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Voluntourism: A New Sustainable Tourism Model?
By: Nathaniel Katz

Since the 1990s, as individuals recognized the potential consequences of mass tourism,
a niche market of tourism, focused on ethics and sustainability has grown. Volunteer tourism, or '*voluntourism'* is one such form of alternative tourism, and involves individuals travelling to foreign regions to engage in volunteer work, ranging from building houses to conducting wildlife research, as tourists. Although most voluntourism programs require individuals to pay to travel, others do not and may even pay skilled individuals to attend (Guttentag 2009). The ease of international travel and a cosmopolitan value of 'global citizenry' have led to voluntourism becoming a dominant form of niche travel and leisure. Individuals engage in volunteer programs, typically in the Global South, impoverished regions of the developing world, out of a desire to do good, help others, learn, and grow as a person. Sustainable long-term travel volunteer activities engaged in by experts and qualified individuals, such as medical doctors and professional teachers, tend to be beneficial for local host regions. In contrast, short-term voluntourism for unskilled young adults can do more harm than good: These programs neglect the interests and needs of local communities, lack awareness of local cultures and lifestyles, and harm local economies by increasing reliance on free-labour, thereby perpetuating inequal neo-colonial beliefs and power dynamics. This essay will (1) provide an overview of the emergence and forms of voluntourism; (2) describe the benefits of voluntourism trips; (3) illustrate the potential negative consequences of short trips taken by unskilled volunteers; (4) connect the consequences to larger issues of neocolonialism; and (5) suggest alternatives to voluntourism.

EMERGENCE AND FORMS OF VOLUNTOURISM

Although missionary and humanitarian work has existed for hundreds of years, the increased presence of globalization in the late 20th century has led to the emergence of the "global citizen", an individual who understands their life to be linked to a wider globalized world, values diversity, is outraged by social injustice, and is willing to take action on the local and global levels to make the world more equitable and sustainable for all (Davies 2006). In the 1990s, belief in the value of global citizenship, held particularly by young individuals in metropolises in the West, led to an increased interest in travelling in a sustainable and altruistic way, including by engaging in volunteer work abroad (Callanan and Thomas 2005).
The presence of neoliberalism, a form of governance based on free markets and deregulation, has led to a decreased emphasis on values of global inclusivity and social support and a greater focus on individual competition (Quiggin 2005). Despite this, the deregulation central to neoliberalism has also allowed for advances in the opening of borders and markets, increasing the ease of travel, and permitting more individuals to engage in volunteer work abroad (Quiggin 2005). On average, approximately 1.6 million individuals participate in voluntourism each year, and more than 1,000 voluntourism programs are offered around the world, run by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), charities, and for-profit tourism companies (Henderson and Presley 2003; Callanan and Thomas 2005). The neoliberal competition between volunteer programs to attract customers means that programs go out of their way to ensure that volunteers are well-

taken care of and have an enjoyable time travelling (Henderson and Presley 2003). Many programs provide flights tickets, travel to destinations, and accommodations, making it easy for individuals to engage in voluntourism (GVI 2020). Most individuals who participate in voluntourism programs tend to be young adults from the middle-upper and upper socio-economic levels, who live in wealthy countries including Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. A large portion of participants attend voluntourism trips as a 'gap year' program, in between high-school and university or after completing university and before entering the labour-market (Lyons et al. 2012).

Callanan and Thomas (2005) classify volunteer activities as 'shallow', 'deep', and 'intermediate'. They propose that the duration of a trip, extent of volunteer involvement, skills and qualifications required, and altruistic contribution to local communities determine a trip's 'effectiveness'. Shallow trips are those which require little-to-no qualifications related to the project, last less than one month, and are generally engaged in by young adults who mainly seek self-development, academic credit, and competitive neoliberal career- and "ego-enhancement" (Callanan and Thomas 2005:196). This form of voluntourism will be the main focus of the essay. Intermediate trips typically last between two and four months, require some qualifications, and contribute to a local community while also allowing for participants to explore, learn, and enjoy their destination. Deep trips require specific qualifications related to the project, generally last more than six months and focus on altruism and having a direct impact on a community, ranking participant self-interest less important (Callanan and Thomas 2005).

BENEFITS OF VOLUNTOURISM TRIPS

'Shallow' voluntourism programs help local communities generate revenue and promote cross-cultural 'understandings' between wealthy Global North tourists and poor Global South locals. According to Hernandez-Maskivker, Lapointe, and Aquino (2018), voluntourism allows for a more "direct injection of revenue into local communities" compared to traditional mass tourism, since volunteers typically reside and work in communities outside of traditional mass tourist hubs (651). Although most volunteer organizations are not based in local communities, and often not located in the Global South, these organizations must pay locals to shelter, transport, and care for volunteer tourists during their stay (Hernandez-Maskivker, Lapointe and Aquino 2018). Voluntourism trips help to promote "cross-cultural understanding" as volunteers have the opportunity to observe and connect with the customs and lifestyles of locals, and vice-versa (Park 2018:147). Park (2018) suggests that the development of cross-cultural understanding tends to be one of the most important outcomes of 'shallow' voluntourism programs.

Long-term 'deep' trips, and many 'intermediate' trips, can be especially beneficial for local communities as they provide access to skilled professionals, such as doctors, teachers and engineers, often otherwise inaccessible in resource-poor countries. In 2019, the NGO, Médecins Sans Frontières engaged approximately 65,000 medical personnel from around the world to provide humanitarian aid to conflict zones, communities experiencing high rates of disease, and locations of natural disasters primarily in the Global South (MSF 2020). The work that highly-skilled volunteers conduct is effective and essential to the survival of locals in impoverished regions, though these are not without criticism. Ahmed et al. (2017) suggest these programs

can be problematic if improperly planned. To ensure that long-term 'deep' programs are effective, greater emphasis must be placed on empowering local communities, understanding local cultures, and establishing long-term self-sustainable infrastructure (Ahmed et al. 2017).

POTENTIAL NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF 'SHALLOW' VOLUNTOURISM

For-profit organizations, as well as some NGOs and charities, tend to place the desires and needs of the volunteer participants ahead of those of the local communities they are supposedly helping. This is because by making tourism as enjoyable as possible for the volunteers, they can ensure a continuous flow of future participants who provide revenue for these organizations (Park 2018; Kahn 2014). Some organizations do not work in collaboration with host communities, may unwittingly overlook the needs of local residents, and in some cases, even work against the interests of local communities. Gray and Campbell (2007) examined a sea turtle conservation voluntourism program in Costa Rica that ignored and opposed interests of locals: The program organizers and volunteers intended to put an end to sea turtle poaching, believing that they were helping the locals and acting altruistically. However, the locals relied on the poaching of sea turtle for economic survival (Gray and Campbell 2007). Guttentag (2009) suggests that volunteer programs that do not work in collaboration with locals, push host communities to comply with what program organizers believe is right, ignoring the rights and values of the very communities they are intending to help. This is particularly evident in the interactions between individual volunteer tourists and locals, as volunteers often fail to understand the actual problems communities experience (Guttentag 2009).

Unskilled and untrained volunteer tourists lack awareness of local cultures, lifestyles, and are often unable to communicate with locals because they do not speak local languages (Guttentag 2009). According to Callanan and Thomas (2005), the overwhelming majority (76%) of 'community welfare' programs designed for unskilled short-term volunteers do not require volunteers to be able to speak the language of the citizens they are supposedly helping, questioning the impact that a volunteer can actually have. Guttentag (2009) suggests that unskilled volunteers may be more of a burden and impediment to work progress than they are a help: Volunteer tourists on research projects often collect data of poor quality, leading researchers to spend time correcting errors. Those volunteering on construction projects often build inadequate and structurally unsound housing (Guttentag 2009). Short-term unskilled volunteers in developing regions may be permitted to engage in work that would not be allowed in developed countries of the Global North. This includes work in hospitals and schools which can pose significant risk for patients, students, and communities (Guttentag 2009).

Peripheral regions in the Global South tend to have a surplus of unskilled labourers, making it especially problematic when unskilled foreign volunteers are allowed to engage in labour in local communities. According to van Engen (2000) "short-term mission groups almost always do work that could be done (and usually done better) by people of the country they visit" (21). When tourists are willing to work for free, they are more likely than locals to be engaged to work, thereby undercutting local competition and undermining local labour markets (Park 2018). As a result, in many communities

there has been a decrease in the demand for local paid labourers. Moreover, the presence of free foreign volunteer labour has created a cycle of dependency on volunteers from the Global North. This has had the effect of disrupting local economies and curtailing local self-sufficiency (Park 2018).

VOLUNTOURISM AS A REFLECTION OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Beginning in the 15th century, European powers, particularly the United Kingdom, France, and Spain, dominated weak countries around the world. They used these colonies to export raw materials and income and settled on land belonging to those they deemed "uncivilized" (Stanford Encyclopedia 2006). As colonies gained independence in the 19th and 20th centuries, the period of formal colonialism was replaced with a more subtle 'neo-colonialism' whereby instead of maintaining settlements on foreign land, powerful countries, including the United States began to extract resources and engage in economic exploitation for national gain abroad (Callinicos 2007). As mentioned earlier, the majority of individuals who engage in voluntourism projects come from powerful and wealthy countries in the Global North, and the majority of volunteer projects are located in impoverished periphery regions of the Global South. As a result, the relationship between volunteer tourists and locals in host communities reflect larger neo-colonial relationships present on the global scale (Abrash 2008).

Cultural ideologies of Euro-American social and ethnic superiority, which emerged through colonial discourse, persist in stereotypes held by voluntourism organizations and volunteer tourists. Promotional material for voluntourism trips tends to highlight the 'otherness' of locals, pointing to the "unbelievable poverty, disease, hunger" that volunteers will witness first-hand unlike anything they have seen before (Guttentag 2009:546). Likewise, volunteers tend to describe locals as "poor-but-happy", in justifying poverty by suggesting that locals are content with their socio-economic situation as they do not know otherwise (Guttentag 2009:546). Similar stereotypical discourses of cultural 'otherness' have existed on the large scale for several centuries in a trend known as Orientalism, illustrated by Edward Said (1978). According to Said (1978), individuals in powerful Western countries have "othered" the East, through art, literature, and discourse, romanticizing the cultures and lifestyles of those different from themselves.

As discussed earlier, volunteer organizations often coerce locals into agreeing with the Global North values and interests that volunteers hold, restricting local and regional 'sovereignty' (Park 2018). Sovereignty, the right of a people to govern themselves in a culturally appropriate manner, without the interference of foreign interest, has been similarly restricted on the global level economically, politically, and culturally since the start of the Colonial Period (Hardt and Negri 2000). Local groups around the world, such as the Amugme and Kamoro peoples of Papua, Indonesia, have had their basic human rights stripped away because powerful Global North countries and organizations have forced communities to give up their sovereignty and power (Abrash 2008). Additionally, the dependency of locals upon Global North volunteer tourists reflects dependencies periphery regions have had, and continue to have, on core regions as a result of colonial and neo-colonial conquest (Hardt and Negri 2000). Although volunteers tend to believe that they are acting in the interest of locals, the sovereignty of many local communities has been stripped away because of foreign

interest, perpetuating inequal neocolonial dependencies.

LOCAL SUPPORT FOR VOLUNTOURISM, ALTERNATIVES AND CONCLUSION

Locals in host regions support volunteers to varying degrees. The attitudes and perceptions of locals generally depend on how much they personally benefit or lose from the presence of volunteers, consistent with the Social Exchange Theory that proposes "people are positively disposed toward actions from which they benefit and negatively disposed toward actions from which they incur costs" (McGehee and Andereck 2009:41). McGehee and Andereck (2009) sampled the attitudes of residents of Tijuana, Mexico who had seen large numbers of volunteer tourists, and found that many locals supported the presence of volunteers. Since the communities generated revenue from housing volunteers, many locals personally benefited from the volunteers and may have been "unaware" of, or unwilling to notice, the potential negative impacts of voluntourism (48). Other residents sampled by McGehee and Andereck (2009), who did not personally benefit from voluntourism work, were unsupportive of volunteer tourists. Most communities have done little to stop the presence of volunteer tourists notwithstanding the finding that many locals do not support their presence. This is likely because the bulk of the income generated from voluntourism tends to flow to the local 'elites' who own hotels and hostels, sources of transportation, and restaurants. The elites generally have a greater say in local and regional political decisions than other local residents (McGehee and Andereck 2009). Participants in voluntourism programs have the greatest opportunity to make changes to the structure of these programs to better benefit the communities they are intending to help. While the majority of individuals who engage in voluntourism programs do so as young adults, were they to wait until they had gained greater skills and qualifications, to engage in longer term voluntourism programs, these individuals could enhance the positive, and reduce the negative, impacts on the local communities (Lyon et al. 2012). Impoverished regions lack skilled workers and continue to rely heavily on foreign humanitarian aid from doctors, engineers, and other professionals (Callanan and Thomas 2005). As a result, if a young adult's goal in engaging in voluntourism work is altruism, by waiting until they are older, more mature, and technically skilled, these individuals can have a significantly more impactful trip.

Other altruistic alternatives to engaging in short-term mainstream voluntourism trips include donating the money one would otherwise spend on the volunteer trip to local non-profit organizations in the Global South or volunteering in one's own community. However, as it is unrealistic to assume that an individual's sole intention in voluntourism is altruism, it is therefore unlikely that they would be willing to compromise their opportunity to be a volunteer tourist. Guttentag (2009) suggests that if an unskilled individual wants to engage in a short-term voluntourism trip, they should choose a program run by NGOs and charities, which are more likely to place the interests of communities above those of the volunteers, compared to for-profit tourism companies. As well, a potential volunteer tourist should ensure that the sending organization has communicated with locals, recognizes the real needs and interests of a community, and that the jobs to be done are appropriate for a volunteer and do not fall within the domain of paid work (Guttentag 2009).

Voluntourism has become an attractive alternative to mainstream mass tourism, and over the last three decades, has grown into a successful niche tourism industry. Individuals typically engage in voluntourism because of a desire to do good, help others, learn and grow. While long-term voluntourism programs, such as Médecins Sans Frontières, are essential for the survival of impoverished regions in the Global South, short-term programs designed for unskilled young adults can harm local communities, cultures, and economies, perpetuating neocolonial inequalities and ideologies. By recognizing the harm voluntourism can have on local host communities, potential volunteer tourists may be more likely to reconsider their decision to engage in these trips or to be more selective about the trips they do take.

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Deafness as Deviant: Exploring Social Stigmas Surrounding the Deaf Community

By: Madeleine Prins-Gervais

INTRODUCTION

Deviance can be understood in a myriad of ways, despite whether the 'deviant' individual has chosen to commit this deviant act and has therefore earned the label, or if this label has been ascribed based on an uncontrollable aspect of their physical appearance, body functions, or cognitive abilities. Disability has always been understood as a form of ascribed deviance, with numerable passages from ancient texts, such as the Bible, citing society's negative view of disabled individuals (for example, Deuteronomy 28:28-29 (NIV) states "the LORD will afflict you with madness, blindness and confusion of mind. At midday you will grope about like a blind person in the dark. You will be unsuccessful in everything you do; day after day you will be oppressed and robbed, with no one to rescue you)." Notable among deviantized disabilities is deafness, which continues to carry an immense stigma caused by a variety of factors.

Hearing loss affects an individual's daily life drastically, as hearing is a crucial aspect of communication within our society at large. For this reason, the Deaf have difficulties "relat[ing] to others, shar[ing] ideas, participat[ing] in activities, and experienc[ing] one's surroundings" as these activities "[depend] greatly on the capacity to hear" (Arlinger 2003 et al. as cited in Wallhagen 2009:66). Due to these difficulties, individuals from the deaf community fall victim to various forms of stigma, a term which refers to a negative response to any persevering trait of an individual or a group and can be understood as a universal phenomenon (Susman 1993:16). A stigmatized individual becomes

aware of society's view of their condition and must navigate their way through life while combatting negativity associated with being deaf. Throughout this review, I will provide the historical context and clarify the specific stigmas related to hearing loss, discuss the differing scholarly views of where these stigmatizing experiences take place and by whom, the differing views regarding the approach to tackle deafness stigmas, limitations to the study of deafness and its related stigma, and finally, future research to be done within this realm of study.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

To explore the relationship between deafness and stigma, it is first crucial to gain a basic understanding of the realities of deafness. Deafness has largely been seen as a damaging factor to one's being and a blemished characteristic in need of fixing, whereas others view deafness as "normal and natural" (Horejes 2009:43). Although optimistic, the latter view is much less common, with society commonly regarding the Deaf as "defective and less socially marketable than non-disabled persons" (Susman 1993:18). Interestingly, hearing loss / deafness is one of the most common chronic conditions experienced by older adults [sic], and is increasing in prevalence at younger ages; this being said, it is imperative that the stigma of deafness is addressed promptly (Wallhagen 2009:66). Deafness is a lifelong condition and thus, an individual's association with their deafness as a part of their identity greatly "defines their relationship to society" (Becker 1981:22).

The relation between deafness and stigma has an extensive history but cannot be universally applied to every deaf individual. A negative stigmatizing experience largely depends on how society reacts and treats those who are stigmatized, in which case individuals may experience "rejection, isolation, judgement, or discrimination" and even a diminishing of one's authority (Major et al. as cited in Wallhagen 2009:69, 71-2). In addition, the acceptance or rejection of the deviant label by the stigmatized individual connects directly to their level of stigmatization as this concept is socially constructed and only influential if the individual is personally affected by society's negative views. One defining reason for the emergence of a deafness stigma is the common 'outsider' discourse, where the "historical assessment of disability came almost exclusively from those outside of the disability community: educators, doctors, and policy makers" (Burch et al. 2006 as cited in Horejes 2009:48). Due to the historical outside flow of governing information, the deaf community was given the level of their ability from professionals who did not have any personal experience with this condition. Despite this reality, they continued to instruct the community on how they should feel and what they are able to accomplish, but more importantly, what would be impossible to achieve. For example, health professionals preformed hearing assessments sparingly throughout an individual's life which decreases the normalcy of hearing difficulty and increases the taboo of assistive listening devices. As a direct link, the Hearing Aid Effect was first quantified in 1977 "to describe the assignment of negative attributes to individuals using hearing aids" (Rauterkus and Palmer 2014:894). In addition, "only approximately 20% of persons who could benefit from amplification wear a hearing aid and take few advantages of other forms of assistive listening devices" (National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders 2009 as cited in Wallhagen 2009:66). Fortunately, the Hearing Aid Effect has diminished to a negligible level as

of 2013 however, the stigma towards the deaf community persists (ibid).
Stigma is an important underlying factor in the denial of hearing loss and rejection of hearing assessment and treatment, many feeling inferior. Deafness is considered an invisible disability as it only becomes noticeable when the individual tries to communicate. Attributable to communication difficulties, numerable deaf children are at risk of being identified as low functioning through the demotion of sign languages and promotion of oralism (Burch et al. 2006 as cited in Horejes 2009:26). Connecting to this idea, when an individual is ascribed a deviant label, they begin to be treated differently by society in order to closer correspond with their label.
Therefore, many deaf children attribute their low grades to stupidity rather than a communication disconnect and a lack of appropriate resources (Becker 1981:22). An interaction between a deaf and a hearing individual may be very ambiguous, especially within groups where this stigma is more apparent.

SUB-TOPIC 1: WITH WHOM IS THIS STIGMA MOST APPARENT?

Scholars have thoroughly debated which community or group imposes the greatest amount of stigma upon members of the deaf community, the most popular categories being self-stigmatization, the media, medical professionals, communication partners/family, the hearing community, the education system, and laws/policies. First off, Wallhagen (2009) states that deafness-related stigma is related to three interrelated experiences, self-perception, ageism, and vanity, which all lead to self-stigmatization. These three aspects extend from individual insecurities and are based on what they believe hearing individuals think of them, which may be founded in lived-experience or is simply assumed. An example of this (in connection specifically with vanity) would be the worry that they would be seen as abnormal and therefore less attractive through their use of hearing devices or American Sign Language (ASL) (Rauterkus and Palmer 2014:894). It is for this reason that many individuals experiencing hearing loss refuse to pursue hearing amplification devices due to a perceived stigma attached to the device. Murphy (1987) adds to this idea through the proposal that the Deaf go through the process of acquisition or creation of a completely new and undesirable identity that they are uncomfortable with but believe they must maintain to succeed in a hearing-dominated society (Susman 1993:20).
However, scholars have also proposed the media as being the predominant factor is stigma forming discourse against the deaf community. Rauterkus and Palmer (2014) explored the history of hearing aid advertisements which "emphasize their small nature, minimal visibility, and cosmetic appearance, often using pictures depicting attractive models wearing aids that are not noticeable," suggesting that the appearance of hearing aids should be something to be ashamed of (389). Not only does this shame the visual appearance of hearing aids but the advertisements were unrealistic and lacked relatability, causing consumers to be insecure of their own hearing aid use on a physical and internal level. Wallhagen (2009) also recognized the importance of the media and its production of stigma towards the deaf community in observing professional trade journals. She acknowledges that professional trade journals "referred to stigma as a factor influencing purchasing decisions," an instance where the media created, extended, and capitalized off of this stigma in order to make a profit (72). Finally, and in connection with the professional trade

journals, Hsy (2016) asserted the unfortunate truth that medical manuals "often present deafness as a physical defect," using language that suggests a continuation of shame associated with being deaf or hard of hearing (477).

Next is the side of the medical professionals. Wallhagen (2009) seems to fight for all aspects of stigma causes being of equal importance and influence, as she comments again upon the stigma created by healthcare professionals, including hearing specialists, and its relevance in the "perception and maintenance of stigma" (71). She also stated the experience of many subjects who had lost their hearing but were never assessed for their hearing by primary care providers, diminishing serious hearing loss to the aging process (ibid:72). In addition, it was said that hearing specialists would assume that patients would desire the smallest and least visible aid, adding again to the idea that hearing aids should be hidden as they are associated with shame and mistreatment due to stigma (ibid).

Communication partners/family was another highly stigmatizing factor identified by scholars. Similar to the healthcare professionals who suggested the smallest, least visible aid, communication partners and family members were proven to express concern about the perception of hearing aids. This lead individuals to delay or refuse to seek treatment altogether with the fear that they would not be accepted by their communication partner and their family, thus refusing to accept the deviant label (Wallhagen 2009:69). Moreover, communication partners were seen to accept the deaf individual's self-stigmatization and would halt their recommendations in fear that they would offend them or make them feel more uncomfortable with a subject they clearly saw as taboo (ibid:72). In continuation, deaf children with hearing parents had a very difficult time managing a stigma-free home environment as it seemed to be a clash between two separate cultures, hearing vs deaf communities (Becker 1981:22). Because of this, the deaf family member was not able to form strong and positive bonds with their family and were thus not able to fully identify with individuals who were supposedly their closest ties (ibid).

The hearing community in general was also seen have an influential role in stigma formation and maintenance. Throughout the various literature on this topic, it was clear that the hearing community and the deaf community are two separate cultures with different beliefs and were often afraid to "associat[e] with hearing people" (Becker 1981:22). This disconnect often led to negative expectations about future interactions with the hearing community, which presented as an extremely detrimental problem for deaf children who were mainstreamed in hearing schools (ibid). Additionally, it was proposed that an individual's deafness as a disability "so often overshadows personal identity," transforming their 'deviant act' into a master status and therefore the characteristic the hearing community defines you by (Susman 1993:19; Bereska 2018:72). Hearing and deaf interactions are also often very ambiguous and this interaction often requires a lot of experimentation with fear that one of them would embarrass themselves in front of the other or say something inappropriate (Davis 1961:76, 122).

Following the vastly different communicative communities is the education system. There is a long history of deaf students who were prohibited to use sign language in school to communicate or were completely mainstreamed into a 'normal' public school in order to prepare to enter society. The oral classification system (where students were not permitted to

communicate using sign language and learned to speak through speech therapy) focused mainly on "teaching deaf students how to rely on technological devices to learn how to speak; they reject ASL as an academic and linguistic tool (Horejes 2009:25). As many scholars have discovered, this schooling system was not efficient in teaching deaf children and they attained a poor level of academic achievement [sic] (La Bue 1995 as cited in ibid:21). At this time, the education system had a specific idea of what an appropriate "academic and linguistic classroom environments for [deaf] students" would look like but this was proven to be an ineffective tool (ibid).

Finally, laws and policies are also extremely influential in creating stigmas concerning the deaf community as deviant. First off, social control institutions in their various forms were known to create a 'cookie-cutter' notion of how people with disabilities should be classified and that they could all be classified under one homogenous category. In doing this, social control institutions failed to consider a disabled individual's culture or history which put all individuals within this group at a disadvantage (Nader 2002 as cited in Horejes 2009:51). Additionally, O'Brien (2014) elaborated upon the fact that educational curriculum was almost exclusively created by hearing individuals with little to no knowledge about the deaf community as a minority "and, importantly, as members of a distinct language and cultural group" in need of separate recognition (Paul 2014:253). They insisted upon the integration of deaf children with deaf adults as role models in order to find a sense of belonging in an unaccepting world and to maintain the deaf culture.

SUB-TOPIC 2: HOW CAN WE APPROACH THE COMBAT OF THIS STIGMA?

Similar to the differing ideas regarding the most influential agent at creating and maintaining the deaf stigma, the resolution to this stigma is also highly debated. These strategies include: open communication, engaging with a supportive environment, deviance avowal, normalizing deafness, and activism. First is the strategy of communication to remain engaged in society (Wallhagen 2009:71). Open communication also ensures the continuation of deaf discourse which improves the stigma towards the Hard of Hearing.

The next proposed stigma combat tool was engaging with a supportive environment. A supportive environment "facilitate[s] a decision to move forward and explore options" (Wallhagen 2009:73). One example given by Wallhagen was an older man who refused to get a hearing aid even though he had lost the majority of his hearing. Fortunately, he was surrounded by supportive children who stressed the importance of communication and that they would lose that line of connection if he did not move forward with his hearing aids (ibid). Along these same lines, Becker (1981) stated that "deaf identity and the development of a social support system are two factors that intervene positively in the management of stigma" (21). This provides the deaf individual with someone to help them cope and who can stand up to justice in solidarity with this individual (ibid). More specifically, Becker strongly suggests the interaction with other deaf people because this interaction increases the individual's feelings of normality as they are surrounded by people who are like them as well as promotes the growth of their self-worth and self-esteem (71).

Following a supportive environment, deaf people can also engage in deviance avowal in order to deal with stigmas associated with being hard of hearing. Deviance avowal can be understood as the acceptance of a deviant label, the stigma therefore not presenting as relevant (Wallhagen 2009:71). In this way, the individual is able to take control of a stigma being used against them and reconfigure it into something positive or noninfluential. Through the process of deviance avowal, an individual who is deaf experiences an alteration in their deviant career into a positive light; this can be a typical element of a deviant career as it may progress and change over time through the movement of stages, altering how deviance unfolds in their life (Bereska 2018:76). One example of this is the single sign for 'I love you' in ASL. This single sign holds its history in the 1940s when a school who used the oral method prohibited the use of sign language (Becker 1981:23). This single sign was used throughout the school by deaf students in secret to show their support for one another and to reiterate that they would get through this challenge together. This simple example demonstrated how the stigmatized origin of the sign has been forgotten and has become a symbol that is still used today (ibid).

Normalizing hearing loss and deafness through literature and increased scholarship is another way to combat deaf stigmatization. Through the support of positive images showcasing the usage of hearing aids and/or ASL, deaf people are able to feel more integrated into the community and then feel more comfortable participating and making contributions to society. Overall, this option creates awareness of the deaf community to normalize their culture into hearing culture (Wallhagen 2009:74). In addition, reading works created by deaf authors demonstrates the diversity of deaf people who exist and have existed in the world and inspires individuals in the deaf community to pursue their dreams. It also allows the individual to make their own mental framework, which will continue to evolve as they age in order to carve out their unique identity in a complex world (Paul 2014:251). Finally, deaf literature is also able to demonstrate the "diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the students' homes," again demonstrating that all deaf individuals do not fill the same mold (O'Brien 2014 as cited in Paul 2014:253).

Lastly, deaf stigmatization can be managed through deaf activism: "through political activism and participation in the consumer movement in health care, the impaired not only on occasion win concessions to their demands but also symbolically challenge popular assumptions about their passivity, powerlessness, and dependency" (Susman 1993:19). Through activism, the deaf community is able to raise awareness of their community and even change legislature in order to better recognize their specific needs and to destroy barriers within a society that is built around hearing people. Activism is one of the best ways to create change, which is why Susman argued in favour of this strategy as the most effective in combatting stigma against the deaf community.

LIMITATIONS

Although the scholarship surrounding the stigma of the Deaf seems relatively broad and informative, there exists many limitations of research on this topic. First, is the limited use of younger sample subjects. The majority of the research in this area included studies done with older deaf individuals which provided very valuable information, but cannot be generalized to younger generations. For example, it is suggested that younger individuals may be more willing to implement advanced hearing

technology because of their familiarity to other forms of technology" (Wallhagen 2009:73). In addition, there is little research done on the impact of stigma among younger individuals and whether this is detrimental to "relationships, their self-concept, and willingness to self-disclose," and therefore whether loneliness is a big concern for the younger deaf population (ibid:74; Lu et al. 2014:554). Research targeting the stigma against the deaf community equally ignores the actual basis for the construction of stigma. While much research has been completed regarding employment discrimination among deaf individuals, academics have failed to trace this stigma back to its root to unearth the reason behind the stigma creation in the first place (ibid). Finally, there are many limitations regarding the reproduction of inequalities for the deaf. Scholars have researched the reproduction of social inequalities for racial and linguistic minority groups but have failed to continue this research to explore the reproduction of social inequalities for individuals with disabilities, notably those within Special Education institutions (Hehir 2005 as cited in Horejes 2009:52).

FUTURE RESEARCH

Examining the limitations listed above as well as surveying the possible next steps of many researchers, future research is required regarding courtesy stigma (i.e. stigma by association) and cultural and socioeconomic status and their impacts on hearing loss and deafness. Through the examination of the research sample demographics, it is clear that very few minorities were included in the final sample. Whether the reason for this is a higher distribution of hearing loss among Caucasians or if it reflects sociocultural views and/or financial limitations, the explanation is undetermined (Wallhagen 2009:74). Further research in this area may reveal surprising connections between culture, socioeconomic status, and disability which would aid in the combat of this stigma. In connection with this, future research must be more sensitive to diverse cultures and include the possibility that a deaf individual may also be diagnosed with other disabilities which may be contributing to their experienced stigma.

CONCLUSION

In all, deafness and deviance is a fairly widely studied topic but must continue to expand its breadth to better understand both deafness itself through the eyes of the deaf community and its connection with stigma. The deaf community has faced discrimination and mistreatment in society for millennia based on the deviant label ascribed to their 'defective' bodies in need of 'fixing.' Although there continues to be disagreements within the academic world as to where this stigma is most apparents as well as the best way to tackle this stigma, the differences in opinion continue to push academics forward in their research which, in turn, benefits the deaf community in the long-term. Deafness may be considered deviant within contemporary society, but will this always be the case and could the erasure of the deafness stigma occur on an international scale? Only time will tell.

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Problems of Surveillance: Surveillance Capitalism
By: Alicia Blake

The use of surveillance is a growing global phenomenon that is becoming increasingly more complex through the continuous development of technology. The ongoing collection of virtual data has become a prevalent facilitator of political, economic, social, and cultural life (Bennett et al., 2012: 339). In this paper I will argue that the notion of surveillance capitalism is a major contemporary concern as the scope of personal data collection by big companies and private corporations may arbitrarily be used to control and influence individual autonomy, invade individuals' privacy, and reinforce social inequalities. By analyzing this new form of dataveillance through the theories of social sorting, control societies, abnormal justice theory, and panopticism, I further argue that surveillance capitalism can be understood as an invasive tool of categorization and oppression and should be dealt with by advocating for regulation.
Surveillance capitalism is a term coined by Shoshana Zuboff which refers to the market-driven process in which personal data is extracted through mass surveillance by private and public corporations such as Internet search engines, cellphone service providers and is sold as a commodity (Holloway, 2019). Every day, millions of individuals around the globe have their personal information collected and scrutinized in the sense that detailed profiles consisting of locations, employment and marital status, behaviours, searches, and social networks among other aspects produce data profiles that may be used for commercial motives (Ng & Kent, 2018). Moreover, by providing free services used by billions, corporations such as Google have the power to monitor behavioural surplus from digital interactions that Zuboff refers to as "data exhaust" (Malmgren, 2019:

44; Naughton, 2019). Furthermore, though it depends on them, surveillance capitalism is much more than algorithms or machine intelligence- it is an economic creation that produces asymmetries of power (Zuboff, 2019: 11-12). Zuboff suggests that the concept depends on "the global architecture of computer mediation...[that] produces a distributed and mostly uncontested new expression of power that [she] christen[s]: 'Big Other'" (Zuboff, 2015: 75).

Big Other is understood as a global apparatus and sovereign power that records facts about market and social behaviours which modifies and commodifies these experiences, while surveillance capitalism is the process in which the data is used for profit and monetization via advertisements, products, and services (ibid.: 81-82). Big Other is the embodiment of a near future where freedom attained through the rule of law is eradicated in the sense that it exists in the absence of authority where data can be extracted without detection or sanctions and aims to do so irrespective of any social or political implications (ibid.; Malmgren, 2019: 46). Through the increasing visibility and fluidity of data across online platforms and digitized state records, Big Other actors such as Google, Amazon, Apple, and Facebook are able to determine and collect the information of just about anyone at unprecedented rates beyond citizens' consent, knowledge, and control (Holloway, 2019). The operations of Big Other and surveillance capitalism can be further understood through David Lyon's concept of social sorting. When companies such as Google and Facebook collect and package data from individuals to create targeted ads, groups are broken down and separated into categories based on but not limited to gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and geographic location (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000: 611). An important trend in surveillance capitalism is using searchable databases for various goals, which is exhibited in social sorting when searchable databases may be used to manipulate raw data into meaningful data that may be exploited for purposes such as capital gain (Lyon, 2009: 14; Maki, 2011: 51). However, through social sorting, surveillance capitalism may exploit these groups in even more harmful ways.

Surveillance capitalism has the profound ability to influence and predict commercial shopping habits as well as increase profit with personal data gathered by large companies and platforms. It is used not only to influence behaviour but is modified in a way that is detrimental to freedom and autonomy (Kavenna, 2019). For instance, Google was able to boost their ad revenue through accessing their user data to determine ad relevance by calculating click-through rates (Naughton, 2019). Based on the ability to manipulate data and make predictions based on past behaviours, this phenomenon bears the potential to modify behaviours of individuals through the creation of data doubles for not just profit, but control (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000: 606; Zuboff, 2015: 85). In fact, this is already occurring as the Cambridge Analytica incident revealed that over 50 million Facebook profiles were collected without user consent to which American voters were targeted with personalized political ads in the 2016 elections (Siddiqui, 2018). In that same year, the Google-produced cellphone game by the name of Pokémon Go was used to test behaviour modification in the streets for profit as the game led players to local fast-food joints that paid Google for "footfall" similar to online ads paying for click through (Zuboff, 2020).

The way in which surveillance capitalism has intertwined itself with the fabric of everyday life resembles Gilles Deleuze's control society as individuals are reduced to mere data subjects (Bennett,

2011: 490). Within control societies, there is an illusion of freedom as citizens are free to make their own decisions, though they are tracked, monitored, and sorted without much consent (ibid.). Just as the Big Other operates on dehumanized methods of assessment that reduces individuals to variables, control societies de-individualize and de-humanize individuals by targeting them as representations and data bodies that can be moulded into consumers (Galič et al., 2015: 18; Zuboff, 2019: 21). In the eyes of surveillance capitalists, there are no individuals, just codes and constituents. Essentially, individual autonomy is stripped as human experience is claimed as raw data that in turn influences consumer habits and behaviour. Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 605-606) describe this process as surveillant assemblage, to which surveillance capitalists collect and compile personal data into profiles called data doubles. Opposed to the goal of disciplining society, surveillance capitalists rely on the constant monitoring of markets and individuals as a way of governing (Galič et al., 2015: 19). Given the increase of access to information, there is increasingly less control that the individual has over the collection of their data, and even less knowledge of how and when it is used. This comes as an even more alarming concern as this method of influence may continue to extend to political and social ideologies, and arbitrary control over people's decision-making skills (Zuboff, 2020).

Surveillance capitalism may also be regarded as a threat to social justice by controlling individual "parity of participation in social life" (Cinnamon, 2017: 611). Through social sorting and breaking down individuals into data constituents, data is exploited in such a way that creates injustices of sociocultural misrecognition and the removal of democracy through political misrepresentation (ibid.: 609). With the manipulation of behaviour by Big Other actors, the use of personalized and targeted advertisements has the ability to create inequality by reproducing data doubles as agents of oppression and discrimination (ibid.: 612). Similar to how personal data was harvested to deliver personalized political ads based on individuals' profiles, corporations use their systems of classification to target individuals who are tagged as facing financial struggles and vulnerability with ads for payday loans (Ng & Kent, 2018). The consequences of exposure to these advertisements have the potential to lead them down the road of debt accumulation via high credit costs, reinforcing low socioeconomic status (ibid.). Additionally, the more affluent the data subjects, the more ads these individuals will receive for resources such as higher education and upscale job opportunities. Thus, surveillance capitalism fosters inequality as it is advantageous for the upper class while limiting the social participation and access to resources (Maki, 2011: 48).

Nancy Fraser's theory of abnormal justice can be applied to better understand the capabilities of surveillance capitalism in perpetuating social inequalities (Cinnamon, 2017: 611). Abnormal justice theory entails that the obstacles of maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation play a role in manipulating social roles and choice (ibid.). Maldistribution occurs when large corporations such as Facebook asymmetrically accumulate personal data from their users through searches, likes, and posts in exchange for their services. This means that Facebook is able to gain gold mines of valuable economic data that cannot be accessed by the data subjects to which they came from (Morrison, 2021; Zuboff, 2020). In separating individuals from their data, the watchers are able to manipulate the watched, which reinforces distributive

injustice to which lack of economic resource determined by targeted ads limits social participation (Cinnamon, 2017: 615). Maldistribution and misrecognition work hand in hand as misrecognition manifests the production of inequalities. In this process, the classification of individuals with distinctive status are afforded opportunities and identities of more exclusivity, and the ability of individuals to shape their own identities is abolished (ibid.: 610). Furthermore, misrepresentation comes into play when powerful corporations and institutions may utilize AI to optimize the effectiveness of algorithms on platforms such as YouTube and Facebook based on personal data to bolster ads. As opposed to fulfilling claims of consumer satisfaction, these systems create personal and addictive algorithms that quickly fill with scientific and social misinformation and political disinformation (Morrison, 2021). Through misrepresentation, surveillance capitalism can produce voiceless citizens in the sense that they are not able to challenge or redress the control and misuse of their personal data, or control their own representation (Cinnamon, 2017: 612-613). Hence, surveillance feeds asymmetries of capitalist power to which undetectable uses of personal data are used to maintain boundaries between social classes as the visibility of poor and disadvantaged individuals leads to excluding the socially illegible from social participation (Monahan, 2017: 192; Zuboff, 2015: 83). Through abnormal justice theory, surveillance capitalism can be seen as continuing a system that oppresses those from the middle and lower class.

Surveillance capitalism is also a major concern as Shoshana Zuboff critiques it as an “expropriation of human rights” that violates fundamental protection of privacy (Kavenna, 2019). Citizens ought to have “the right to be let alone” in their everyday lives without the interference of the state, corporations, and others on their individualization (Bennett, 2011: 486). Since the Internet has developed into the mainstream way of communication in most parts of the world, intelligence agencies, law enforcement, and large corporations have attempted and come to acquire surveillance capabilities and legal jurisdiction over Internet monitoring software through ‘privacy policies’ (Bennett et al., 2012: 340). However, these privacy policies are actually surveillance policies as they create a one-way mirror in which the watchers cease to remain external from the watched (Zuboff, 2020). In the eradication of individualism to data constituents and the ability for surveillance capitalists to meet commercial ends, citizens lose their ability to control the circulation of their personal information and where it is being used (Bennett, 2011: 491). Privacy is further infringed on through data flows and behavioural surplus from third party social connections and state databases including insurance, health care, and credit agencies that are sold and utilized beyond consumer protection acts, due process, and privacy rights (Zuboff, 2015: 78). Since the Internet is arguably the “world’s largest ungoverned space” with a lack of authority, surveillance capitalists may fly under the radar and surpass the rule of law despite calls for algorithm regulation and digital privacy protection acts. In essence, it is merely impossible to stop large corporations from invading, interfering with, and collecting data from citizens (Zuboff, 2020).

Foucault’s conception of panopticism is comparable to the way in which surveillance capitalism strips individuals of their right to privacy. The idea of the Panopticon derives from a prison model that “induce[s] in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that

assures the automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1979: 5; Haggerty, 2006: 26). Panopticism involves the elements of invisibility through the omnipresence of the watcher, the complete visibility of subjects, and the constant assumption of observation by those being watched (Manokha, 2018: 230-231). While there are conflicting perspectives of whether panopticism can metaphorically be used to encapsulate a digital era of surveillance, I argue that surveillance capitalism has similar aspects to a panoptic model as the Big Other to which surveillance capitalism depends on, as it is an all-seeing power that immaterially, anonymously, and often undetectably works to extract data (Haggerty, 2006: 26; Zuboff, 2015: 82). This digital panopticon may be reformulated as surveillance capitalists sit in a "tower" in the arena of the Big Other, observing individuals through the use of Internet searches, social media activity, online banking, smart home devices, and wearable technology among limitless pools of data. Individuals are aware that they could be monitored at any given moment but are not made aware of when and what data is collected or how it is being capitalized upon. According to Foucault (1979: 5-6), panopticism removes privacy and deprives individuals of their autonomy and individuality. As previously stated, surveillance capitalism's ability to generate revenue depends upon the degree of privacy invasion that the panoptic model has to offer (Manokha, 2018: 231). Therefore, surveillance capitalism has created an environment where there is no escape as the digital environment has no boundaries or walls. The panoptical analysis of surveillance capitalism theorizes how under a grid of permanent visibility, all privacy is erased (Zuboff, 2015: 82). The scope of Big Other and the prevalence of surveillance capitalism as a new economic driver makes it evident that personal data will increasingly continue to be generated and persist to control others (Zuboff, 2015: 75). When asked about the concerns of surveillant capitalist tactics, people are quick to worry about privacy, control, manipulation, exploitation, and misinformation. Given that surveillance capitalism has triumphed through the lack of laws, regulation is what large tech corporations and Big Other actors fear the most (Kavenna, 2019). By understanding how surveillance capitalism operates as an exploitive process that monitors and commodifies personal data as well as shapes individuals into a collective form of secondary labour, it may be speculated that it must be confronted in a collective manner (Malmgren, 2019: 46).

Overcoming the injustices caused by surveillance capitalism requires the dismantling of institutional obstacles (Cinnamon, 2017: 622). Attempting to "opt out" of extractive surveillance measures comes as a challenge as it takes the dedication of time and energy to remain private. Even if this was a realistic option, it is nearly impossible to opt out entirely due to the ability of surveillance capitalists to build information about individuals from third party platforms and the data exhaust from their social connections (Malmgren, 2019: 45). Thus, attention to the issue on a global scale must be reached along with evidence, democracy-by-design principles, and data which allows individuals to reclaim the value of their collected personal data (Cinnamon, 2017: 621; Thomas, 2019). Zuboff suggests that through the indignation of citizens, scholars, and legal professionals, action should be taken from the grass-root level to implement changes and regulation (Kavenna, 2019). Instead of opting out, the best approach to combat surveillance capitalism is to opt in to democratic and transparent decision-making undertakings.

This entails not just understanding lengthy privacy contracts presented when accessing sites and creating profiles but demanding the ability to have a say about the ways in which data exhaust and data doubles are collected, refined, and commodified in such a way that modifies behaviour (Malmgren, 2019: 47). Further discussion lies in the Big Other and how this force of uncontested extraction and control may be managed as surveillance capitalism depends on it (ibid.: 45).

The emergence of surveillance capitalism as a new economic order is a major concern as society has shifted from a reconfiguration of Orwell's conception of Big Brother to the Big Other, an all-encompassing network of digital collection, sorting, and modifying. This paper demonstrates how surveillance capitalists control, perpetuate inequality, and exploit individuals by separating people from their data (Cinnamon, 2017: 610). Surveillance capitalism has grown as an invasive method in which "profits derive from the unilateral surveillance and modification of human behaviour" by using data profiles to influence and capitalize on consumer decisions (Galič et al., 2015: 24). Through surveillance capitalism, information flows are no longer automated. Instead, individuals become subject to automation as the illusion of freedom in the democratization of knowledge and social interactions results in the erosion of fundamental democratic rights (Zuboff, 2019: 19). Through the analysis of surveillance theory, it is evident that the practice of surveillance capitalism not only manipulates the economy, but endangers equality, individual autonomy, privacy, and democracy (Zuboff, 2020). In an effort to prevent further control, manipulation, and exploitation, this issue of surveillance should be tackled through the push for transparency and regulation of how personal data is used in the lawless land of the Internet (Kavenna, 2019).

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Understanding Police Body Camera Use in Canada

By: Michelle Marquez

In Canada, the use of police body cameras is slowly but steadily increasing (Bud 2016:118). Compared to other economically developed countries such as the United States and England, Canada finds itself lacking in terms of moving towards using police body cameras nationwide (Glasbeek, Alam and Roots 2020:329). In order to understand why police body cameras are just beginning to emerge in independent pilot programs in cities across Canada, it is crucial to understand the emergence and history of body cameras worldwide, how they function, as well as the social and privacy implications of police body cameras in the field of duty.

HISTORY

In terms of police usage, body cameras had their debut nearly 20 years ago in London, England (Barr 2014:n.p.). The introduction of body cameras speaks true to the nature of high surveillance of the city considering the establishment of citywide close-circuited televisions (CCTVs) in the early 1960s (Taylor and Lee 2019:474). Soon after their launch in London, the United States began slowly integrating body cameras into their own policing agencies. Due to independent state policing legislation, the integration of body cameras across the United States has not been linear (Ansari 2018:n.p.).

It is not until 2014 that the dramatic increase of public demand for police body cameras ensued following several fatal attempted arrests against unarmed Black men such as Tamir Rice, Eric Garner and Michael Brown (Taylor 2016; Taylor and Lee 2019). Brown’s case, for example, highlights the ambiguity of eyewitness reports, as many of the testimonials made in

court demonstrated large inconsistencies (Lopez 2016:n.p.). For this reason, police body cameras seemed an appropriate solution by offering live-action accounts of the events taking place. According to Joh (2016:134), the Obama administration successfully allocated roughly 20 million dollars towards body cameras for police officers. Meanwhile, most Canadian cities are still considering or piloting police body cameras (Glasbeek et al. 2020:335).

USE

Depending on the model, a police body camera can be mounted on the officer's head or onto their chest, attached to their vest (Li 2014:n.p.). There are three popular methods of information collection and storage that a police body camera enacts, depending on how advanced the software is. The first method for data collection is having the officer wear a camera that is turned on at all times during their shift. In order for this to function, the camera designers use highly advanced software that only stores important interactions and discard the rest (ibid). A newer method of data collection, introduced by a company named Vidcie, programs cameras to collect and transmit footage directly to precinct offices in real-time, acting as, "walking security cameras" (ibid). The final and most popular technique of data collection is seen as the traditional method; the police officer turns on the camera when needed and turns off the camera when directed (ibid). The traditional method has sparked ongoing debate regarding its efficacy and implications for privacy amongst the public.

The purpose of police body cameras is to offer an unbiased account and visible evidence of sensitive encounters where context is absolutely necessary. Additionally, the captured footage holds officers accountable for their actions on duty, as well as protects officers from any falsifications made against them (Bud 2016; Glasbeek et al. 2020; Joh 2016; Taylor 2016). Keeping that in mind, the general public and scholars alike rightfully question the power police have when officers are the ones who decide what the camera can and cannot see.

While body worn cameras cannot be tampered with and footage is only available to verified office administrators, there are concerns surrounding the officer's discretion of only having the camera on when the situation proves to be in favour of the officer and not the suspect (Bud 2016; Li 2014). The traditional method of data collection leaves the officer with an excuse for not having the camera on, creating a lack of trust between police officers and the communities they are meant to serve (Bud 2016:120). During tense and high-stress situations, forgetting to turn the camera on or purposefully turning the camera off is truly a matter of life or death for both the officer and alleged perpetrator (Taylor 2016:130).

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Accountability

When considering the benefits of police body cameras, accountability is commonly one of the first discussed. In the field, the officer wearing the body camera is aware of the recording going on, creating an effect similar to panopticism when interacting with a potential suspect or perpetrator. The panoptic effect created in this situation is not completely true to its definition; in the panopticon, which is an institution where those who are watching remain hidden to inmates being observed, the inmate's behaviour must conform to normal behaviour to avoid being punished (Foucault 1979:303). Since the inmates are not able to see who is watching them, they must assume they are being watched at all times, rendering their behaviour constantly in-check (ibid).

The difference between true panopticism and officer surveillance in the field of duty occurs when using the traditional method of body camera footage collection and the officer has control over the camera being on or off. In this situation, the officer is hyperaware of their conduct once the recording has begun. In the case of the two other methods of footage collection previously mentioned, the panoptic effect is heightened, because the officer knows they are being watched at all times during their shift, thus reinforcing the accountability they must take for their actions while on duty. As a result, officers are more likely to reduce their use of force and make calculated decisions to avoid being reprimanded for unlawful actions that would otherwise be unseen (Glasbeek et al. 331). Although it is crucial for footage to be available when navigating ambiguous criminal cases, the body camera as a portable security camera raises concerns over the privacy of the public and potential suspects.

Transparency and privacy

Currently, there is no specific legislation regarding privacy and police body cameras in both the United States and Canada (Ansari 2018; Bud 2016). Although, the current methods of body camera data collection available to policing agencies speak to concerns surrounding transparency and privacy. In a sense, transparency and privacy are competing aims when it comes to the use of police body cameras (Bud 2016:120). On one hand, the general public can find comfort in knowing that police body cameras offer transparency to officer conduct and that justice can be sought after using the unbiased accounts created by the footage. On the other hand, having police officers monitoring and recording everyone they encounter can be seen as an invasion of privacy when law-abiding individuals are being recorded without their permission. The traditional method of camera data collection where the officer turns the camera on or off offers privacy to everyday encounters.

That being said, due to the lack of legislation and standardized protocols, it is up to the officer's discretion to tell civilians they encounter that they will be recording the interaction. In most cases, asking for permission to record does not happen, and the recording proceeds (Taylor 2016:131). If the camera is constantly recording, passersby do not have the option to consent to be recorded and are knowingly caught on camera. These methods offer great transparency of police officers' actions, especially if the footage is released publicly for police conduct to be judged by the masses. Although, the potential cost of reduced privacy among the general public may further deteriorate the relationships with police officers and their communities, especially if the officers are recording in private areas such as inside a civilian's home (Joh 2016:134).

Canada and Police Body Cameras

When putting accountability, transparency and privacy into the context of Canadian policing, oftentimes, the state of the relationship between citizens and their community police are compared to that of their American counterpart. Protests erupting across the United States in 2020 demonstrate the ongoing detest of police brutality, especially towards Black, Indigenous and people of colour (BIPOC). The prevalence of police brutality against BIPOC is deeply rooted in the long endured systemic racism that has existed in the United States since the birth of the country (NAACP 2020:n.p.). Over-policing in racially diverse communities has created an overrepresentation of BIPOC in American prisons and increased likelihood of experiencing violence from authorities (ibid).

Similarly, Canada has its own problematic and dark history involving the treatment of BIPOC, specifically Indigenous peoples. Though according to Glasbeek et al., police in Canada do not recognize any race-related issues in Canadian policing such as racial profiling, racially motivated actions or increased police brutality towards BIPOC (2020:335). These sentiments are contradictory to the findings of Glasbeek et al. (2020) who report numerous cases and investigations of systemic racism within Canadian policing agencies across the country. Therefore, Canada may not be currently interested in equipping their officers with body cameras because there is no need to hold officers accountable for their actions since the government believes there is no evident systemic racism among its police (ibid). While the systemic racism that exists in Canada is not as overtly talked about compared to the ongoing protests in the United States, it deserves to be acknowledged, especially when police officers are not being held accountable to their actions. Canada's reluctance to innovating their policing strategies and improving officer transparency may be a red flag that requires further discussion and research within policing agencies.

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Examining Consumer Agency in the Consumption of Bottled Water
By: Hannah Robinson

The perception of consumer agency is reinforced within the economic markets of capitalist society, driven by the need for production to fuel material life. Markets are not, in any meaningful sense, 'free'; they significantly shape the contexts in which consuming practices occur, how consumer identity is constructed, and develop consumerism as a way of life (Smart:2010:63). Consumption reproduces the need upon which production is based, wherein production creates both the product and the desire for the product (Lecture: Sept. 14, 2021). The essence of product differentiation allows for the illusion of consumer choice to be created and sustained. Therefore, consumer culture, in itself, is a culture of mass deception masquerading as a culture of freedom (Lecture: Sept. 21, 2021). This façade is precipitated by the simultaneous visible and invisible freedoms and constraints put on consumers. In this essay, I will use a running example of bottled water as a commodity to demonstrate how structural factors constrain consumer preferences. I will demonstrate how this perceived agency is a by-product of how bottled water is advertised, of one's identity, and one's geographic location. These arguments will seek to establish how consumer culture is represented as a culture of individuals when in actuality, consumers are constrained by the manufacture of demand and the manipulation of their desires to nullify their perception of individual choice.

Advertisements use structural factors to constrain consumer preferences around bottled water. Rather than deciding if consumers want the product being marketed, individuals are coerced into making choices about which slight variation of the product

they want. Modern marketing is structured around “user-centered messages intended to persuade precisely targeted audiences through themes of self-fulfillment, escape and private fantasy” (Smart:2010:79). The imagery used in advertising bottled water draws on these themes, particularly the theme of escapism. Bottled water branding uses “images from nature, especially the mountains that formed the first major object of romantic European nature-worship," with the labels almost always being blue on a transparent template (Wilk:2006:309). Through the utilization of majestic natural landscapes, advertising emulates and sells escapism, marketing the ideals of pure and clean water from an elusive place captured into a readily available bottle.

The concept of ‘pure’ water is a notion that has been carefully cultivated through advertising. In doing so, it has simultaneously positioned other drinking water sources as dangerous and dirty (Wilk:2006:311). This distinction is therefore fundamental in manufacturing the demand for ‘pure’ water, which is satisfied through bottled water manufacturing and marketization. Wilk (2006) argues that “bottled water is an exceptionally clear example of the power of branding to make commodities a meaningful part of daily life” (305). In saying this, the meaning ascribed to bottled water through branding is key to integrating the desire for the product as an every day want.

Nevertheless, the desire for bottled water is not enough to sustain consumers, which is why advertisers need product differentiation. It is through this product differentiation and the preceding manipulation that establishes a desire for the product that consumers feel a sense of agency. Consumer culture – and the illusion of individual choice within it – thrives on the ability to pick between brands. However, this choice fails to capture the complexity of the consumption as it demonstrates that consumers do not have the agency to choose bottled water over tap, but rather the extent of their ‘choice’ revolves around which brands are available on the shelf. Advertisements also play a crucial role in encoding brands to appeal to the tastes of different audiences.

Structural factors fundamentally constrain one's identity to create the perception of agency surrounding bottled water preferences. While consumers are active, they are not autonomous – their decision-making is heavily conditioned and constrained by social and psychological influences (Smart:2010:62). Through the act of consuming, individuals are expressing how they want to relate to the world. These desires create consumer preferences, but these preferences are not the by-product of consumer agency because they cannot be separated from the impactful societal constraints put on consumers. Products such as bottled water capitalize on these constraints by creating a myriad of slightly different versions of the same product to appeal to specific – capitalist manufactured – consumeristic desires. Commodity aesthetics are the meanings built into the product that allows consumers to recognize themselves in their commodities (Lecture: Sept. 21, 2021). This is evidenced in “the marketing of water for male athletes, water ‘specifically formulated for a woman’s special needs’, and brands for children such as vitamin-fortified Kid Fuel in small blue bottles for boys and pink for girls” (Wilk:2006:312). By consuming these gendered water bottle products, consumers achieve a sense of group membership and satisfaction in their consumption.

Consumers also have a false sense of agency based on how they choose to consume because these choices are fundamentally constrained by taste. Taste is the socially patterned and culturally

produced source of determining what choices feel ‘right’ (Lecture: Sept. 28, 2021). Taste is the result of one’s habitus – the entirety of one’s background and life experiences – and it ultimately affects which brands and types of water individuals will gravitate towards (Lecture: Sept. 28, 2021). Constrained by one's habitus, taste plays a significant role in separating consumers into social classes based on their preferences. In discussing the role of class in how it shapes consumer preferences of what ‘taste’ means on an individual basis, Bookman (2013) argues that “brands and class cultures together [create]….practices and tastes in contemporary consumer culture” (405). Basically, brands and class play a significant role when interacting to constrain consumer preferences – removing the degree of consumer agency in the process. Like different coffee brands, through their consumption, bottled water brands shape not only what people buy but how they consume the product (Bookman:2013:409). For example, the brand *Fiji* is marketed as water for the elite – with a price tag to match – compared to other brands like *Nestle*, which can be purchased in bulk for a much lower cost. Therefore, when examining the role class plays within one’s habitus – with this interplay producing one’s identity – it is apparent that consumer preferences are heavily constrained by taste, limiting their degree of agency. Identity is also constrained by other factors such as place. One’s geographic location determines the extent of their agency when engaging in bottled water consumption. The desire for bottled water is precipitated by a manufactured “need” for the product. Bottled water corporations exist around the rhetoric that public water regulated by the state is less pure and, therefore, more dangerous (Wilk:2006:317). This unfounded fear continuously perpetuated by advertisements and through consumers’ habitus of consuming bottled water creates a significant public distrust in bottled water alternatives. Instead, consumers are taught to feel more at ease with water that has been ‘purified’ by a corporate entity. The ignorance of what this 'purification process consists of is an example of commodity fetishism – the perception of goods in human terms while the labour process is hidden from consumers (Lecture: Sept. 21, 2021). Bottled water is ascribed value based on the idea of its qualities of purity and cleanliness when in actuality, research shows that most bottled water is tap water – municipal water is purchased at a low cost to be cycled through a factory and then sold back to the public at a huge markup (Lazarus:2021). Therefore, this misplaced value in bottled water demonstrates consumers' separation between their product and its manufacturing process.

How water is valued is also conditional on one's geographic location. In poor countries, it is viewed as a luxury, representing the State’s failure to provide basic public services to citizens; whereas for other affluent places, water is disposable, and its consumption – and overconsumption – is normalized (Wilk:2006:305). While water is a human necessity, fulfilling this need looks different within certain contexts. Examining this idea demonstrates the difference between consumption and overconsumption. Habits around water are constrained by geography, wherein taking long showers, leaving the water running, and drinking lots of water daily demonstrate a privilege to clean and readily accessible water supplies. This reality is not true for everyone. The overconsumption of water can be attributed to the health anxiety of the ‘worried well’ – consumers who “seek to avoid or manage risks and optimize health” – as they 'buy in' to the manufactured promises that consuming water at a high degree will enhance one’s beauty and

vitality (MacGregor:2018:168). This concept of overconsumption is marketed in spaces where water is readily available, which illustrates how the acceptable consumption practices surrounding water vary between geographical contexts. Geography also plays an essential role in the availability of what bottled water products can be consumed. While selecting bottled water brands is primarily constrained by taste, it is also constrained by what brands are available for purchase. Many consumers lack the opportunity to choose from a vast array of brands because of "corporate concentration and consolidation in the industry" compounded with limited shelf space (Wilk:2006:315). Because of these reasons, consumer agency is further constrained by a lack of availability of fair-trad or more eco-friendly bottled water brands (ibid:315). The inability to engage in ethical drinking – and thus link "individual commodity consumption with social and environmental" discourses – further illustrates consumers' difficulty to gain a limited sense of agency in their bottled water consumption (Johnston, Szabo, and Rodney:2011:295). While it may be argued that consumers can engage in ethical drinking through reusable water bottles, this argument fails to recognize the culture of manipulation surrounding which reusable bottles are 'best' and how this notion traps consumers within socially constructed ideals of taste in the same way as the market does for bottled water branding.

Through the use of bottled water as a running example, consumer preferences are constrained by how the product is advertised and how one's identity and geography work individually and simultaneously to continue the illusion of consumer agency. Advertisements constrain consumer choice by framing the decision around which brand rather than product or no product in conjunction with manufacturing ideals around cleanliness and purity that can only be satisfied through the product's consumption. Identity also acts as a constraint as different bottled water branding is used to connect to one's taste so that the product fits within one's commodity aesthetic. Finally, one's geographic location determines the degree of consumer agency as it shapes the cultural practices around consumption and places physical constraints on what bottled water product is available where. In examining these three constraints on consumer agency and consumer preferences, it is apparent that while the market seeks to establish that consumer choice is free, it is actually heavily constrained by factors that ultimately remove the degree of choice a consumer has. Moving forward, it would be beneficial for consumers to be self-aware of the factors that constrain their consumption. The attention brought to this issue could potentially seek remedies to mitigate some of the limits on agency.

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Aftermath of the Blonde Bombshell: Marilyn Monroe’s Iconic Influence on Visual Culture

By: Bella Crysler

Marilyn Monroe, known globally and timelessly since she first stepped on the silver screen as “The Blonde Bombshell” or “The Queen of Glamor” is a defining individual in visual culture. Through her evolution into an international Hollywood icon, Monroe had an unprecedented influence on mass media and audience, boldly self-defining femininity and sexuality despite considerable negative attention for breaking social norms. Marilyn Monroe’s 1954 “Flying Skirt” photograph is an iconic image that represents feminist counter-visuality under the Male Gaze, captured and amplified by 1950s Hollywood. This paper will define representation, ideology, iconic, gaze, and counterculture before applying visual culture studies to the “Flying Skirt” photo. The following sections on representation, gaze, sexuality and counterculture will provide context, theory and illustrate how this image of Monroe can provide further insight into visual culture.
The “Flying Skirt” photo was first taken in 1954 while filming *The Seven Year Itch,* in New York. Monroe holds her skirt from flying up above her head due to a steaming grate below causing her dress to billow and scandalously expose her. While this situation may have dismayed and embarrassed the conventional 1950s women, Monroe simply exclaimed “Isn’t it Delicious?” (History.com 2019). The photo was taken again at a publicity event later on in New York, where a crowd of fans gathered to create hype (Stevens 2020).
Monroe represented beauty, sexuality, and the feminine. Her public reception changed many times over her career as the world both feared and loved her; was embarrassed and ashamed but

could not look away. Visual culture is the practices engaged in relative to seeing how the world is visually organized (Sturken and Cartwright 2018, 22). This includes social contestation, such as counter-visuality (Sturken and Cartwright 2018, 22). Counter-visuality refers to tactics used to dismantle visuality and assert autonomy from authority, also referred to as "gazing back" (Hand 2022, Week 3B). Visuality is a hegemonic system of visual strategies of the powerful that establishes how the world is classified and governed (Hand 2022, Week 3B). Monroe's impact on visual culture can be conceptualized as counter-visuality when paired with an understanding of the social norms and dominant ideologies of the time, which saw women as domestic and silent figures. Through analyzing Monroe's visual representation and the male gaze, this paper will analyze how Monroe fought against the conventions of the 1950s and continues to represent a feminism today.

Representation in visual culture is linked to the production of meaning through symbolic systems (Sturken and Cartwright 2018, 18). Representation is something that stands in or symbolizes, with 'othering' occurring when the process of representation traps individuals in meaning, typically those in opposition to the dominant (Week 2 Lecture 2). The "Flying Skirt" image thus symbolizes different things, depending on the ideology of the viewer. While some may applaud Monroe's representation of the free modern women, others may interpret the image as representing immorality. The language of images is used by individuals to create meaning in the world around them and these signs can be categorized into iconic, indexical, and symbolic (Sturken and Cartwright 2018, 35).

The iconic image resembles it's object in some way and has a "no caption needed" effect (Sturken and Cartwright 2018, 43). The "Flying Skirt" photo continues to hold meaning through the decades, regardless of the changing public interpretation of that meaning. Representation of unabashed sexuality, autonomy, and independence was an important meaning for an image to acquire in 1954 and was met with considerable backlash. Statues of Monroe have been erected and dismantled; headlines through the years have both trashed and treasured her publicly (Stevens 2020). While the photo is iconic enough that many today recognize it regardless of having seen *The Seven Year Itch,* it's importance lays not in its popularity but in its multiple meanings, both the gazing and the 'gazing back'.

Images and visual culture are relevant as they produce the dynamics of social power and ideology in a given society (Sturken and Cartwright 2018, 35). To 'Gaze' is the act of looking and involves 1) discursive context of what is being looked at 2) experience of looking shaped by that context of desire 3) how this is organized in a given field 4) how this produces the human subject/objectification (Hand 2022, Week 2A) . This includes the male gaze (Hand 2022, Week 2A). Through the act of looking without opposition, individuals are included in a shared ideology, a system of thought and belief or shared values, where certain norms are made to seem natural or inevitable (Hand 2022, Week 2A). This leads to the process of classification along hegemonic ideologies that excludes, others, and over-surveils.

In the 1950s, the dominant white, male, heteronormative dominant ideology defined beauty as modesty and domesticity. Monroe married twice and never had any children, she was outspokenly passionate about her career and in no rush to slow down. This angered many who saw Monroe's image as threatening and this led to censorship, negative media portrayal, and hostile interactions both in public and

behind closed doors. Marilyn's first husband was so embarrassed by the "Flying Skirt" photo that it is said to have led to the pair's divorce, as well as speculation of domestic violence towards Monroe (Stevens 2020). Monroe's representation of modern womanhood and independence had an immediate and lasting effect on visual culture.

Monroe's work, image, and representation are subject to the male gaze, valued as a beautiful commodity. The concept of the male gaze was developed by Laura Mulvey to explain how camerawork in cinema adopts a male subject position that sees women as objects while female spectators also view women through a gendered lens (Lavrence and Cambre 2020, 4). While many women would have supported Monroe's new ideology, others may have viewed her through a gendered lens and not overcome their commitment to norms. Judith Butler describes the contrasting feminine gaze as reversing this process and contesting the authority of the masculine (Lavrence and Cambre 2020, 4). This feminine lens could also be conceptualized as 'gazing back' or the oppositional gaze and is connected to counter-visuality such as the "Flying Skirt" photo.

Monroe had all eyes on her as the "Queen of Glamour", epitomizing the post-war feminine ideal while exposing the burden of this role through continued resistance (Scheibel 2013, 13). Monroe represented liberated sexuality in a narrowly defined world, becoming paradoxically popular (Scheibel 2013, 9). Fox Studies enacted these narrow definitions through "Attaching Monroe's image to ... ideologically acceptable images of female sexuality: coping with the threat of sex by displacing it (glamour), excusing it (the "dumb blonde" syndrome), or punishing it (the *femme fatale* image)" (Scheibel 2013, 10). 'Glamour' can be understood as a hyper-feminine visual code, marking female bodies as desirable, consumable, bearing social aspirations (Luksza 2018, 59). Glamour, embodied by Monroe, is a sign of longing for a better life - but only the one laid out for you by those in power (Luksza 2018, 59). This paper seeks to position images of Monroe in the context of post-feminism, rather than the oppressive male gaze, wherein women's bodies have become a source of power through recasting sexual objectification (Hooks 2003, 299). Monroe's image has moved away from representing the "icon of the unproblematic 1950s" and now exists as a sign of the hidden troubles (Luksza 2018, 64). At the time, fashion experts predicted a "new buxom era" inspired by Monroe's previously unwanted hourglass shape, as was viewed across the world in her Vogue 'sweater girl' and 'bathing beauty' looks (Scheibel 2013, 10).

Monroe will continue to shape visual culture through digital reproduction and the mass production of art in the 21st century. Mass reproduction of art in today's world has the power to blur the line between art and politics more than ever before (Peim 2007, 267). Monroe's fans are active producers and manipulators of meaning and will transform the media they receive into a participatory and layered culture moving forward (Rose 2014, 260). Despite being first taken in 1954, the "Flying Skirt" photograph of Marilyn Monroe on the streets of New York remains an iconic feminist image and historical example of 'gazing back' and counter-visuality, resisting the dominant agenda and challenging the male gaze.

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Visitation, Prosocial Bonds, and Their Effects on Offender Recidivism
By: Jason Taggart

Recidivism, and by extension recidivism reduction, is an interesting issue as it forces North American society to recognize that crime may be far more sociological in nature than initially thought, and the conventional approach of using punishment as a deterrent may not be as effective as initially thought. Though the mere punishment of being incarcerated may be enough to deter potential criminals or prevent others from offending again, repeat offenders are a clear piece of evidence that prison alone is not enough to prevent crime. Crime, deviancy, and antisocial behaviours go hand-in-hand, as antisocial behaviours are merely deviant behaviours that evoke distress, and criminal behaviours are antisocial behaviours that the government has deemed worthy of formal punishment. From a sociological perspective, it makes sense to implement policy that targets antisocial behaviours as a means to reduce crime, given that deviancy does not intrinsically cause harm, and decriminalizing certain acts would only remove the legal repercussions and not the antisocial behaviour at its root. Currently one of the best ways of preventing antisocial behaviour and recidivism is through the development of prosocial bonds between current offenders and loved ones outside of prison. These bonds are important as they provide the support, guidance, and positive social pressure necessary to prevent offenders from returning to a life of crime or returning to criminal influences. Prosocial bonds also have use beyond emotional support, as these contacts can also provide support with some of the more challenging facets of re-entry into society, such as finding a job, understanding and using social services, housing, and accessing healthcare (Cochran

2013). Currently the best way of achieving this goal of promoting prosocial bonds is through visitation, which has been proven to have an effect on reducing recidivism in prisoners. The effects of visitation have been proven and are recognized in the criminology community, with even the papers most critical of the efficacy of visitation admitting that it does have at minimum a "small to modest effect in reducing recidivism of all types" (Cochran, Barnes, Mears, and Bales 2018) (Mears, Cochran, Siennick and Bales 2011). Considering the inaccessibility of the current visitation system and its overall lack of optimization, further investment in visitation programs can potentially have a major effect on recidivism rates. For these reasons, the current North American prison system should be reoriented towards putting a greater focus and investment into promoting prosocial bonds and support networks, with an emphasis on visitation.

Of the eight risk factors for recidivism, reoffending usually comes down to the "big four", with those being antisocial history, antisocial personality, criminal thinking, and antisocial peers (Andrews, Bonta, and Wormith 2006 cited in McNeely and Duwe 2019). Antisocial history is static by nature and cannot be changed, while modern prisons have chosen to focus their programming on antisocial personality and criminal thinking, leaving visitation to the wayside despite its benefits (McNeely and Duwe 2019). Visitation is not limited by class sizes or pass-fail curriculum and instead allows prisoners to organically establish prosocial bonds with contacts who are likely already invested in their success such as friends, spouses, and family members. These individuals have a greater capacity to provide a supportive environment for the offender upon release as well as housing and relationships alternative to criminal influences, which institutions like half-way houses can struggle to deliver. Studies in the last ten years have shown 40% to 80% of recently released prisoners rely on their families after finishing their sentence, with the average growing to 80% of prisoners in cities with a high cost of living such as Washington D.C. and New York City (Visher, Yahner, and LaVigne 2010 cited in Duwe and Clark 2011).

The relationship between visitor and offender is also incredibly important for its humanizing effect on prisoners, which has been shown to have an immediate effect on decreasing violent behaviour within the prison afterwards as well as leading up to the visit, potentially to prevent the loss of their visitation privileges (Derkzen, Gobeil, and Gileno 2009).

> Visitation [is] one way that incarcerated men [cultivate] authentic and meaningful experiences that transcended the prison environment. They [describe] these events as a mental escape from the institutional restrictions, power dynamics, and emotional constraints of the prison setting, fostering their interaction with the outside world (Thomas and Christian 2018:279).

The humanizing effect visitation produces goes further than easing the reintegration process upon release as it can also ease the entry into prison for offenders, presenting them with an outlet as well as a connection to home, easing strain on prisoners. Early visitation has been shown to be beneficial in reducing recidivism in the long term, with Cochran (2013) claiming that this early contact has an even greater effect on reducing recidivism than visitation closer to one's release, citing an 18%

reduction in an offender's chance of reoffending. This contrasts directly with findings by Duwe and Clark (2011) which claim that visiting closer to one's release reduces the risk of offender recidivism by an additional 3.6% in addition to the typical reduction in recidivism visitation provides. This anomaly can be explained by the difference in lengths of stay (LOS) analyzed by the different researchers. Cochran (2013) focused exclusively on offenders with a LOS under 17 months, whereas Duwe and Clarke (2011) noticed that focusing on short sentences would exclude "44% of the offenders in [their] sample and 80% of those who were admitted to prison as parole violators". It would be understandable that prisoners who have an extended stay or have already violated their parole, such as in Duwe and Clark's sample, would have diminishing returns from early visits the longer they were imprisoned, or if they had reoffended before.

All forms of visitation are not created equal, and visitation from certain contacts at certain times in one sentence can have a significant effect on an offender's chance to recidivate. Research shows that some visits are 'valued' higher than others, predominantly based off of the difficulty and effort required for the visitation to occur, alongside the value the offender puts on the connection. Duwe and Clark's (2011) research found that visits from siblings, clergy, in-laws, and fathers having the greatest effect on reducing recidivism. In contrast, ex-spouses actually were a demographic that increased chances of recidivism, most likely due to the additional strain these interactions place on the offender, with this effect becoming so prominent "that ex-spouse visits [are] not only a significant predictor of recidivism ... but [they] also significantly increased the risk of revocation for any visit" (Duwe and Clark 2011).

Even with the risk of straining visitations, research in the field of recidivism prevention has shown that visitation has great promise as a means of cutting down on recidivism rates considerably as well as having great potential for optimization. Duwe and Clark (2011) determined that "any visit reduced the risk of recidivism by 13% for felony reconvictions and 25% for technical violation revocations". These results are very similar to statistics from the Correctional Service of Canada which found that the average amount of visitations (~7) reduced reconviction by 14% and participating in just 2 private family visits reduced readmission by 22% (Derkzen, Gobeil, and Gileno 2009:4). A meta-analysis by Mitchell, Spooner, Jia, and Zhang (2016) found that visitation was overall reduced recidivism by 26%, whereas recent studies aimed at producing the most conservative possible estimate for the effects of visitation on recidivism found that visitation at minimum reduces the chances of recidivism by 9% (Cochran, Barnes, Mears, and Bales 2018).

Further research by Duwe and Clark (2011) found that a variety of visitors has the highest chances of success as it creates a strong support network, with each additional visitor decreasing an offender's risk of reconviction by 3%; in contrast, repeated visits only decreased risk by 0.1% and monthly visits only decreasing risk by 0.9%. Cochran (2013) found similar results, with chances of reconviction being reduced by 4-5% with each visit. With these statistics in mind, policy makers interested in optimizing the visitation system should focus their resources on enabling prisoners access to a wide variety of prosocial contacts that visit monthly rather than a select few who visit more frequently.

Interestingly enough, despite 47% of visited inmates being visited by a friend in

Duwe and Clark's (2011) study, friends actually showed one of the lowest effects on reducing reconviction with only a 7% decrease. A later study by Mears, Cochran, Siennick and Bales (2011) found similar results, with an 8.3% reduction in recidivism, but also discovered that the reduction was almost entirely in violent recidivism and property offenses. In comparison, visits from clergy, mentors, and in-laws showed the highest rates of reducing reconvictions with all causing an improvement between 20-30%. Duwe and Clark (2011) speculated that these visits with mentors and clergy were so effective due to their specific training in support and intervention. Discussion also focused on why visitations from fathers (not mentioned in discussion of statistics) are likely so effective. It was reasoned that the strong effect of visitation from a father was due to them being an indicator of a supportive two-parent household rather than a single mother, which is a major prohibiting factor in all criminal activity (Duwe and Clark 2011). In-laws also were speculated to serve a counter-intuitive role, as visits from spouses and children were determined to be upsetting to offenders, in-laws provided the supportive connection to family that one would need to succeed, without the upsetting realization that one is missing out on the life of their spouse and children (Duwe and Clark 2011).

Duwe and Clark's findings provide an interesting contrast to research done in the Netherlands influenced by American research on the "good marriage effect". Data collected by Bersani and Schellen (2013) found marriage to be a prohibiting factor in committing offenses due to the strong prosocial bond marriage creates. More specifically, Bersani and Schellen (2013) found a non-criminal spouse to be most beneficial for male offenders while a spouse regardless of criminality was effective in thwarting crime amongst females. Though this effect did not transfer over to sporadic and high-rate offenders, (as they are the most difficult to rehabilitate) marriage showed very promising results for crime prevention, with marriage causing "a 27 % decrease in conviction rates for low-rate offenders and a 55 % decrease for moderate-rate offenders" (Bersani and Schellen 2013:np).

Bersani and Schellen's research does not conflict with previous statistics and findings but actually reinforces them, as it shows marriage to be such a strong prosocial bond for offenders that it prevents initial crimes, and becomes very upsetting to prisoners once that bond is reduced to visitation. Furthermore, imprisonment has been found to increase the chances of marital dissolution, but in marriages that do not dissolve over the course of an offender's sentence, there is a reduced chance of recidivism (Apel et al. 2010 cited in Bersani and Schellen 2013:np) (Visher et al. 2009 cited in Bersani and Schellen 2013:np). Later research by Mears, Cochran, Siennick and Bales (2011) confirms this, finding that "being visited by a spouse or significant other results in a 9.6% reduction in recidivism, from 47.0% to 37.5%". Considering that the state cannot force marriages, or any type of prosocial bond beyond a mentorship, the logical next step would be to encourage offenders to form new prosocial relationships on their own, or to maintain and mend their previous ones. Bersani and Schellen (2013:np) as well as Bales and Mears (2008) seem to have a similar idea, recommending further investment into programs enabling prisoners to remain in contact with those they care about such as through "close geographic location of imprisonment, flexible visitation hours, and adequate provision of phones". It is clear that correctional facilities have room for improvement in visitation, given the

extensive data suggesting that it is a clear means of recidivism reduction through its ability to maintain necessary prosocial bonds during imprisonment which offenders will need later on to successfully reintegrate with society. Despite this, modern prisons are not built around accessibility to the public, putting an additional strain on marriages as well as other forms of bonds.

McNeely and Duwe (2019) explore the straining effects of inaccessible prisons on recidivism rates, with an emphasis on the geographical location of prisons and how the distance of prisons from residential areas may reduce visitations, and as a result, raise the risk of recidivism for offenders. The reduction of visitation through unaccommodating design is not a new phenomenon in the corrections system, with visitors complaining of no availability of parking, visitation being unavailable outside of business hours when visitors typically are at work, inhospitable visitation rooms, and bureaucratic barriers on top of the large distance between prisons and residential areas (Bales and Mears 2008). McNeely and Duwe (2019) found that the relationship between geographical distance and chance of recidivism was actually inverse, and that offenders who received visits from contacts further away were actually 12-17% less likely to be reconvicted. Another metric that has unexpected effects is having visitors from economically disadvantaged areas; visitors from disadvantaged areas had an overall positive effect on offenders, with "reconviction [being] less likely when offenders had any visitors living in disadvantaged neighborhoods, but was more likely when all of an offender's visitors lived in disadvantaged neighborhoods" (McNeely and Duwe 2019). Though these statistics may initially lead one to believe that the visitation system is perfect as-is, considering that low-income visitors who must travel great distances actually show the best results, it does not prove this at all. As Cochran (2013) notes, a contact who is willing to overcome distance and barriers, as well as financial hardship, actually speaks to the quality of the prosocial bond they have with the offender and the heavy investment they have made in the offender's wellbeing, which is likely to continue on post-release. Furthermore, Cochran (2013) also speculates that visits from distant contacts may have more of an emotional impact on offenders, showing them how much these people really do care about them, encouraging them to give up crime.

Unfortunately, not all prisoners are visited despite the clear benefits of visitation, or are not visited as much as they could be due to barriers put up by the modern North American prison system. Though it is understandable that the friends and family of some offenders may not be interested in visiting them due to the nature of their crimes, these offenders can still be provided with mentors and does not draw away from the fact that there is a population of prisoners who have outside contacts who would like to visit them, or visit them more, but cannot. Current statistics vary by the sample selected by the study, but overall, unvisited offenders can range from as low as 39%, to a majority of prisoners at 76% (Duwe and Clark 2013) (Mears, Cochran, Siennick, and Bales 2011). Considering the noticeable effect visitation has on reducing recidivism despite the large proportion of offenders that receive no visits, any country genuinely interested in reducing recidivism should seriously explore expanding and optimizing visitation programs to allow for prisoners to receive more visits or even start receiving their first visits. Specifically, there are actually several ways that prisons can be improved to promote greater visitation without requiring prisons to begin being built closer to residential areas or the construction of new visitation rooms.

(a) placing inmates in facilities as close to their home communities as possible, (b) encouraging community service agencies and organizations to visit inmates, (c) ensuring parking is available for visitors, (d) expanding visiting hours to evenings and weekends to accommodate visitors who are employed or have to travel long distances, (e) decreasing bureaucratic barriers to visitation, (f) increasing the cultural sensitivity of staff members, and (g) making sure that visitation rooms are clean, comfortable, and hospitable (Bales and Mears 2008).

The majority of these changes do not require a complete overhaul of the visitation system but rather a greater investment into it. Considering that it costs approximately US$9,000 for every return to prison, (not accounting for the per diem cost required to actually house an offender) it would actually be cost-effective for visitation to be invested in further, as the cost of a prison guard working over the weekend or after business hours is dwarfed by the cost of lawyers, police, and property damages should an offender recidivate (Duwe and Clark 2011) (Cohen and Piquero 2008 cited in Duwe and Clark 2011).

In short, prosocial bonds have been proven to be a cost-effective, natural, potent, and optimizable means of reducing offender recidivism, with visitation being at the forefront of methods of maintaining, as well as creating, prosocial bonds for offenders in prison. The fact that prison visitation has been shown to reduce recidivism by 26% shows great promise, especially considering the currently underfunded nature of prison visitation programs, leaving room for further optimization and a potential for major yields in recidivism reduction (Mitchell, Spooner, Jia, and Zhang 2016). Furthermore, considering the changes necessary only require the current corrections system to provide greater accessibility to visitation for the prosocial bonds already in the prisoner's life, visitation has a potential to be very cost effective with little effort on the behalf of any corrections department or government legislature. Investing in recidivism reduction gives the government the opportunity to invest resources in a positive way into preventing crime amongst the demographic most likely to commit crime, previous offenders. Beyond the empirical reasons for expanding visitation programs, allowing for greater access to visitation is also the humane thing to do. Offenders in prison are still human and thus, are social animals. Denying offenders the opportunity to remain in contact with their loved ones and work to improve themselves has no grounds in morality.

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Misinformation About Covid-19 Pandemic And The Political Manipulation Behind

By: Yunding Ye

INTRODUCTION

Since the Covid-19 epidemic, apart from the loss of millions of people's lives, there have been many secondary disasters and social issues that raised concerns. In this paper, I will discuss how fake news of covid-19 influenced American society, and the political and media manipulation behind the phenomenon. Can fake news really affect the citizens' decisions towards epidemic prevention? Which platforms always create fake news? And what are the motivations of those organizations and what consequences will they bring? In my opinion, the fake news of the pandemic which does harm to the public are mostly posted by right-wing or conservative media, and their goal is to strengthen their voters' trust in the right- wing parties and obtain their votes. Polarization will occur and democracy can be broken. First, the disinformation of masks and vaccines really caused some American citizens to refuse to wear masks and get vaccinated. Second, we can observe that the disinformation is spread by conservative media. Third, they are to cater to the distrust of these conservative voters in the mainstream media, deepen their sense of anxiety (loss of freedom and truth rather than the epidemic), and stabilize the fundamentals of right-wing votes. Finally, the media manipulation can cause polarization of political stances, leading to social divisions and the destruction to democratic politics.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

As the pandemic started, there was much disinformation circulating through the internet. For example, some media platforms claimed that "drinking bleach cures the virus or that physical distancing is ineffective". (Sankin, 2020) There are "incredible numbers of studies and solid data showing that consuming far-right media and social media content was strongly associated with low concern about the virus at the onset of the pandemic ''. (Ingraham, 2020) It means that the right-wing media tried to persuade their readers that the pandemic is not very serious, which lowers their vigilance and puts their lives at risk. Three studies found out that the conservative media fostered confusion of the seriousness of covid- 19, and spread many misinformation and even conspiracy theories to suggest the audience not protect themselves from the virus, which led to higher infection and mortality rates of the audiences. (Ingraham, 2020) In short, the event is that misinformation spread by right-wing media such as Fox News influenced the audiences' opinions and behaviours and caused the loss of lives. Thus, we can know that the media can really shape the audiences' perception towards their daily lives. But the problem is not that simple, this issue that happened in the periods of pandemic is just a miniature of disinformation and media manipulation. And actually, it is a political problem. As I mentioned above, the misinformation about the coronavirus is mostly posted by the right-wing media, so it can be regarded as an information war held by conservative politicians.

CONNECTION TO COURSE READINGS

The misinformation of the pandemic is not the only fake news made by the right-wing media platforms, indeed, they also

spread hate speeches and conspiracy theories. For instance, in recent years, alt-right which believes in white-supremacy and QAnon which is a conspiracy organization connected to the right-wing have arisen. The rise of the alt-right is both a continuation of a centuries-old dimension of racism in the U.S. and part of an emerging media ecosystem powered by algorithms. (Daniels, 2018, p. 62) There are many white supreme politicians in the Alt-right organization. (Daniels, 2018, p. 62) The information and posts of these people will be pushed to more people with such concepts through special algorithms. (Daniels, 2018, p. 62) They even created a meme called "Pepe the Frog" to represent their identity. (Daniels, 2018, p. 62) These white supremacists were gradually seen by mainstream society, and they even initiated a violent march in Charlottesville, one of them drove into the crowd, causing one death and nineteen injuries.(Daniels, 2018, p. 61) Through this violent crime and the loss of lives in the pandemic, we can realize that the disinformation or distorted propaganda can not only brainwash audiences in thought, but also bring their destructive actions to reality. So it is extraordinarily meaningful to connect these events to the concept — digital influence machine and its weaponization. It means internet intermediaries have developed an infrastructure of data collection and targeting capacities, and it plays a role in surveillance, targeting, testing, and automated decision-making to design and push political advertisements. (Nadler, Crain and Donovan, 2017, p. 1) And weaponization of it demonstrates that an organization used a digital influence machine to figure out the individual's weak points, and leverage their vulnerability to achieve the organization's goal. (Nadler, Crain and Donovan, 2017, p. 1) The DIM can monitor and predict the netizens' behaviour, and then it can push specific ads to specific netizens. (Nadler, Crain and Donovan, 2017, p. 1) In this way, the political organization can exactly push ads targeting their voters and influence their political behaviours , which can do harm to democracy. Therefore, it can explain why the white supremacists keep receiving ads that deepen their beliefs, and why some netizens always get fake information about the pandemic. Behind this is political organizations that use DIM to push false information to their potential voters to stabilize their fundamentals. Although the false news about covid-19 or the information viewed by white supremacists spread by the media is not a commercial advertisement, it can also be considered as a disguised political advertisement propagated by politicians for their own ideas. Those who died due to misinformation were all political victims. Therefore, media manipulation is a social issue with far-reaching harm.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES

It is easy to find the first consequence can be seen in the pandemic era. As I discussed above, it's the growth of misinformation and the loss of lives. For example, "New World Order (conspiracy theory)," "Chemtrail conspiracy theory," and "Vaccine controversies"have become popular through the internet. (Sankin, 2020) Moreover, the origin of the coronavirus is also conspiratorial. Some believe it was created by a Chinese lab and others convinced it was the handiwork of Bill Gates. (Sankin, 2020) Although respecting freedom of speech is important, those conspiracy theories increase the audiences' distrusts towards mainstream media, and the anti-scientific speeches will cause damage to American society to some extent. The second consequence is polarization which means that a society is divided into two

contracting parts and the centrists eliminate gradually. In this essay, I talk about the polarization of views. The politicians use DIM to predict the behavior of voters, matching political ads with the users' views and interests. It represents that the users can only receive the information which they want to read. So the more information they get, the more they believe they are correct. And the result is that since they have been in the information stratosphere for a long time without reading posts of opposite opinions, they will insist on their stance and become more and more extreme. Politics divides the world into groups of different identities. Individuals are mobilized to protect their own groups, while politicians get votes based on the degree of grouping of people. (Nadler, Crain and Donovan, 2017:30) Politicians stabilize their voters' basics by emphasizing the identity of voters and strengthening the anxiety caused by the threat of identity. (Nadler, Crain and Donovan, 2017:30) So they use DIM to push specific advertisements to the voters to deepen their identity awareness, and the voters are getting closer to the extreme. Therefore, political polarization is inevitable. Two groups with different views will only hate each other due to the lack of reconciliation by neutrals, and it can cause social divisions. The third consequence is that democracy will be broken because the politicians can leverage the voters' vulnerability to influence their behaviours, it means the voters are inexplicably manipulated by the politicians, so they don't really make decisions on their own. In short, when the media is manipulated and disinformation is spread deliberatively, polarization will occur and democracy can be in danger.

DISCUSSION

An obvious limit in this paper is that the news sources I use are from Washington Post and The Markup, which holds a left-wing stance. Also, the authors of the course readings I use in the paper also have their own position and bias. And when I do the research, I check the news sources posted on OnQ, they come from the Washington Post and the Guardian which are famous liberal media. As the whole research is based on this information, it means my essay will be partial towards the left. And in the material I refer to, there is a lot of negative information about the conservative media and it can affect my opinions about the right-wing parties and form bias. So I believe the biggest limitation in the paper is that I can't overcome bias and bring the bias to the readers. Some people may argue that the existence of the media can better promote democracy, due to the fact that everyone can speak freely through the internet and get the information they want. Or they might think that although the media platform is infiltrated by the political forces of various parties, it will not be affected because people have independent judgment. So what I said about the damage to democracy is exaggerated. But I have to say the media can be a double-edged sword, it can definitely make a convenient public sphere for every user to share their opinions, but political organizations can also use the media to influence the netizens' minds. In addition, I don't think we should have too many expectations of the users, because the media is a way to shape one's perception, and when an organization pushes the information that fits his interest for a long time, he will get used to this opinion and instinctively repel to opposite ideas. When a person's cognition is shaped by the information he has obtained, his so-called independent thinking cannot break out of his original

framework, and therefore cannot realize that his thoughts are actually manipulated by the media. Therefore, independent thinking is hard to be the reason to deny my statement.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the fake news of the pandemic is spread by the conservative media, and it raises the infection and mortality rates of the coronavirus in the US. The purpose of these media is to please their voters, and they can even push specific information to specific people through DIM to obtain greater support. Regardless of the left and the right, users always receive information that strengthens their position, which has caused them to become more and more extreme, and finally caused a polarized society to split. And because political organizations influence the choices of voters by manipulating the media, democracy has also been threatened. Thus, we have to ask how to prevent these social and political crises. I think the government ought to enact laws to strictly restrict the political use of social media, and the giant company should flag the political ads.

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Parsons' Deviance and Ethical Attachments to the Objective, Outside World

By: Samantha Georgiou

There has been much controversy among sociological theorists about whether the social world exists objectively or subjectively. Talcott Parsons (1902-1970) is a structural functionalist who claims that rules are fundamental in the structure and reproduction of social order. He focuses on establishing how social order forms through functional roles, demonstrating action is objective and is a systematic theory of social action. Comparatively, Harold Garfinkel (1917-) looks to ethnomethodology, the folk methods used to achieve social order. He states that individuals are all part of an ethnos and understand what they are doing, yet not how to articulate their actions. It is most appropriate to study the social world through Parsons' functionalist lens that the social world exists outside, as deviance and ethical bonds demonstrate how objective social order produces more coherence and empirical evidence on doing what is morally correct.

Parsons claims that social action is created through functional roles, and these roles, moral obligations, and actions are necessary to maintain social order. He argues for social control and claims that between agency and structure lies moral order, which determines how we live and act in society, dependent on the structure in which it takes place (Parsons 1951 p. 452). Parsons also takes a particular interest in the actions of agents and the social roles they occupy. This reflects his Theory of Action, which states action must have adaptation to other agents and structures, action must be goal-oriented, action must be integrative and take place in context, and action must have latency (Parsons 1951, p. 457). These four functions must all be present in the social system for functionalism to sustain. It is of utmost importance that agency and structure are present in all action systems that consist of these four core criteria for the system to function.

In contrast, Garfinkel claims that social order is an ongoing practical achievement through ethnomethodology, and he is interested in how folk methods keep it running (Rawls cited in Chang 2011, p. 200). He argues that social structure has a practical nature, and individuals are always fulfilling actions that maintain social order. Garfinkel also looks to accountability, and that one is accountable to all engaging acts. Individuals are accountable to social facts, as social order is moral order (Dandaneau 2011, p. 572). However, this exists outside of consciousness, as one cannot express how they carry out their actions. Garfinkel is also interested in the subjective background in which social life occurs. He views this background as what makes social life possible and that even if we cannot articulate it, we must be aware that this background exists (Reckwitz 2011, p. 468). Likewise, Garfinkel examines social order concerning morality and reality, claiming that action is not only shaped or enforced but is defined and created in this way (Garfinkel 1956, p. 420).

While the two examine structural conditions and morals, their views are different as Parsons looks to social order through functional deviance, whereas Garfinkel applies degradation. Parsons claims that individuals must adhere to the modes of obligations that shape their behaviour, yet transitions between roles occupied by individuals maintain such deviance (Downes and Rock 2011, p.145). For example, this deviation must occur from social actors' current roles to adopt the sick role, and one cannot carry out their typical role in society (Parsons 1951, p. 453). The sick role is deviant, as one is "failing in

some way to fulfil the institutionally defined expectations of one or more of the roles in which the individual is implicated in society," and moving away from roles such as fathers or daughters (Parsons 1951, p. 452). Notably, the sick role, or any role transition, must occur in a specific institution where this role has a structural function (Parsons 1951, p. 458). Such objective role transitions are more salient than Garfinkel's motivations on what is believable and not morally correct.

Garfinkel instead looks to degradation and how the transformation of one's identity is due to the motivations of one's actions. He states that we are accountable to social facts and aims to understand how one creates meaning in moments of everyday social life (Garfinkel 1956, p. 424). Garfinkel's motivations are contextualized like Parsons', but in terms of local, ritualized conduct and moral work done in the "transformation of identities," carried out in specific conditions as the "old object...is replaced by another" (Garfinkel 1956, p. 421). This can be shown in his example of jury deliberation, as many individuals have been wrongfully convicted or pardoned for crimes based on the convincing stories and motivations told in court. Garfinkel would interpret its purpose as thinking of motivations for one's actions and creating a believable story for the jury, unlike Parson's, who would focus on the deviant role transitions and moral actions of the crime (Garfinkel 1956, p. 420).

Garfinkel's motivations do not account for what actually happened but for believable aspects. However, looking at Parsons' view of moral actions through social deviance is more acceptable, as one can perceive visible, objective aspects through the structures they occur within instead of the invisible and subjective elements of degradation. This structural functionalist lens accounts for conflict and can help society reduce it through physical and visible social change and control.

Parsons argues that ethical attachments connect us to the social system, and these functions help to maintain societal structures as a whole. This is done through Parsons' systematic Theory of Social Action, which states that laws and categories explaining action can be created (Parsons 1951, p. 452). For example, the many roles present in a classroom, such as the nerd, the class clown, and the teacher, are crucial in maintaining social order. Whether conflict arises, the structure continues to function, as social systems are adaptive and rely on many parts to work as a whole (Dandaneau 2011, p. 572). Inequality is present, but the structure will function regardless.

Nevertheless, Garfinkel would argue that the different roles in the classroom emerge from our unconscious motivations and that one cannot explain their actions (Garfinkel 1956, p.458). Regardless of one's actions, they are accountable to them. Parsons' view on the connection of ethical attachments to the social system help view society as a sum of its many parts, providing a more concrete way of looking at society and its interrelations. Each structure and function in society, and the actions taking place within them, contribute to society in reducing conflict and adapting to social change. Institutions operate individually, yet they collectively produce social stability.

On the contrary, Garfinkel emphasizes the explanation of moral attachments and ethics present in social systems, as one cannot see beyond the methods employed. This transpires as ethical attachments are accountable to social facts (Reckwitz 2011, p.458). To Garfinkel, social order *is* moral order existing outside of consciousness, as one cannot articulate the mechanisms used in social acts (Garfinkel 1956, p. 421). He is interested in understanding how moral attachments form

among individuals based on their motivations and backdrop (Garfinkel 1956, p. 421). By contrast, structural functionalism and its ethical attachments demonstrate how shared social views form through social order. Garfinkel's focus on explaining motivations and accountability behind ethical connections provides an individualized sense of social order that differs among setting rather than structures. It is more challenging to measure social order subjectively, and Parsons' objective stance provides empirical observations of the social world.

Overall, Parson's objective lens on social deviance and ethical attachments looks to the social world at a more extensive scope than an individual, subjective level. The existence of the outside renders more possibility for moral, social change and can reduce conflict and improve current structures in society, such as the justice system. Garfinkel's subjective view of society does not allow for this outside, as unconscious, individual motivations pertain merely to the individual and therefore do not account for much. Ultimately, Parson's structural functionalist approach to the outside world is the most appropriate perspective.

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Marriage Rituals: The Reproduction of Gender Inequality in Bridal Showers and Wedding Ceremonies
By: Hailey Hall

Marriage rituals can be defined as the upholding of traditions associated with the promotion and maintenance of social norms related to marriage, which have always existed (Albanese 2018). Over time, this encouragement of tradition has become the dominant focus of marriage rituals which has reinforced divisions between genders. With a specific focus on Western, capitalist societies, this paper will use Humble's conceptualization of traditional couples to argue that marriage rituals reproduce hegemonic gendered norms by reinforcing stereotypical female responsibilities in the home within bridal showers and by further perpetuating gender segregation within ceremonial wedding practices. This paper will first examine how bridal showers reproduce gender inequality by supporting the traditional role of wives through gendered obligation, gift giving, and perfectionism of behaviour. This paper will then proceed by demonstrating how gender is segregated in the wedding ceremony through the division of bridesmaids and groomsmen, objectification of the bride, and the emphasis of the wedding as being "for the woman". Because of the significance of tradition in marriage rituals and the resulting reproduction of gender inequality, marriage and weddings have become more symbolic of social constructions rather than intimate celebrations of love between couples.
Bridal showers are considered pre-wedding rituals that have an established structure and scripted activity (Montemurro 2002). According to Humble's conceptualization of traditional couples, the brides are responsible for planning these events (Humble 2009). As a result, this expectation of responsibility on the bride is further perpetuated in expectations for women in the home. In one study, female participants revealed that their participation in bridal showers was due to a "gendered, moral obligation" to retrieve items necessary for the bride to start a "successful household" (Montemurro 2002:88). Similarly, another study found that rituals including bridal showers "emphasize the interdependence of women who rely upon each other for support in serving the needs of their husbands and children" (Cheal cited in Montemurro 2002:88). The bridal shower ultimately works to provide a foundation for the bride to be a successful housewife through the gifts and support given to her by other women who attend. Bridal showers enforce the mold of traditional wives onto not only the bride herself, but women who feel obligated to attend and subscribe to the social scripts associated with them. It is clear that bridal showers are more focused on the success of the bride as a new wife, rather than celebrating the love between her and the groom.

Other criteria that are expected among women who attend bridal showers is to purchase gifts for the bride. Traditionally, bridal showers serve to provide the bride with items she will need to be successful in her new status as a wife, which often includes pots and pans, dishes, linens, small appliances, and other household items (Albanese 2018). These kinds of gifts encourage traditional female household responsibilities by providing the bride with the necessities needed to uphold the expected duties as a wife, which are cooking and cleaning. This form of gift giving promotes the social construction of what it means to be a traditional wife to a husband, rather than acting as a celebration for the bride, further perpetuating a traditional mold that a woman is expected to fit into.
These social scripts that endorse traditional responsibilities are further

demonstrated by the expectations that are enforced upon brides to be poised and perfect, not only during the bridal shower and the wedding, but as a wife. This mold that is created by these traditional expectations of a wife can be defined as a "clean and proper body – the kind of solid, autonomous, and heteronormative subject that is constituted in traditional Western wedding culture" (White 2012:115). This demonstrates the socialization of brides and the need for them to remain perfect, both with their appearance and in their behaviour (White 2012). This socialization not only shapes how a bride is supposed to act at her own marriage rituals, but it also leads to shaping behaviour in the home. Instead of being a perfect bride that adheres to traditional social scripts, the bride will have to transition into the role of the perfect wife by participating in traditional responsibilities in the home. The obligation experienced by women, the kinds of gifts given to the bride, and the expectations for behaviour during bridal showers not only reproduces gender inequality for women but contributes to marriage as being a social construction rather than a personalized celebration.

The reproduction of gender inequality is also experienced during wedding ceremonies as this marriage ritual is embedded with traditions that revolve around gendered conventions. Humble's traditional couples not only emphasizes the responsibility that women have in wedding planning, but also how these couples are influenced by other dominant cultural scripts in wedding traditions (Humble 2009). One of these dominant scripts involves gender segregation through the division and heterosexual pairings of bridesmaids and groomsmen (Fairchild 2014). This ritual is so embedded in ceremonial wedding practices that it seems impossible to mix genders, and grooms' sisters and brides' brothers are forced to stand with their respective genders regardless of which partner they are closest with (Fairchild 2014). This segregation not only creates discomfort, but it enforces social scripts over personal relationships. This segregation further reproduces gender inequality as this division and identification with respective genders excludes individuals who do not identify as cisgender or heterosexual. This further demonstrates how marriage rituals are more representative of gendered, social constructs rather than a celebration of the love and unification between the bride, groom, and their families.

Gender inequality is also experienced in other aspects of ceremonial wedding practices including the emphasis and centralization of the bride's physical appearance. Not only are brides centralized, but grooms are constructed as incompetent and inconsequential in both the planning process and ceremonial practices (Boden cited in Albanese 2018). Women become objectified as being a "fantasy object" and the centre of attention while the groom and the audience don over her physical appearance (Boden cited in Albanese 2018:171). This centralization of the bride's appearance in ceremonial wedding practices reveals how embedded gendered conventions are in the traditions that are rooted in these marriage rituals. Weddings do not reflect the bride and groom equally and instead, the bride is glorified for her beauty and appearance, demonstrating how the objectification of women and gender inequality continues to dominate these rituals.

The centrality of brides that exists in ceremonial wedding practices is further examined through the gendered assumption that weddings are "for women". This assumption is explored in Humble's traditional couples through the influence of the dominant cultural script that weddings are "for women", and the use of several

gendered strategies (Humble 2009:262). An example of these gendered strategies includes women's responsibility for the planning and perfect execution of the wedding ceremony. This associated femininity is demonstrated through wedding texts and photographs that perpetuate the wedding as being the most significant event in the woman's life, rather than portraying the event as being an important occasion for the couple, family, and social network (White 2012). Moreover, the wedding is undermined as being a social event that is one of many life occurrences that people experience (White 2012). This undermining demonstrates how marriage rituals fail to reflect the intimacy and unity of the couple. Instead, marriage practices are being replaced by gendered, social conventions that segregate, objectify, and feminize.

Bridal showers and wedding ceremonies are embedded with traditional social conventions that reproduce gender inequality, which has resulted in the domination of social scripts over the celebration of intimacy and love between couples. Traditional female responsibilities in the home are enforced by bridal showers through women's obligation to help the bride's transition into wifehood, gift giving, and the necessity for brides to conform to expectations of behaviour. Gender segregation is enforced in wedding ceremonies as bridesmaids and groomsmen are divided, brides are centralized based on their physical appearance, and weddings are reduced to being "for the woman". Marriage rituals have ultimately become more symbolic of gendered, social conventions rather than love. These special events have also become less personalized as they no longer reflect a celebration of the specific couple but are rather undermined as being a common experience in people's lives.

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Goffman and Foucault: Their Influences on our Understandings of Mental Illness and Psychiatric Institutions
By: Haley Wieczorek

Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault have provided significant contributions to sociology, advancing our understandings of the individual and how they function within society. However, their views differ entirely, presenting two distinctive yet critical ways of conceptualizing mental illness and psychiatric institutions. In this paper, I will argue that Foucault's functionalist perspective downplays and ignores the significance of individual action in day-to-day interactions when analyzing mental illness and psychiatric institutions. Thus, Goffman's interactionist view is most valuable, ethnographically approaching the fundamental queries left untouched in Foucault's investigation.

Goffman presents a critical view of psychiatric institutions through his concept of total institutions. He identifies asylums (like prisons and monasteries) as being the means to maintain social order and control, where they enact "rigid regimens, tight supervision and complex rules that routinize the daily movements of large groups of cohorts, socialize them to the culture of that institution, and yet somehow seek to return them to society at large" (Ritzer and Ryan, [total institutions]). Goffman believes what doctors consider psychotic behaviours are indeed instances of situational impropriety, where there is "a failure to abide by rules established for the conduct of face-to-face interaction" (Goffman 1967, p. 141). Thus, psychiatric institutions do not assist in healing illnesses, and once committed, people attempt to fulfill the mentally ill social role, creating new parts of their identity to make it easier for others to process their confinement. They situate themselves as actors, approaching life dramaturgically by mimicking "a socially structured delict" (Goffman 1967, p. 146). This new aspect of their identity is forced upon them through their face-to-face interactions with psychiatrists and doctors. It is a scene of impression management, taking up and maintaining appearances around the mark of difference "by means of which [the mental patients] make claims for identity... and must manage issues of credibility as they attempt to maintain face through interactions (Ritzer and Ryan, [identity: social psychological aspects]). Goffman sees a similarity between asylums and other institutions, such as prisons, by referring to patients as inmates to show how they are cut off from everyday life and treated like prisoners by wearing uniforms.

Like Goffman, Foucault's analysis applies to multiple institutions, such as medical institutions, the army, and prisons, to explain the repressive nature of these establishments and how social order is constantly created and social control is exerted. However, the key focus of his research is how the institution itself exercises power to ensure social order, not on how the systems of social interaction (where individuals play social roles) maintain order like Goffman. Foucault identifies two types of power existing throughout time, sovereign power (the large-scale power of kings) and disciplinary power (the small-scale power seeking to optimize), which "became the general formula of domination" after the eighteenth century (Foucault 1977, p. 137). Disciplinary power is exercised through knowledge and surveillance, involving "small acts of cunning endowed with a great power of diffusion" that "pursued petty forms of coercion" such as wearing hospital clothing or the monitoring of phone calls with a time maximum (Foucault 1977, p. 139). Foucault

employs the concept of discourse, the way of organizing truth and how individuals take certain things as accurate and act on them, to explain the effects of power on the social system. In the case of psychiatric institutions, our contemporary understanding of the severely mentally ill is that they are sick and need therapy to get better, which justifies the unruly implication of social control by ostracizing them from society within asylums with security. Foucault identifies disciplinary power to be of benefit since as subjects, we become "the target for new mechanisms of power, [where] the body is offered up to new forms of knowledge," and is optimized through discourse (Foucault 1977, p. 155). Thus, subjectification (making-up people) occurs, where power re-shapes the habits, minds, and behaviours of the mentally ill. Here, Foucault sees the exertion of disciplinary power as productive, actively suppressing mental illness and conceding that this type of power creates "the best relation between a gesture and the overall position of the body, which is its condition of efficiency and speed" (Foucault 1977, p. 152). Discourse and knowledge can then come back to reflect and direct power by the ways people talk and think within the psychiatric institution, "elaborating [on the] procedures for the individual and collective coercion of bodies" (Foucault 1977, p.169). These behaviours are not expressing disciplinary power: they are shaping it. Hence, discourse not only actively defines what inmates do and how they are made as subjects, but also reinforces the psychiatric establishment as an institution.

According to Goffman, mental illnesses are a type of stigma referred to as character defects, marking people as less than normal that affect their interpersonal interactions. Stigma exists in the relation between an attribute, like mental illness, and the majority audience in society (normal people). A person who has a mental illness is "reduced in [the normals'] minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman 1963, p. 3). This inferior thinking leads to normals enacting stigma, where they "exercise varieties of discrimination," such as withholding opportunities and being verbally abusive (Goffman 1963, p. 5). With a spoiled identity posing the risk of judgement, those who have mental illness situate themselves as actors, approaching life dramaturgically by attending to customary engagements and normals' mannerisms to avoid drawing attention to this stigmatized aspect of themselves. To Goffman, dramaturgy consists of impression management, and he aims to see how interaction, especially around the mark of difference, "permits order by sanctioning performances and sustaining collaboration" (Ritzer and Ryan, [dramaturgy]).

Although Foucault agrees that mental illness is affected by the small moments of interaction, he discerns that it cannot be understood without institutions and their effects of disciplinary power and coercion, especially since they have become dispersed throughout our society, constantly manipulating people's behaviour. He is interested in how disciplinary power explores the human body, "breaks it down and rearranges it" subtly over time to produce "subjected and practised bodies, docile bodies" that are easily manipulated (Foucault 1977, p.138). This constant regulation causes the mentally ill to become self-disciplined, where "all the [inmates] require is the possibility of being watched in order to monitor their own behavior" (Ritzer and Ryan, [Foucault, Michel]). It can also be taken in a context outside the psychiatric institution, where the socially defined mentally ill are continuously watched and surveyed by their family members, peers, and psychiatrists.

While Foucault's work provides an essential framework for understanding how as subjects, we take in the mechanisms of power in our institutionally situated everyday lives, he is too preoccupied with it, where his "conception of power reduces people and institutions to mere objects rather than subjects" (Sangren 1995 cited in Ritzer and Ryan, [Foucault, Michel]). He exaggerates the effects of how disciplinary mechanisms create docile bodies that are "subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault 1977, p. 136). Even under disciplinary mechanisms, people, especially the mentally ill, still have free will where there is the option for resistance. His fixation on power disregards essential aspects for the analysis of mental illness and psychiatric institutions.

But Goffman's work crucially recognizes that indicators of mental illness reside principally in interpersonal interactions, where instances of situational impropriety disrupt social order. Face-to-face interaction, whether in psychiatric institutions between a psychiatrist and patient or between a normal and someone exhibiting psychotic symptoms, discloses more about mental illness and the functioning of asylums than that of power, knowledge, and truth. By observing interactions, the improprieties of psychiatric discourse become apparent, where instead of healing the mentally ill, psychiatrists are truly policing socially acceptable behaviour, unable to "institutionalize, to sell on the social market, their own fantasies of what they were engaged in doing" (Goffman 1967, p.139). While it can be argued that Goffman presents a limited point of view by not expanding enough on the influences of social structure and institutions upon interactions (agency versus structure debate), I contend that this decision was not one of ignorance. Goffman recognized that "society established the means of categorizing persons" where the individual is situated within institutions and that their interactions are somewhat regulated by it (Goffman 1963, p.2). He chose to focus on the small, face-to-face interactions because he saw this method as the most insightful approach when studying mental illness and psychiatric institutions. It was through this method of thought that Goffman was able to provide compelling theories and ideas never previously explored in the social sciences. Goffman and Foucault operate their analyses on different levels. Goffman is solely interested in co-presence, and Foucault studies the large systems of thought and distributions of power that emerge from institutions. Thus, Goffman and Foucault's works are complementary, providing valuable information into where the other's theory lacks in perspective by combining the macro and micro analyses. Nevertheless, Goffman's approach is more suited for critiquing and exploring mental illness and psychiatric institutions since mental symptoms reside and affect our everyday interactions the most. His methodology has not only inspired other sociologists, such as Franco Basaglia but has had a massive influence over our contemporary understanding of everyday interactions. The critiques Goffman presents of psychiatric discourse help identify and bring awareness to problematic interpersonal relations, such as the stigmatization of mental illness. Goffman's analysis is powerful, providing insightful knowledge on the staging of social performances, specifically surrounding mental illness within and outside of asylums.

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How Remote Learning Amplified the Digital Divide

By: Victoria-Ann Barsby

It is apparent that technology has been significant in the transition to remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. While some students were able to easily transition to online learning, many were excluded as a result of the digital divide. As defined by the Benton Institute, the digital divide is “the gap between who has access to broadband infrastructure or who does not” and “the gap between who's actually using our most powerful communications tools and who is not” (Kevin Taglang 2021: n.p). The COVID-19 pandemic has worked to accelerate the digital divide within education. Students without access to proper technological resources struggled to participate in online learning and were isolated from their education. This paper will argue that technologies utilized in remote delivery during the pandemic worked to ostracize students from learning through existing physical infrastructures, influences of big technology companies, and by biases imbedded in technology. While this shift to digitalization has reshaped experiences of education, it has primarily deepened the digital divide in classrooms.

Primarily, as COVID-19 forced global societies into lockdown and self-isolation, schools looked to technology as a means to continue teaching remotely throughout the pandemic. Donna St. George (2021: n.p) emphasizes this drastic transition in education delivery:

The coronavirus pandemic upended almost every aspect of school at once. It was not just the move from classrooms to computer screens. It tested basic ideas about instruction, attendance, testing, funding, the role of technology and the human connections that hold it all together.

Students and teachers, alike, were forced to re-learn the education system in a virtual setting. The initial anxieties of lockdown were heightened by individuals working to familiarize themselves with digital platforms like Zoom and Google Classroom. Additionally, school systems struggled to uphold their teaching standards and practices while participating in online learning (ibid). This change in the quality of education is most felt by vulnerable populations, as Carolina Gonzalez (2021: n.p) states:

Because of the digital divide, the pandemic could exacerbate existing achievement gaps. School shutdowns will not only cause disproportionate learning losses for Black, Hispanic and low-income students but also lead more of them to drop out.

Additionally, socio-economic status also played a role in which students could afford the technology to participate in online schooling. The relevance of remote learning during the COVID-19 pandemic is that the reliance on technology for teaching equates in unequal learning outcomes for students. Virtual learning and technology are not neutral forces that are accessible for all. Digital inequalities need to be addressed to ensure education is accessible for all students.

First, the existing infrastructures of technologies work to disconnect vulnerable students from the online classroom during the pandemic. The positioning of telecommunication cables is "explained by an urban logic that assumes that cables directly connect the centers of major cities (reflecting a broader focus on the city as the critical unit of analysis for telecommunications infrastructure)" (Nicole Starosielski 2015:29). The connectivity capabilities of urban communities provide its residents with strong broadband and fast internet connections. Starosielski (2015) adds: "Cables have often been laid to locations where there is already enough capacity as a way of generating competition, stimulating increased signal traffic, and lowering prices" (30). As a result of cable locations, students in rural communities often struggle to connect to digital infrastructures, experience delays while using the internet, and are unable to access online learning platforms. During the pandemic, this disconnection was most greatly felt by Indigenous, Black, and Hispanic communities who live on the outskirts of urban centers. Students within these communities during remote learning faced additional barriers to their education due to the lack of telecommunication cables within their region. Equal access to remote learning is dependent on safe and reliable infrastructures of communication (Rebecca Torchia 2021: n.p). Until the geographical disparities are addressed in technological infrastructures, students residing outside of urban hubs will continue to receive an inferior remote learning experience.

Moreover, the reliance on technology companies, such as Google and Microsoft, during remote learning has worked to push the agenda of these companies onto students. Safiya Noble (2018:64) identifies the role neoliberalism plays in this technological phenomenon:

Neoliberalism has emerged and served as a framework for developing social and economic policy in the interest of elites, while simultaneously crafting a new worldview: an ideology of individual freedoms that foreground personal creativity, contribution, and participation, as if these engagements are not interconnected to broader labor practices of systemic and structural exclusion.

As stated by Noble, the framework developed by these companies is self-serving and exclusive. Throughout the pandemic, big tech companies have provided free educational tools to schools. This has ensured that school systems are

dependent on the services offered by these companies (Chelsea Toczauer 2021: n.p). This is a critical issue as it "allows companies the chance to ingrain their respective influence and operating systems on students, affording a major source of investment for the future in potential workers and customers" (ibid). Students are being subconsciously programed by profit-seeking firms. The pandemic has worked to allow technology companies to play an active role within the education system. A fear for many teachers is that digitalized learning becomes a corporate, top-down experience for students (ibid). The utilization of digital platforms has shaped a capitalistic system of learning. Education is being funneled by profit motivated firms who prioritize monetization above students' wellbeing. During the pandemic, this power relationship exercised by technology companies ostracised students from their learning.

Next, biases embedded in technologies shape student's learning by pushing sexist and racist ideologies in education. Meredith Broussard (2018) explains how biases are integrated into tech: "Algorithms are designed by people, and people embed their unconscious biases in algorithms" (150). These embedded biases work to hinder user identity, as "Algorithmic racism frequently functions as a type of technological microaggression—those thinly veiled, prejudiced behaviors that often happen without the aggressor intending to hurt anyone" (Avriel Epps-Darling 2020: n.p). These biases were apparent when analyzing the academic achievements of Black, Hispanic, Indigenous, and disabled students during the pandemic (Jessica Dickler 2021: n.p). This data supports the systematic systems of racial hierarchies that are embedded in technology. Safiya Nobel (2018) emphasizes the implications of these findings: "If the government, industry, schools, hospitals, and public agencies are driving users to the Internet as a means of providing services, then this confers a level of authority and trust in the medium itself" (82). When women and students of colour are being fed racialized and gendered information within schools, it can work to hinder their learning. These biases embedded in technology perpetuate systems of racism and sexism in education. This in turn shapes student's learning by advocating systems of prejudice and racial hierarchies.

Additionally, the implications of the use of technology during remote learning is the amplifying of the digital divide. As a result of the pandemic, schools are looking for ways to continue incorporating remote learning into systems of education. Most recently, schools have taken on hybrid forms of learning that utilize in-person and remote instruction. The continued use and reliance of technology in education will ostracize at-risk students from learning. Students who come from low-income backgrounds are not equipped with the tools needed for online academic success (Chelsea Toczauer 2021: n.p). The consequence of the digital divide within schooling is that it leads to disproportional levels of education. Children who cannot access digital infrastructures may be unmotivated to participate in remote learning. Further, the ideologies of big technology companies and the biases embedded in technology work to isolate vulnerable populations from their online classroom. As a result, the reliance of technology in schools leads education to become inequitable.

Opposingly, many would argue that the transition to digitalized learning during the pandemic provides more opportunities for students than it took away. Anne Jacoby (2021: n.p) states how relationships can be fostered in remote learning:

Many coaching and mentorship relationships have always been virtual. And global teams

have long relied on technology to successfully build trusted relationships. Much like in-person connection, it often comes down to the emotional intelligence of each party. Greater empathy and social awareness can be brought into virtual spaces, but those underlying skills still take practice.

Students were able to experience smaller, personalized breakout rooms, arrange individual Zoom calls with their teachers, and utilize new teaching technologies. These experiences of remote learning can "enable virtual sharing of energy, ideas and build real-time connections. In some situations, these have the potential for higher impact and may outweigh the benefits of in-person learning experiences" (ibid). Though remote learning has unlocked new possibilities for technology within education, not all students are able to actively participate in the online world. Digital infrastructures, big technology companies, and biases in technology work to exclude minorities, disabled individuals, women, LGBTQIA+ members, and low-income individuals. As a result, not everyone is able to experience the "benefits" technology unlocks within remote learning.

In conclusion, existing physical infrastructures, agendas of big technology companies, and biases embedded within technology worked to exclude at-risk students during remote learning throughout the pandemic. Not all students were able to easily and efficiently access virtual classrooms due to their geographic location and the limitations of telecommunication cables. When students were able to participate in digitalized learning, big tech companies and technological biases worked to perpetuate societal hierarchies and economic agendas. As a result, there was high levels of disparity across education throughout the pandemic. Moving forward, as schools work to continue integrating technology into classrooms, technological inequalities must be addressed. A great deal of this responsibility falls onto governments. As families and communities were pushed into lockdown, they were not given the resources to accessibly participate in the online world. The lack of digital infrastructures and privatization of technology needs to be accounted for by political leaders. Will governments work to subsidize building efforts for new digital telecommunication cables? Will new laws be enacted to address the biases within technological infrastructures? Further, will governments monitor the role of companies, like Amazon and Google, in public education systems? While the future of the pandemic remains unseen, governments need to act now to begin addressing the digital divide.

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The Effects of Globalization on Energy Consumption
By: Victoria-Ann Barsby

This critical analysis will cover the global problematic of the effects of globalization on energy consumption. In order to provide said analysis, the implications of global trade on energy consumption will be dissected, followed by an examination of tourism in relation to non-renewable energy sources, and consumerism habits in the Global North compared to the rest of the world. Trade, tourism, and consumerism work to increase global interaction and are dependent on high energy use. Analyzing these international processes will work to highlight the relationship between globalization and energy consumption. The interconnectedness of global societies puts a strain on non-renewable energy resources, and negatively adds to the global environmental crisis. Further, the counterargument for globalization will be addressed and combatted with empirical findings. This paper will argue that globalization has increased energy consumption through trade, tourism, and consumerism. While globalization has worked to connect international communities, societies dependence on non-renewable energy have severe environmental consequences as a result. The relationship between globalization and energy consumption is key to this critical analysis. Within this paper, globalization will be understood as a worldwide movement toward economic, capital, communications, and resources integration (Shahbaz, Lahiani, Abosedra, and Hammoudeh 2018:162). Energy consumption is defined as the amount of energy, from a variety of sources, that is used. This paper will primarily focus on

globalizations' reliance of non-renewable energy sources, such as fossil fuels. Significantly, the process of globalization has resulted in increased international energy consumption. Globalization, within the last two decades, has worked to accelerate global economies. As the global communities become more interconnected by way of trade, tourism, and consumerism, more energy is needed to power these international transactions. Shahbaz et al. (2018) stress that these current transactions rely on non-renewable energy sources: "globalization is believed to have caused an expansion in global energy demand and an increase in the emissions of greenhouse gases, which have negative consequences on the environment" (162). Globalization is a key actor within the worldwide climate crisis. By addressing and identifying the role globalization plays in increased energy consumption, one can look for ways in which global international societies can address this issue. Additionally, Hawaii, my home state, will be briefly analyzed in relation to trade and tourism to highlight local and personal implications.

Firstly, trade is a crucial component to globalization that results in high levels of energy consumption. On a global scale, imports and exports of goods and services are economic tools utilized by countries to increase economic growth, strengthen gross domestic product (GDP), lead to specialization, and improve citizens quality of life. Less-developed countries rely on the spillover effect from international trade, such as the diffusion of advanced technology, by developed countries to help develop their own nations (Zheng and Walsh 2019:153). This continued reliance of global societies on trade transactions works to increase overall energy consumption. The World Trade Organization (2021) states that goods not only require energy to be transported, either by air, maritime, road, or rail, but also require energy use throughout the products lifecycle (n.p). Shahbaz et al. (2018:1481) emphasize this relationship between trade and energy usage:

Trade can influence energy consumption via a scale effect (increased movement of goods and services on account of trade leads to economic activity and energy usage), a technique effect (trade enables technology transfer from developed to developing countries) and a composite effect (trade can affect the sector composition of an economy).

The scale, technique, and composite effect offer empirical findings that highlight the effect trade has on energy consumption. Shahbaz et al. (2018) quantitative research on international trade works to "investigate the impact of trade liberalization on per capita energy use for 32 developed and developing countries and finds that trade liberalization increases per capita energy use" (163). Significantly, both developed and developing countries rely on trade as a means to stimulate national economy. Globalization, as seen through trade, has ensured the interconnectedness of states. Hawaii is a state surrounded by water and is heavily dependent on international and national trade – boat cargos and air cargos. International trade partnerships and treaties work to connect global communities through movements of goods and services which in turn requires high levels of energy consumption. As international trade continues to increase, levels of energy consumption will follow. As long as trade is dependent on fossil fuels, this trend will also result in higher levels of greenhouse gases.

Secondly, tourism heavily influences energy consumption through economic globalization. Whether for pleasure, family holiday, pilgrimage, or business, tourists take part in human movement. Tourism plays many roles within the global economy

from creating employment, accounting for the movement of people, strengthening heritage value, and promoting exports (R. Nepal, Irsyad, and K. Nepal 2019:145). In Hawaii, tourism is the largest industry and is the main contributor to the local economy. However, as tourists travel around the globe boasting economies and discovering new destinations, they also drain non-renewable energy sources in the process. Similar to trade, the transportation of people, via air, road, maritime, or rail, requires lots of energy. According to Sillers (2021) travel via “aviation generates 2.8% of global CO2 emissions and, even before the recent COP26 climate talks, has become a lightning rod for the "flight shame" movement” (n.p). Further, the demand for air travel is only increasing, by 2050 over 10 billion people will be travelling annually, resulting in 21.2 gigatons of carbon (ibid). While travel directly accounts for an increase in energy consumption, individual countries also found an increase in their energy usages when accounting for tourists stay in their country. R. Nepal et al. (2019) study in Cyprus and Turkey described tourism as a fossil fuel-dependent industry, stating: “International tourism was also found to be catalyst for an increase in the level of CO2 emissions in Cyprus using a trivariate framework of international tourist arrivals, energy consumption and emissions” (147). During the duration of a tourist’s stay, they expect accessible access to energy to ensure a safe, hygienic, and enjoyable stay (ibid:151). As a result of these expectations of host countries: “Developing mountain economies like Nepal are generally over-dependent on fossil fuels and bear greater risks of being adversely affected by the associated emissions” (ibid:152). Crucially, the global movement of people between nations depletes energy throughout the transportation process, and throughout the duration of a tourists’ stay. Getting tourists to and from vacation destinations requires lots of carbon and leads to greenhouse emissions. Additionally, countries all around the world are increasing their energy use to account for visiting guests. In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and as more people look to travel, more global energy will be needed to account for the increase in tourism. As a result, more greenhouse emissions will be released into the atmosphere as a demand for flights, cruises, and hotels increases globally.

Thirdly, globalization contributes to the problem of energy consumption within consumerism, especially within the Global North. Thampi (2021) defines consumerism as “the belief that we could find fulfilment and happiness in the increasingly superior goods and services we had come to depend on” (n.p). Consumerism within itself is linked to higher energy consumption. Cepeliauskaite and Stasiskiene (2020) stress the environmental implications of consumerism, stating: “Inadequate consumerism, which promotes industrial growth, the pursuit of a better life and its’ results are not only damaging to the natural ecosystem, but also pose a threat to human health/safety and determine climate change” (3). However, consumption within core nations, such as the United States, Canada, and Germany, has quickly become overconsumption. This trend towards overconsumption is ecologically unsustainable, is driven by one’s desire for social status, and is seen as a way to secure a position within society (Bell 2013 cited in Harlan, Pellow, Roberts, Bell, Holt, and Nagel 2015:2). The increase of energy consumption due to overconsumption of goods and services is predominantly connected to the Global North. Harlan et al. (2015:2) emphasize the disparity in consumption habits across global societies: Global North nations have consumed more than three times their share of the

atmosphere (in terms of the amount of emissions that we can safely put into the atmosphere) while the poorest 10 percent of the world's population has contributed less than 1 percent of CO2 emissions.

Globalization has played a key role in enabling the Global North to partake in overconsumption. Global supply chains have made it cheaper and more accessible for citizens in core countries to consume. Countries in the global south, like China, Malaysia, and the Philippines, produce goods at lower production and labour costs than they would in North America. As a result, the global south is utilizing more energy to produce the increasing number of goods demanded by the North. Additionally, through the process of trade, outlined above, high levels of energy are required to transport the goods. Low-cost supply chains are a product of globalization and enable the Global North's consumerism habits. Opposingly, many people believe that the benefits globalization provides, through trade, tourism, and consumerism, outweigh the cons of high energy consumption on the environment. Trade, tourism, and consumerism have unarguably strengthened global economies. For example, international trade continues to be one of the key factors that contributes to China's development and strong economy. Zheng and Walsh's (2019) study of China's growth "found a bi-directional causality relationship between international trade and economic growth in China" (155). Many developing countries have hope that globalization will help accelerate their growth, just as it did for China. Additionally, tourism contributes heavily to national economies, as seen in Hawaii. Studies in Nepal, Malaysia, South Korea, and Sir Lanka show bidirectional causality between economic growth, especially through GDP, and tourism (R. Nepal et al. 2019:146). These findings highlight the important role tourism plays within national economies. Moreover, consumerism habits also drive economic growth. Consumerism, as seen through global supply chains, works to increase economic activity for both the producer and the purchasing party (Zheng and Walsh 2019:156). Countries in the Global South are able to produce more goods at low costs, and countries in the Global North can consume more of these goods for cheaper prices. While the benefits of globalization have improved international economies, these processes consume more energy than ecologically sustainable in the long-run. Shahbaz et al. (2018) empirical research found that globalization directly leads to increased energy consumption in the United States, Denmark, Luxembourg, and the United Kingdom (1488). Within the research, it is emphasised that the benefits of globalization need to be understood in an ecological context of how "globalization affects energy consumption because increases in fossil fuel energy consumption lead to higher emissions of CO2 emissions. Higher CO2 through its effects on climate change will affect the health and well-being of not only present but future generations" (1490). Additionally, as global populations continue to rise, the equivalent of three planets would be needed provide natural resources for current consumption levels (United Nations 2021: n.p). The benefits of globalization need to be juxtaposed against the high levels of energy required to achieve global economic development. Trade, tourism, and consumerism are economic tools that release increased greenhouse emissions into the atmosphere. Though these processes benefit the economies of countries, the environmental implications work to hinder the health and development of its people. This may result in more people with respiratory illnesses, such as asthma, or skin conditions, leading to a higher tax on

the healthcare system. While energy will always be consumed to sustain globalization, global policies are needed to transition states away from non-renewable energy sources.

Concludingly, globalization, as seen through trade, tourism, and consumerism, results in increased international energy consumption. This increase in energy consumption results in higher CO2 emissions, poorer air quality, and health outcomes for global citizens. Practical policies and changes are needed to transition global actors away from fossil fuels and towards renewable energy sources within systems of globalization. Shahbaz et al. (2018) emphasizes the urgency of these changes: "As globalization continues to expand, so will the world's demand for energy, which should raise a range of serious environmental concerns if not addressed soon" (169). Climate hazards are already increasing globally ranging from droughts, catastrophic rainstorms in Hawaii and Vancouver, warming temperatures in the Artic, and more hurricanes across the Atlantic. Within trade and consumerism, policies are needed to transition heavy industrial industries, such as big plants, towards light industries that utilize less energy through solar and wind energy (Zheng and Walsh 2019:160). Within tourism, sustainable aviation fuel and low-impact travelling is needed to reduce the emissions caused by tourists. Financial incentives may be needed to motivate people to travel more locally and sustainably. However, these are only small-steps towards sustainable globalization. Renewable energy sources need to be incorporated within all facets of globalization, and responsibility needs to fall onto global powers. Will big nation powers follow through on their environmental promises? Will core nation states share renewable energy technology with developing countries? Will countries, such as the United Stated and the United Kingdom, take accountability for years of excesses carbon emissions? While many still question the path towards renewable energy within globalization, what is known is that change is needed now to address the environmental crisis.

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