge of the massacre, on April 7, Belgium and the US had decided to withdraw, but with this, the decision to send more troops with the purpose of evacuating Western civilians in Rwanda was also determined. In an article titled, *When the massacres started, UN troops saved white people*, it was reported that:

> ...when UN troops arrived in their trucks to rescue and evacuate white civilians, groups of Tutsis clung to their vehicles and begged them not to leave them. Just hours

after the UN troops abandoned them, 2000 Tutsis were murdered (McGreal, *The Guardian*, 1999).

This harrowing chain of events was further cited by a UN Embassy employee; 'I felt so awful that I hid people [Rwandans] on the convoy'(*Ghosts of Rwanda,* 2014). Although this essay does not have room to extensively argue the extent to which the UN was or was not a stabilising influence between the RPF and Hutu hardliners, scholars such as Straus (2006: 241) have argued that international intervention could have prevented mass violence because it would have 'strengthened the hand of moderates who sought to prevent mass violence', balancing power, and would have 'short-circuited some of the dynamics driving the violence', calming the chaotic situation and reducing fears of insecurity, anxiety and the politically fuelled, temporary racial/ethnic hatred towards the Tutsis by the Hutus. This mission was discussed just two days after the deaths of US soldiers in Mogadishu, Somalia. The battle of Mogadishu arguably proved to display the catastrophic mixture of partnering force with peacekeeping. President Bill Clinton had announced his commitment and faith in UN peacekeeping abilities, supported by the US ambassador to the UN, Madeline Albright. The failed mission was attributed to the UN's lack of clear, credible intelligence and the underestimation of the capability of the Somali fighters (Melvern, 2004). This disastrous event arguably came to be a detriment of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda, hence the less-than-efficient mandate and powers of the UNAMIR. The reluctance of the UN and the US Security Council to assist Dallaire in Rwanda, despite his intelligence that Hutu hardliners were training more people in the Interhamwe and preparing for mass genocide, could be argued to be partly explained by the failed mission in Mogadishu. It is possible to argue that this was yet another example of an influence of the Rwandan genocide outside of Rwanda itself.

Lastly, it is important to mention the role of terminology and definitions in the failure of international intervention in the Rwandan genocide, and the process by which we come to contextualise and understand the components and outside influences of this 'event'. In *The Culture of Denial*, Cohen (2001: X) contends that 'the US government spokesman was instructed to 'not describe the deaths there as genocide, even though some senior officials believe it is exactly what they represent'. The State Department Police was to use the term 'genocidal incidents' or 'events'' Furthermore, it was reported that 'international leaders did not use the word "genocide", as if avoiding the term could eliminate the obligation to confront the crime' (Human Rights Watch, 1999). This raises many questions regarding the motives behind this change in description and the political and international responsibility attached to terms such as 'genocide'.

Furthermore, it could be argued that the very definition of the term 'genocide' prohibits us from understanding the historical, political and social contexts and components that are paramount to the comprehension and explanation of genocides. After the Holocaust, the UN defined genocide in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) as, 'any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group' (United Nations, Human Rights, Office of the Higher Commission, 1948). It could be argued that this definition is deterministic. In context of the Rwandan genocide, this definition arguably makes it impossible to understand the massacre of the Tutsi population by the Hutus as anything other than an evil, racially motivated attack with no immediate historical or political explanation. The aim of this essay has been to argue that this genocide was caused by factors outside of Rwanda itself; however this definition of genocide fails to comply or allow for that explanation.

In conclusion, this essay has argued that colonial ideologies of racial demarcation and the failure of the international community to intervene acted as influences to the 1994 Rwandan genocide outside of Rwanda itself. European pathologies of natural, racial-biological and ethnic hierarchies embedded and infiltrated in Rwanda as apparatus for colonial rule prevailed despite Rwandan independence. The hatred built throughout Belgian colonial rule arguably had long-lasting, detrimental effects on the relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi populations of Rwanda and could be contended to have been a huge influence on the slaughter of the Tutsi community by the Hutus. It was also argued that despite the opportunity for international intervention and the de-escalation of the foreseen genocide, UN members and the Security Council decided to instead withdraw troops and evacuate western civilians from Rwanda. This failure of intervention has been argued by many scholars to have also been a major influence of the Rwandan genocide outside of Rwanda itself (Straus, 2006; Melvern, 2004). Further, it was suggested that the terminology and use of the word 'genocide' carries political luggage and responsibility, and the definition of the term prohibits the contextual and historical understanding of the Rwandan genocide.

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Why have criminologists been relatively silent about crimes of states?

Charlotte Wilkins

This essay will critically examine the many factors which have contributed to the relative silence of criminologists about state crimes. Firstly, the difficulties surrounding defining the crimes of states in terms of legality versus morality will be discussed with reference to academic sources. Following this, the Rwandan genocide and recent examples of overt torture will briefly be explained in order to stress the importance of addressing state crimes within future criminology. Contemporary examples of crimes of states will also be discussed in an attempt to emphasise that state crime is still occurring worldwide today. Explanations as to how the states justify, neutralise and normalise their acts as legitimate will then be addressed in an attempt to illustrate the power of state authority in hiding the reality of state crime. Additional factors influencing the silence of state crime by criminologists will then be analysed, focusing on the notion that criminology is a state-bound discipline (Garland, 2010), meaning state entities are apprehensive to fund the research of state crime. The inability to access concealed data about state crime is also considered as a further element for the relative silence of criminologists about crimes of states, due to the methodological complications of validity, credibility and representativeness. However, in spite of these issues, recognition of a significant increase in recent studies in the 21st century regarding state crime will lastly be acknowledged as a consequence of the globalisation process.

As Rothe and Friedrichs (2006) note, criminologists have failed to pay sufficient attention to crimes committed by the state, in spite of the fact that these types of crime are more harmful to a wider number of people than the street crimes criminologists can be seen to have predominantly focused their research and theory upon. Criminology's traditional and persistent bias in favour of focusing on crimes committed by the powerless, as opposed to the powerful, has been criticised by Fattah (1997) by highlighting that criminology focuses 'on crime by individuals, not crime by governments and corporations' (Fattah, 1997: 67). As one of the most devastating and costly types of crime, state crime would seem an appropriate topic to appear in most of the leading introductory text-books on criminology. However, Rothe and Ross (2008) discovered that of the eight leading criminology textbooks dated 2004 or later, only one presented relevant acts as state crimes. Of the remaining seven books studied, three failed to mention state crime in any sense, two briefly mentioned the subject in relation to state-sponsored terrorism and two mentioned state crimes in connection with occupational crimes (Rothe and Ross, 2008). This therefore confirms that state crime remains a highly marginalised theme within criminology, perhaps due to the controversy surrounding the concept of state crime.

Previous to the creation of William Chambliss' (1989) academic term in the late twentieth century, there was a lack of concise clarifications surrounding state crime. This absence of terminology can be seen to have been a contributing factor to the silence of state crime within criminology as there was a lack of universal understanding of the topic, making scholars apprehensive to approach the subject. This is because it can be a daunting process to tackle the apparent conceptual, definitional and methodological issues in the realm of state crime (Friedrichs, 1998); issues of which this essay will explore throughout. However,

after the introduction of various definitions and propositions from critical criminologists, little progress has been made in analysing state crimes nearly thirty years later. This therefore indicates that additional factors have contributed to the silence of state crimes within criminology as a scarcity of literature on the topic remains evident today.

Nevertheless, the concept of state organised crime was introduced by Chambliss (1989: 184) to cover any 'acts defined by law as criminal and committed by state officials in the pursuit of their jobs as representatives of state'. However, defining state crime as a phenomenon has been a problematic process due to the varying viewpoints of criminologists. For example, the concept of criminality within this initial definition, and subsequent definitions, has raised disputes amongst scholars as the state is responsible for determining what is considered criminal. Many therefore argue that governments do not commit crimes and are not criminally liable because the criminal law is directed by states themselves and does therefore not recognise themselves as criminal actors. To illustrate, if states define what is criminal, a state can only be criminal on those occasions when it denounces itself for breaking its own laws (Green and Ward, 2004). Understandably, most states therefore choose not to expose their offences for investigation and punishment. It is for this reason that crimes of states are so important to study as it undermines the system of justice.

As an alternative, Cohen (1990:104) proposes that states can only commit 'noncriminal deviance'. This implies that states may commit undesirable behaviours, yet they cannot be referred to as criminal unless they violate their own laws (Sharkansky, 1995). As a result, the majority of these evil activities committed by states continue to occur invisibly as they fail to be named a crime. Thus, crimes of the state can be interpreted to refer to the crimes that states dare not name (Watts et al, 2008), such as war and invasion, torture, colonialism, genocide, mass rape and sexual violence in conflicts. This ability of powerful states to avoid criminal labels and sanctions, combined with their power to criminalise the actions of others, is therefore a further contributing factor to the silence of crimes of states by criminologists.

In an attempt to overcome the criticisms of basing the definition of state crime on legal grounds, present authors adopted a differing standpoint and responded by basing the definition of state crime on the underlying purpose of human rights. This newer approach is often referred to as 'transgressive criminology' as it transgresses beyond the traditional boundaries of criminology. The Schwendingers' (1975) were one of the first to highlight the importance of basing the definition of state crime on moral grounds as opposed to legal grounds. Green and Ward (2004: 2) then went on to create a more comprehensive definition of present-day state crime as 'state organisational deviance involving the violation of human rights'. This advanced definition excludes reference to criminality, thus avoiding scrutiny surrounding legal issues, and acknowledges human rights violations. As a result, the inclusion of deviance in replacement of crime within the definition allows for a much larger range as to what can be labelled as state crime. For example, the Chinese famine of 1959-61, in which an estimated 30 million people died, could have been treated as a state crime under Green and Ward's (2004) human rights definition as victims experienced state incompetence, deception and extreme economic exploitation. Likewise, further acts of state-induced famine (De Waal, 1997), the denial of basic welfare services as a result of corruption (Ruggiero, 1994) and other denials of basic welfare rights can also be included within the extensive category of state crimes.

Moreover, Green and Ward's (2004) contemporary definition also excludes acts that benefit individuals by solely focusing on offences perpetrated by or on behalf of the state. Most contemporary analysts therefore favour this perspective as it focuses on wrongful acts committed to serve the organizational interests as opposed to serving the organisational interests of the perpetrator (Chambliss et al, 2010: 13). However, the inability to identify individual criminal responsibility of state crime can therefore be seen as problematic as it is a highly complex issue to charge a large organisation, as opposed to a single actor, in a court of law. The Schwendingers' (1975) therefore suggest that state crime is just an expanded notion of white-collar crime, meaning individual actors can be found responsible for state crime, and that cases of economic exploitation are equal to cases of genocide. This contentious proposition has faced criticism as it is evident that 'by any known criteria, genocide is more self-evidently criminal than economic exploitation' (Cohen, 1993: 98). For example, this is reflective of the recognition of genocide as an independent crime in 1948 under the Genocide Convention (United Nations, 2018).

However, in spite of this early international criminalisation of genocide, as many as 22 million non-combatants have been killed in nearly 50 genocides since 1945 (Harff, 2003). For example, the Rwandan Genocide can be used as an illustration of the severity of harm caused by states. In 1994, 800,000 people were murdered in appalling circumstances by an extremist Hutu regime that had planned to eliminate the Tutsi because of the disproportionate distinctions between social status and occupation (Kroslak, 2007). The slaughtering was performed by soldiers, police and Hutu civilians as a result of the political elite encouraging anti-Tutsi propaganda, particularly through the mass media. In fact, approximately 10% of the overall violence performed can be attributed to a radio station that was controlled by key ethnic Hutu members of the government to spread the elite ideology (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014). This therefore raises questions as to why criminologists have remained silent about crime committed by states in spite of their destructive and large-scale impact. Furthermore, during the end of the twentieth century, overt torture was notoriously used in many different countries, including Chile, Uruguay and Argentina, in spite of the universal condemnation of torture. The creation of international laws surrounding these issues can therefore be seen to have failed as many cases of state crimes continue to occur and are ignored by the public because states have the capacity and power to declare their actions as legitimate (Watts, 2016).

Furthermore, torture and additional state crimes have continued to be inflicted upon victims around the world in the twenty-first century today. For example, major conflicts continue to occur in Afghanistan and Iraq due to the "war on terror". These wars should be treated as state crimes as they violate both international laws and human rights, meaning these wars are illegal and immoral (Mandel, 2002; Kramer and Michalowski, 2005). However, they remain overlooked. Likewise, human-rights related concerns have been addressed regarding the treatment, arresting and detainment of people in prisons such as 'Abu Ghraib and the American detention facility at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba' (Newburn, 2013: 734). Despite awareness of these highly-publicised detention camps, little action has been taken to review and abolish the use of these immoral prisons. Similarly, since the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York, the Bush presidency has created and published legal arguments to justify the use of torture against terrorist suspects (Watts, 2016). These wrongdoings therefore frequently go unnoticed and unquestioned by the public as states have the power to justify their crimes as acceptable.

For example, Cohen (1993) looks at the ways in which states legitimate crimes and suggests three ways in which democratic states deny human rights violations and portray

their crimes as justifiable through spirals of denial. Firstly, states frequently try an "it didn't happen" approach in order to block any kind of interrogation about the events. This can be seen to have been done by the Turkish state with respect to its total denial of the Armenian genocide (Hovanissian, 1986). These attempts to silence their critics are often successful until the media uncover evidence that proves it did happen. Once exposed, the state then admits to it happening but explains it is not what it looks to be but really something else, such as self-defence. When their actions remain challenged, states then go on to explain that even if it is what you say it is, it is justified, by either protecting national security or as part of the war against terrorism (Cohen, 1993). Cohen therefore provides an appropriate explanation for the denial process of states as his proposition also indicates that people are aware of these evil activities, yet little is done to prevent them from occurring again. This may be due to a sense of diffused responsibility, meaning that everybody believes that somebody else should take action about the problem rather than acting themselves, consequently resulting in no action by anybody (Cohen, 1993).

The work of Sykes and Matza (1957) can therefore be used to explain why this is the case as their techniques of neutralisation allow states to mask their actions as something less harmful and damaging. Their techniques do not seek to deny that the event has occurred, but rather to impose a different construction of that event. Their five neutralisation techniques include the denial of responsibility, the denial of injury, the denial of the victim, the condemnation of the condemners and the appeal to higher loyalties (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 284). States therefore use these techniques, alongside resources of the law, the criminal justice system and public opinion through the mass media, to 'render both normal and acceptable conduct that is criminal' (Watts et al, 2008: 213). As a result, both criminologists and the public continue to overlook and ignore state crime as many cases are reconstructed, justified and normalised by states. This therefore raises questions as to how such abuses can be made known when there is so much investment in keeping them hidden.

In addition to the fact that state crime is a marginalised topic within criminology as a result of states holding enough power to justify and normalise their acts, there are many other reasons as to why criminologists have remained silent about state crime. Foremost, since the inception of criminology, the discipline has served as an extension of state power (Chambliss et al, 2010). For example, Garland (2010) recognised that criminology is a state-bound discipline, meaning criminology is inward looking and works as an agent of the state. Essentially, criminologists are therefore working in partnership with the state by helping to identify patterns of crime by which their governments define legally as criminal. As a result, criminology is largely funded by the state, meaning it never seeks to truly critique the state as it would lose its financial support; many would view this prospect as 'biting the hand that you hope will feed you' (Friedrichs, 1998: xv). Correspondingly, states are unlikely to fund the research of criminologists that wish to delve into the crimes of states as the state would ultimately be encouraging self-exposure. As a result, few criminologists have explored crimes of states as it is difficult to obtain research funding for state crime from state entities.

Similarly, criminologists of this field have also faced challenges in obtaining access to research venues and credible data (Friedrichs, 1998). A lack of official documents and data regarding state crime makes it increasingly difficult for criminologists to publish valid research. The credibility of their work is subsequently questioned, suggesting criminologists are forced to remain as theorists as opposed to helping supply policymakers with evidence-based solutions. This lack of published data and lack of funding by the state

both have a vested interested in protecting the reputation of the state, therefore helping to explain why criminologists have remained relatively silent about crimes of states until the 21st century.

However, with the recent rise in social media usage in contemporary society, state crimes may become increasingly difficult to hide and justify, meaning spirals of denial may become progressively difficult to maintain (Carrabine et al, 2014). For example, people are now reporting first hand incidents on the internet, sparking international interest rapidly. Camera phones can ultimately 'transform citizens into journalists' (Carrabine et al, 2014), therefore unravelling information about state activities that may have previously been neutralised and covered-up. Our multi-mediated world can therefore be interpreted as one of the major reasons for the increasing attention within the last decade placed upon state crime in criminology.

Likewise, the growing criminological attention to crimes of states can also be seen to have occurred as a consequence of globalisation. For example, it is apparent that state crime is experiencing a period of rapid change as a result of globalisation reshaping the underworld (Galeotti, 2005). A combination of technological advancements and social change is therefore creating new, flexible networks of criminal entrepreneurs that have access to more harmful weapons, such as advanced aircrafts and bombs. Due to these increasingly dangerous progressions of crimes by states, criminologists have recognised that attention to state crime is imperative in these times (Chambliss et al, 2010). While it is encouraging that there is a growing global awareness that state crime is potentially a national security issue, the field needs to be explored further by criminologists in order to disclose the hidden truth with regard to crimes of states.

To conclude, criminologists have remained relatively silent about crimes of states because of conceptual, visibility and methodological issues. The ignorance of the crimes of states has been influenced by the difficulty to identify state acts as criminal due to the fact that states are responsible for creating and implementing criminal law, meaning they can subsequently inflict massive harm yet hold enough power to conceal their crimes and evade punishment. The power of the state has also allowed them to modify, justify and normalise their acts as legitimate by using a selection of neutralisation techniques. These issues, in conjunction with the practicality difficulties of a lack of funding and the need to access concealed data, have consequently led to a lack of attention given to state crime by criminologists. However, Barak (2011) has recently acknowledged that a 'specialty area of state crime has achieved a small place at the criminological table' (Barak, 2011: 36) as a result of the ongoing process of globalisation and an increase in social media usage shedding light onto the severity of state crime. Nevertheless, in order to progress further with a criminology of state criminality, criminologists should attempt to move beyond the one-dimensional media portrayals and political discourse associated with the selectively chosen crimes by the state in order to uncover the reality of state crime.

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Current concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system show that little has changed from previous times in US society when whites took the law into their own hands. Discuss.

Joe Young

On the 1st of January 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation changed the federal legal status of more than 3 million enslaved people in the United States of America. Whilst this executive order, issued by Abraham Lincoln, effectively brought about the end of slavery, it did not bring about a change in race relations in many areas of the country. The attitudes of white, confederate supporting, Americans, towards African-Americans, did not change instantaneously. This essay will discuss whether the current concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system show that little has changed from the previous times in US society when whites took the law into their own hands.

The essay will begin by discussing current concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system. One of the key concerns for African-Americans is that they feel it necessary to '*not act criminal'*, as highlighted by Carbado and Gulati in their work *Acting White?* who write that:

> On the streets, every day, African Americans feel pressured to work their identities to reduce the likelihood that they will be involved in interactions with the police. Functioning as coping mechanisms, these performances are intended to signal racial respectability ("I am a good black"), law abidingness ("Therefore I am not a criminal") and racial obedience ("so tell me what I must do to prove this to you"). (Carbado & Gulati, 2013:96)

This is, naturally, a concern because, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 'Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence'. (UN General Assembly, 1948). However, the need felt by African-Americans to act innocent, even in innocent situations, is in stark contrast to this.

This is an example of how little has changed from previous times in US society. McNeil states that:

> No less urgent than now, one of the human rights and racial justice issues in the post-emancipation era was how extra-legal and racially motivated violence, the criminal justice system, and incarceration were used as weapons by whites in power to oppress, repress, disfranchise, devalue, dehumanize, and prevent African Americans from exercising their citizenship rights and pursuing self-determination. Then, as now, many African American activists identified these practices as a major social problem (McNeil, 2011:372).

McNeil highlights how the criminal justice system was used by whites as a weapon of oppression, when they would take the law, regarding African-Americans, into their own hands. African-Americans in the modern day USA still fear that this could be a reality, and

this helps to explain the point that Carbado and Gulati make about the need to act innocent. This adds weight to the argument that current concerns over the treatment of African Americans in the criminal justice system show that little has changed

Another example, is the unlawful killing of African-Americans. In 1873 in Colfax, Louisiana, over 150 African-Americans were unlawfully murdered by white southern democrats. Unhappy with the result of an 1872 election, the white men overpowered the freedmen, before unlawfully imprisoning them for several hours and then killing them. The perpetrators of this attack were brought to trial before being released. None of the perpetrators were prosecuted. Du Bois described crime as 'a phenomenon of organized social life, and is the open rebellion of an individual against his social environment' *(1899:235)*. What this highlights is that white Americans were unhappy with the change in racial policy in the mid-nineteenth century, and that they then took the law into their own hands, in the knowledge that they would not be prosecuted for their actions.

This is much like the unlawful killings of African Americans in the United States today. On the 27th of September 2016, Alfred Olango was shot by police officers who were responding to a call for emergency psychiatric aid. Olango was unarmed and had nothing on him but an e-cigarette. The San Diego district attorney ruled that the officers' actions were reasonable and that they would not face criminal charges. This and the Colfax massacre, whilst 143 years apart, bare striking resemblances. African-Americans murdered by white Americans who had taken the law into their own hands. The only difference being that 2016 incident was perpetrated by officers of the law. If you were to consider both of these events it would be fair to state that little has changed from previous times

The overrepresentation of African-Americans in the prison system in the United States is a problem in modern society. Some research has suggested that when African-American males begin education, their path is altered by situational variables. According to Darensbourg, Blake and Perez:

> These situational variables include experiencing harsher discipline practices, being taught by unprepared teachers, being referred for special education and a feeling of detachment from school. The combination of these factors within the education system have be purported to contribute to the overrepresentation of African-American males in prison (Darensbourg, Blake and Perez, 2010:197).

This is one explanation for the overrepresentation of African-American males in prison, which leads onto Childs' work, *Slaves of the State.* Childs writes about the over-representation of African-American males in prisons in the United States and discusses how this is an inherent problem and can act as an example of how little has changed regarding current concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system in comparison to previous times in US society.

Childs specifically mentions the Louisiana State Penitentiary, which was built on the property which was formally known as the Angola Plantations. Slaves used to be put to work to pick cotton on these plantations, and, after the emancipation proclamation, the land owner, Samuel Lawrence James, began to put African-American convicts to work on the plantations. The state implemented laws in the late 1800's directed at African-Americans, such as fines and fees for even the most minor infractions. African-American men who were part of the agricultural community would have been cash poor and wouldn't have been able to pay these fines so would have therefore been forced into jail and then into convict labour for James. Childs wrote in his work, *Slaves of the State,* of a

time he was driving towards Louisiana state penitentiary and reminded himself of the fact that:

> I could be driving toward more than five thousand bodies warehoused on an undead slave plantation – even if that mass captivity was performed under the national racialised and narcoticizing discourses of "corrections" and "public safety" and state sanctioned retribution (Childs, 2015:96).

What this tells us is that incarcerated African-Americans are being put to work in exactly the same places that they were previously, as slaves. Whilst, as Childs points, out the work and the incarceration in this modern-day example are state sanctioned, it still demonstrates that not much has changed regarding current concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system.

In the United States there is a racial bias regarding the application of the death penalty. In the 2013 work *Devaluing Death,* Levinson, Young and Smith undertook an empirical study in order to test the effects of implicit racial bias on the death penalty. The results that they found were that:

> ...jury eligible citizens harbored the two different kinds of implicit racial bias we tested: implicit racial stereotypes about Blacks and Whites generally, as well as implicit associations between race and the value of life. We also found that death qualified jurors, those that expressed a willingness to consider imposing both a life sentence and a death sentence, harbored stronger implicit and self-reported (explicit) racial biases than excluded jurors (Levinson, Young & Smith, 2013:1).

Their results showed that the human brain may unwittingly contribute biases to seemingly neutral concepts, in this case the death penalty. Therefore, it could be said that a black defendant has a higher chance of receiving the death penalty than a white defendant. This is a major concern regarding the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system and again goes to prove that little has changed

The research undertaken proves this because it shows that members of the American public may be more inclined to give an African-American individual a death sentence than a white individual, and this strikes direct comparison to the kangaroo courts set up after the abolishment of slavery and the emancipation proclamation. In the book *Devour Us Not,* there is a description of these events which states that:

> When the trial was concluded twelve of the indicters received a death sentence and about fifty-four other negroes received penitentiary sentences. During the kangaroo courts in which no whites were on trial for murder, no negroes in the jury, no venue of change, no defense witness were called and each trial for the sixty-six negroes which lasted 5-10 minutes each was a major blow to justice everywhere (Powers, 2013:41).

Whilst the modern example given in the previous paragraph is one from a more legitimate legal standpoint as opposed to a kangaroo court, what is clear is that little has changed. Through this we can see that racial biases that stem from decisions like the ones taken in these kangaroo courts still affect the way that American society thinks regarding race.

Another example of how little has changed in US society regarding African-Americans in the criminal justice system is the rights afforded to African-Americans, specifically those with a criminal record. In the book, *The New Jim Crow,* Alexander writes that, 'Today a criminal freed from prison has scarcely more rights, and arguably less respect, than a freed slave or a black person living "free" in Mississippi at the height of Jim Crow (Alexander, 2010:141). Alexander goes on to write about how 'Lynch mobs may be long gone, but the threat of police violence is ever present' (Alexander, 2010:141). This coincides with what Frederick Douglass said when he delivered a statement on behalf of delegates to the National Colored Convention in 1953. He said that:

> A heavy and cruel hand has been laid upon us. As a people, we feel ourselves to be not only deeply injured, but grossly misunderstood. Our white countrymen do not know us. They are strangers to our character, ignorant of our capacity, oblivious to our history and progress, and are misinformed as to the principles and ideas that control and guide us as a people. The great mass of American citizens estimates us as being a characterless and purposeless people; and hence we hold our heads up, if at all, against the withering influence of a nation's scorn and contempt (Douglass, 1853).

What this shows us is that concerns regarding African-Americans in the criminal justice system have not changed since previous times in US society, because African-Americans are still made to feel exactly the same, and that is excluded by white Americans. In modern society, the African-American criminal gets treated in a similar way to any African-American did during Jim Crow. During Jim Crow US society thought of this as acceptable because, as Douglass stated, 'our white countrymen do not know us'. Society now treats African-American reformed criminals the same way and it could be argued that the same applies to this situation, 'our white countrymen do not know us'.

However, it must be said that regarding concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system, there has been some change from previous times in US society One of these changes is the number of African-Americans in positions of legal power within the criminal justice system, whether this be Deborah A. Batts, who became the United States first openly LGBT African-American federal judge *(National Black Justice Coalition, 2009)*, or Tom Colbert, who was the first African-American Justice on the Oklahoma Supreme Court. These are examples of positions of legal power that in previous times in US society would have been unattainable for African-Americans.

It could be argued that whilst there have been changes in the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system, these changes are just the introduction of fundamental human rights, for example, the right to a full trial by a jury of your peers. In order to really discuss the essay statement, it would be incorrect to attempt to just evenly balance the argument with such trivial statements, such as saying that concerns for African-Americans in the criminal justice system show that much has changed from previous times in US society because African-Americans are afforded the rights of every other American citizen, 150 years after Lincoln issued that exact executive order. Loury writes that:

> Slavery ended a long time ago, but the institution of chattel slavery and the ideology of racial subordination that accompanied it have cast a long shadow. I speak here of lynching throughout the country; the racially biased policing and judging in the South under Jim Crow and in the cities of the Northeast, Midwest and West to which blacks migrated after the First and Second World Wars (2008:12).

This highlights how, although some changes have been made in US society, slavery has had a long-lasting impact on the views of race in the United States. To conclude this essay, the current concerns over the treatment of African-Americans in the criminal justice system *do* show that little has changed from previous. Whilst there have been changes, things like the disproportionate number of incarcerated African-Americans in the United States or the use of land that was once a slavery plantation as a modern day penitentiary where African-Americans have to complete manual labour, show that little has changed and that society in the United States still has a long way to go before it can be said that much has changed since times in society when whites took the law into their own hands.

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