

PSYCHOLOGY MISCELLANY

No.145 - March 2021

"Crimish" and
Normality/Abnormality

Kevin Brewer

ISSN: 1754-2200

Orsett Psychological Services
PO Box 179
Grays
Essex
RM16 3EW
UK

orsettpsychologicalservices@phonecoop.coop

This document is produced under two principles:

1. All work is sourced to the original authors. The images are all available in the public domain (most from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Main_Page). You are free to use this document, but, please, quote the source (Kevin Brewer 2021) and do not claim it as you own work.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution (by) 3.0 License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 2nd Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California, 94105, USA.

2. Details of the author are included so that the level of expertise of the writer can be assessed. This compares to documents which are not named and it is not possible to tell if the writer has any knowledge about their subject.

Kevin Brewer BSocSc, MSc

An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

A complete listing of his writings at <http://psychologywritings.synthasite.com/>.

CONTENTS

	Page Number
1. Offending across the lifespan	4
2. Protective Gun Ownership	9
3. Victims and Public Trust in the Criminal Justice System	11
4. Classic Research: Personality and Crime	15
5. Terrorism as Mental Abnormality	19
6. Normalisation of Gambling	25
7. Sexual-Related Crimes	33
8. Authoritarianism	48
9. Alcohol and Impairment	56
10. A Conceptual Model of Jonestown	57

1. OFFENDING ACROSS THE LIFESPAN

- 1.1. Persisters or desisters
- 1.2. Criminal justice system contact
- 1.3. References

1.1. PERSISTERS OR DESISTERS

The idea of "life course persisters" (ie: chronic offenders throughout their lives) is challenged by the "age effect" (ie: "all offenders will commit fewer crimes as they age"; Sampson and Laub 2003 p556).

Trying to disentangle these two ideas involves longitudinal studies, but Sampson and Laub (2003) noted three major limitations of research using such methods:

i) Only certain periods of the life course are studied.

ii) Many studies are retrospective.

iii) The variables of "incapacitation and death are typically not accounted for in estimating desistance" (Sampson and Laub 2003 p556).

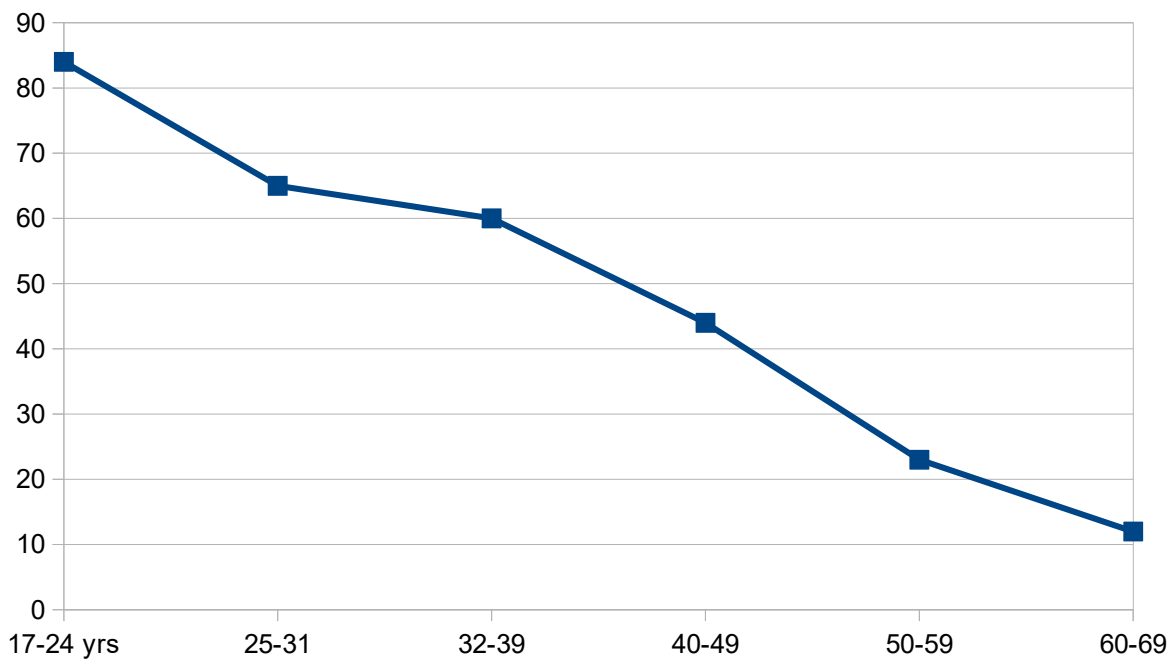
Sampson and Laub (2003) attempted to overcome these weaknesses by using data from a longitudinal study until 70 years old involving 500 men committed to reform school in Massachusetts, USA, in their teens in the 1940s¹. Glueck and Glueck (1950) began the study, Glueck and Glueck (1968) followed up in their 20s, and Sampson and Laub (1993) reported a later follow-up in their 30s. In total, data were available for each man from seven to seventy years old.

So, from this sample of "high-risk" children, it is possible to see who continues with crime throughout their lives (persisters) and who desists. Moffitt's (1993) life trajectories of crime distinguished "life-course persisters", who "although small in number, do enormous damage because they account for the lion's share of adult misconduct"; Sampson and Laub 2003 p559), and "adolescence-limited offenders" (who desist in adulthood). The former group have specific risk factors, according to Moffitt (1993), like difficult temperament, lower IQ, and poor self-control. Gottfredson and Hirschi

¹ There was a control group of 500 non-delinquents matched for age, ethnicity, IQ, and low-income residence (Sampson and Laub 2003).

(1990) saw low self-control as most important at all ages and for all offenders (Sampson and Laub 2003).

Sampson and Laub (2003) found that crime declined with age for all offenders (figure 1.1). For some individuals, this meant desisting, while, for active offenders, the number of crimes declined in middle age and onwards. Sampson and Laub (2003) coined the term "life-course desisters" to describe "the apparent fact that all offenders desist but at time-varying points across the life course" (p588).



(Source of data: Sampson and Laub 2003 table 1 p568)

Figure 1.1 - Total arrests based on age (%).

Sampson and Laub (2003) addressed a potential bias "that high-rate offenders are disproportionately incarcerated, injured, and killed, such that simple trajectories of offending may disguise the existence of persistent offenders who exit involuntarily from the risk pool. When death and incarceration were accounted for, however, the patterns remained remarkably similar even though, as expected, the more the delinquency the greater the likelihood of early death and incarceration" (p586).

1.2. CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM CONTACT

Does contact with the criminal justice system (CJS) reduce or increase future criminal behaviour? The two possibilities are represented by two "long-standing theoretical traditions" (Motz et al 2020 p308):

a) Reduce - deterrence theory: "justice system contact is a positive turning point, implying contact reduces future offending by teaching offenders the costs of crime outweigh the benefits" (p309). Individuals are viewed as rational decision-makers who respond to reward and punishment.

b) Increase - labelling theory: "justice system contact is a negative turning point, implying contact exacerbates the chances of later offending by initiating a self-fulfilling prophecy in which the individual perceives him- or herself as a 'bad apple'" (Motz et al 2020 p309). Structural factors aid in this process (eg: being shunned in society).

To distinguish between the two approaches, Motz et al (2020) used data from a nationally representative, longitudinal study of British twins (Environmental Risk (E-Risk) Longitudinal Twin Study). This study began with 2232 same-sex twins born in 1994-5 in England and Wales. The participants were eighteen years old at the time of this study.

The outcome measure was self-reported delinquency at 18 years old, and the predictor variable was previous contact with the CJS in the teenage years - "Have you ever had to spend a night in police custody, jail or prison?", or "... issued with an ASBO (Anti-Social Behaviour Order)?".

Individuals who had spent a night in jail showed higher levels of delinquency at 18 years old (an average of 3.5 more acts of delinquency compared to the no-jail group). Received an ASBO or having an official criminal record showed the same pattern. Altogether, these findings supported labelling theory.

The study did not ask the age of spending time in jail or receiving an ASBO. "Thus, in theory, it is possible that some participants spent a night in jail or prison or were issued an ASBO during the same past-year period that they self-reported on their delinquency. In such individuals, the high rate of delinquency reported at age 18 might have precipitated the jail or prison

night or the ASBO, complicating interpretations of the direction of influence between the two" (Motz et al 2020 pp324-325).

A strength of the study was the use of twins, "with the goal of adjusting for a wide range of potential confounds at the family level, factors such as the early rearing environment, neighbourhood effects, and even genetic inheritance... Essentially, family confounds capture all factors that might operate to make members of the same family similar to one another. As a result, the design offers 'a natural solution' [Moffitt and Beckley 2015] to ruling out many sources of confounding in criminological research..." (Motz et al 2020 p309). This type of design has been given different names (Motz et al 2020), including the "family fixed-effects design", the "discordant twin design" (Moffitt and Beckley 2015), or "sibling-comparison analysis" (Connolly and Kavish 2018).

Future research would need to "disentangle the differential effects potentially produced via dosage differences (eg: length of time spent incarcerated and number of times incarcerated/convicted), legal differences (eg: type of crime and age at offence), and differences in the offender's perception of the punishment (eg: procedural justice)" (Motz et al 2020 p325).

Also more information is needed about the adolescents' perceptions of CJS contact. "For instance, does justice system contact encourage adolescents to generate a 'condemnation script' through which they begin to feel pessimism for their future and perceive themselves as being 'doomed to deviance' (Maruna 2001)" (Motz et al 2020 p325)?

1.3. REFERENCES

Connolly, E.J & Kavish, N (2018) The causal relationship between childhood adversity and developmental trajectories of delinquency: A consideration of genetic and environmental confounds Journal of Youth and Adolescence 48, 199-211

Glueck, S & Glueck, E (1950) Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency New York: Commonwealth Fund

Glueck, S & Glueck, E (1968) Delinquents and Non-Delinquents in Perspective Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Gottfredson, M.R & Hirschi, T (1990) The true value of lambda would appear to be zero: An essay on career criminals, criminal careers, selective incapacitation, cohort studies, and related topics Criminology 24, 213-224

Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

Maruna, S (2001) Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives Washington DC: American Psychological Association

Moffitt, T.E (1993) Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent anti-social behaviour: A developmental taxonomy Psychological Review 100, 674-701

Moffitt, T.E & Beckley, A (2015) Abandon twin research? Embrace epigenetic research? Premature advice for criminologists Criminology 53, 121-126

Motz, R.T et al (2020) Does contact with the justice system deter or promote future delinquency? Results from a longitudinal study of British adolescent twins Criminology 58, 307-335

Sampson, R.J & Laub, J.H (1993) Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points Through Life Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Sampson, R.J & Laub, J.H (2003) Life-course desisters? Trajectories of crime among delinquent boys followed to age 70 Criminology 41, 3, 555-592

2. PROTECTIVE GUN OWNERSHIP

Buttrick (2020) explored the motivation of gun ownership in the USA. Around one-third of adults own a gun, and two-thirds of them report the reason is personal protection. "And yet gun owners rarely use their guns to prevent victimisation: Reports estimate their defensive use in fewer than 1% of reported crimes involving contact between a perpetrator and a victim... In contrast, bringing a gun into one's home clearly makes it more dangerous: A gun in the home substantially increases the likelihood that a household member will die by a gun, whether by homicide, suicide, or accidental shootings" (Buttrick 2020 p835).

Buttrick (2020) proposed the "coping model of protective gun ownership", and argued that "those who own their weapon for protection are using their gun symbolically as an aid to manage psychological threats – to their safety, control, and sense of belongingness – that come from their belief that the world is a dangerous place and that society will not keep them safe" (p835).

Protective gun ownership (PGO) correlates with the perception of the world as a dangerous place. For example, Shepperd et al (2018) undertook a survey of over 11 000 individuals at a large southern US university, and found that feeling unsafe on campus was reported more by protective gun owners than non-owners or individuals who owned a gun for hunting or target shooting (Buttrick 2020).

Such concern is "felt as a generalised sense of anxiety or fear, not related to specific people or events, but what could be thought of as 'free-floating anxiety'" (Kohn 2004 quoted in Buttrick 2020). Kohn (2004) continued: "One of the ways that shooters cope with the instability and anxiety of contemporary society is to grasp onto objects of safety, control, and profound symbolic meaning: guns. The value of guns lies in their historic and contemporary socio-cultural meaning as much as their solid crime-fighting allure" (quoted in Buttrick 2020).

Buttrick (2020) pointed out that as owners see guns as a means of coping, "they may be reinforcing beliefs that the world is dangerous and that society will not protect them" (p840). He outlined three problems:

i) Individuals become more aware of threats rather than less with PGO.

ii) "Although guns do seem to give their owners a sense of agency, if only the capability to inflict deadly force, they do not seem able to address the sense of societal disempowerment arising from their owners' sense that systems are not interested in protecting them – the very thing creating that threat in the first place. And, in arming themselves, protective gun owners are making their immediate environments more uncontrollable and increasing the likelihood that they will be injured" (Buttrick 2020 p842).

iii) Gun ownership as a sense of belonging and identity means that any discussion about gun controls becomes about identity.

All-in-all Buttrick (2020) saw PGO as a maladaptive coping mechanism, that depended on "a fundamental misperception of what guns can and cannot do. Although guns may make their owners feel better in the moment, they cannot address the fundamental sources of gun owners' threat and instead reinforce those threatening beliefs; consequently, protective gun owners, using their guns to attempt to cope with ever-increasing stress and unable to divest from the gun culture that has become so central to their identity, have trouble disengaging from this cycle" (p847).

REFERENCES

Buttrick, N (2020) Protective gun ownership as a coping mechanism Perspectives in Psychological Science 15, 4, 835-855

Kohn, A (2004) Shooters: Myths and Realities of America's Gun Culture Oxford: Oxford University Press

Shepperd, J.A et al (2018) Gun attitudes on campus: United and divided by safety needs Journal of Social Psychology 158, 615-624

3. VICTIMS AND PUBLIC TRUST IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

- 3.1. Victim support
- 3.2. Victim liaison units
- 3.3. References

3.1. VICTIM SUPPORT

Bradford (2011) began: "Public confidence in the criminal justice system (CJS) is an issue of perennial concern to academics, practitioners and policy-makers. The apparent decline in public trust in the institution(s) of law over recent decades... has coincided with a growing realisation that public trust and the legitimacy of criminal justice institutions are intimately linked to co-operation, deference and compliance with the law" (pp345-346).

Confidence in the CJS can be linked to two ideas (Bradford 2011):

a) The public perception that it is not effective - Described as the "reassurance gap" (Millie and Herrington 2005) or "penal populism" (Pratt 2007), this is the idea that "criminals are not punished severely enough and that the system no longer acts in ways congruent with the aims of reducing offending and punishing the guilty" (Bradford 2011 p346).

b) Decline in public trust in the police and their legitimacy, and particularly, fairness in their behaviour - In fact, "people appear to care most about the fairness of authorities they have contact with, and fair treatment is intimately linked to satisfaction with the authority, trust and legitimacy" (Bradford 2011 p346).

In the USA, Gau (2010) found that an experience of fairness during personal contacts with police officers produced a sense of trust that influenced perceived effectiveness of the CJS.

Bradford (2011) explored this idea with a study of contact with "Victim Support" (VS) in Britain. VS stated its aims as to "reduce the distress, poverty and disadvantageous effects on victims and witnesses of crime and other forms of harmful behaviour, including in the families and friends of such persons and others affected

who are in need", and to "advance public awareness by research into and analysis of issues relating to victims and witnesses of crime, the families and friends of such persons, and others affected and to disseminate the useful results of such research" (Victim Support 2009 quoted in Bradford 2011). Though it is perceived as a charity organisation, VS is funded mostly by the government. There are also other specialist victim support groups (Bradford 2011).

Bradford (2011) studied contact with VS, and perceived fairness and confidence in the CJS using data from the British Crime Survey 2007-8 and 2008-9 (table 3.1). A number of conclusions were drawn:

- The CJS gives victims and witnesses the support they need.
- How confident are you that the police are effective at catching criminals?
- The police in this area treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are.

(Source: Bradford 2011 table 1 pp353-354)

Table 3.1 - Example of items from British Crime Survey.

i) Contact with VS was associated with greater satisfaction among victims of how the police had handled their case. This suggested that "experiences of one part of the CJS are linked to assessments of the actions of another - and perhaps with the system as a whole" (Bradford 2011 p362).

ii) Contact with VS was associated with perceived fairness of the CJS.

iii) Trust in fairness was associated with perception of effectiveness of the CJS.

Overall, Bradford (2011) asserted that "contact with VS can enhance crime victims, sense that the CJS is procedurally fair and that it is effective" (p363).

Bradford (2011) used data from the British Crime Survey which includes measures of attitudes, and causation could not be established.

3.2. VICTIM LIAISON UNITS

The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) in England and Wales has "Victim Liaison Units" (VLUs) (set up in 2014) to communicate with victims about proceedings and decisions to prosecute or not (known as "Victim Communication and Liaison" (VCL) letters) (HMCPST 2020).

A report in 2018 by the HMCPST found that one in four VCL letters was of the quality expected by the Ministry of Justice's "Victims' Code". A subsequent report of VCL letters in 2019 to victims in rape and serious sexual offences (RASSO) cases was also critical (HMCPST 2020).

HMCPST (2020) updated these reports, and similar quality issues to 2018 ². Also the Victims' Code specifies timescales for letters (1 or 5 days), and only two-thirds of VCL letters achieved these targets.

Three key quality issues were highlighted by the HMCPST (2020) - sufficient information and explanation about decisions, the ease of understanding of that information, and the level of empathy. Half the letters provided sufficient information, around 70% were understandable, and in 58% "empathy was sufficient". Concentrating on letters in RASSO cases, empathy was considered sufficient in 53% only (HMCPST 2020) (table 3.2).

- This is not a decision I have taken lightly, and this letter is my explanation of that decision.
- I would like to thank you for your bravery and ongoing support in these cases.
- I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for making a statement in the first place.
- I would like to thank you for taking the time to report this matter to the Police and for your willingness to come forward in respect of this case.

(Source: HMCPST 2020 p31)

Table 3.2 - Examples of "empathetic sentences".

3.3. REFERENCES

Bradford, B (2011) Voice, neutrality and respect: Use of Victim Support services, procedural fairness and confidence in the criminal

² A sample of 490 letters produced between September 2019 and February 2020 were analysed. Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

justice system Criminology and Criminal Justice 11, 4, 345-366

Gau, J.M (2010) A longitudinal analysis of citizens' attitudes about police Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management 33, 2, 236-252

HMCPPI (2020) Victim Communication and Liaison Scheme: Letters to Victims London: HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate

Millie, A & Herrington, V (2005) Bridging the gap in understanding Howard Journal 44, 1, 41-56

Pratt, J (2007) Penal Populism London: Routledge

Victim Support (2009) Annual Report and Accounts 2009 London: Victim Support

4. CLASSIC RESEARCH: PERSONALITY AND CRIME

Caspi et al (1994) began by asking two, not easy to answer, questions: "Are some people crime-prone? Is there a criminal personality?" (p164).

Among well-known personality theories, Eysenck (1977) linked crime to the three personality dimensions of his theory - Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Psychoticism, while Cloninger (1987) noted high novelty-seeking and low harm avoidance as two key aspects of violent, anti-social individuals.

But there are methodological problems in linking personality to crime, including (Caspi et al 1994):

i) The measurement of personality - Some measures used, like the P scale of the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (EPQ) were specifically designed to differentiate criminals from non-criminals. So, correlations between delinquency and such scales "may be tautological, limited to demonstrating that adolescents who are most delinquent are most similar to the definition of delinquency that was built psychometrically into the scales" (Caspi et al 1994 p166).

ii) The measurement of delinquency/crime - Often official records are used (eg: convicted offences), but the problem is that "'hidden criminals', offenders who commit crimes but are not caught, escape empirical attention and may slip into 'control' samples" (Caspi et al 1994 p166). Self-reports of delinquency are also problematic.

iii) Sampling - Incarcerated samples are common. "These samples are not representative of offenders as a whole; they represent only the sub-set of offenders who actually are caught and subsequently are sent to jail... Moreover, adjudicated offenders may differ systematically from non-adjudicated offenders; offenders who are White, middle class, or female may be overlooked inadvertently... In addition, the offenders' personal characteristics may influence official responses to their aberrant behavior; for example, some offenders may have enough poise to talk their way out of an arrest. Finally, incarceration itself may contribute to personality aberrations..." (Caspi et al 1994 p167).

Caspi et al (1994) aimed to overcome these weaknesses in their two studies using general personality measures, multiple measures of delinquent behaviour, and a general

population sample.

Study 1 involved data from the Dunedin Multi-Disciplinary Health and Development Study (which began in 1972-73 in New Zealand with 1139 children). Delinquency at age eighteen years old was measured by self-reports, the reports of family and friends, "police contacts", and court convictions. Personality was measured by the Multi-Dimensional Personality Questionnaire (MPQ) (Tellegen 1982).

For all measures of delinquency, and for both males and females, two personality dimensions robustly correlated with delinquent behaviour - "Constraint" (low scores) and "Negative Emotionality" (high). The latter includes aggression, and alienation (eg: feels victimised), and the former harm avoidance, and control (ie: an offender is low on these traits). In summary, delinquents showed personality profiles "characterised by impulsivity, danger seeking, a rejection of traditional values, aggressive attitudes, feelings of alienation, and an adversarial interpersonal attitude" (Caspi et al 1994 p177).

Overall, the sample was "mostly White adolescents who live in a mid-sized city with little social decay in comparison with America's largest cities" (Caspi et al 1994 p181).

Study 2 analysed data from the Pittsburgh Youth Study (PYS), which included American inner-city youths (aged 12-13 years old at this point). The PYS began in 1987-88 with nearly 900 boys. Personality was measured by the California Child Q-sort (CCQ) (Block 1961), where caregivers divide 100 statements (eg: "He plans ahead; he thinks before he does something"; "He tries to see what and how much he can get away with") into categories including "most like this boy" and "most unlike this boy". Delinquency was self-reported, and teacher- and parent-reported.

The same personality traits as Study 1 were linked to delinquency for both Black and White boys.

Caspi et al (1994) considered how high Negative Emotionality and low Constraint might lead to crime. They stated: "Negative emotionality is a tendency to experience aversive affective states such as anger, anxiety, and irritability... It is likely that individuals with chronically high levels of such negative emotions perceive interpersonal events differently than other people. They may be predisposed to construe events in a biased way, perceiving threat in the acts of others

and menace in the vicissitudes of everyday life. This situation may be aggravated when negative emotionality is accompanied by weak constraint—that is, great difficulty in modulating impulses. In low-constraint individuals, negative emotions may be translated more readily into action. Such volatile individuals should be, in the vernacular of the Wild West, 'quick on the draw'" (Caspi et al 1994 p187).

Did Caspi et al (1994) succeed in overcoming the three areas of methodological weakness in other studies? Here are some methodological issues to consider:

i) Personality measurement.

a) MPQ - 177 items and 10 sub-scales with well-established reliability and validity (+), but completion takes time (-).

b) CCQ - Good for use with individuals with lower education and from socially disadvantaged backgrounds (Caspi et al 1994) (+), but less structured than the MPQ (-). It does not contain the same items as the MPQ, but "the personality profile yielded by the Q-sort can be used to construct almost any personality variable" (Caspi et al 1994 p183) (+)(-).

ii) Delinquency measurement.

a) Study 1 - Self-reports from a list of 43 different illegal acts, and a distinction made between serious and less serious crimes by the researchers (+)(-).

Participants nominated a friend or family member who was sent a 41-item questionnaire (-). "Police contacts" based on standard incidence forms, and so missed cases not reported or logged (-). Court convictions covered New Zealand and Australia, and excluded routine traffic offences (+).

b) Study 2 - Self-Report Delinquency interview (SRD), which used elsewhere, and places the respondent in one of six delinquency levels based on most serious offence in last six months (+). Always depend on honesty and accuracy of recall (-).

Teacher Report Form (TRF) and, usually mother, Parent Report Form (PRF) used, and these are standardised measures for children and adolescents (+).

iii) Sampling.

a) Study 1 - 91% of original cohort still involved in longitudinal study at 18 years old (+), but less than 7% non-European ancestry (-). Child's father used as social class indicator (+) (-), and the distribution was representative of the general population at the time (+).

b) Study 2 - At baseline of the PYS, an assessment was made about risk for delinquency, and half high-risk and half not at risk made up the sample (+) (-).

In terms of ethnicity, the sample was 54% Black, which mirrored the local population (+).

Overall, 430 of the original 868 boys tested. "Attrition for this part of the PYS research programme was slightly higher than for other parts because subjects were required to travel to the study laboratory to be tested under standardised conditions" (Caspi et al 1994 p182) (-).

REFERENCES

Block, J (1961) The Q-Sort in Personality Assessment and Psychiatric Research Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press

Caspi, A et al (1994) Are some people crime-prone? Replications of the personality-crime relationship across countries, genders, races, and methods Criminology 32, 2, 163-195

Cloninger, R.C.C (1987) A systematic method for clinical description and classification of personality variants Archives of General Psychiatry 44, 573-588

Eysenck, H.J (1977) Crime and Personality London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Tellegen, A (1982) Brief Manual for the Multi-Dimensional Personality Questionnaire Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

5. TERRORISM AS MENTAL ABNORMALITY

- 5.1. Appendix 5A - Abnormal or difference
- 5.2. Appendix 5B - Lombroso
- 5.3. References

The "'pre-crime' industry" seeks to identify "at risk" individuals, particularly in relation to radicalisation and terrorism (Younis 2021).

This includes the "search for an archetypal 'pre-symptomatic' psychological profile" (Younis 2021 p38), which will help in the "'epidemic' of extremism" (Younis 2021), and in dealing with "anti-citizens" (Rose 1999).

This is manifest in the UK in the PREVENT counter-radicalisation policy that attempts "to identify individuals susceptible to developing an intent to commit political violence in the future" (Younis 2021 p38). Public bodies (eg: hospitals) are given a responsibility to receive PREVENT training and to apply government regulations. Details of individuals believed to be vulnerable are passed onto the PREVENT lead of an institution, and ultimately the police (and Channel, a local committee that develops de-radicalisation interventions). Interventions may be mental health-related, and this is the "psychologisation" of the issue³ - ie: "it transforms social problems into individual problems" (Crespo and Serrano 2012 quoted in Younis 2021). "Concepts such as 'exhibiting anger' or 'impact of mental health issues', for example, are readily found in PREVENT's counter-radicalisation criteria, whereby mental well-being is conceived as a panacea for national security" (Younis 2021 p39).

Knudsen (2021) has criticised the emphasis on mental health in the PREVENT strategy "as it blurs the line between 'risk' and 'vulnerability'" (Younis 2021 p39). Knudsen (2021) distinguished three practices - "the re-designation of radicalisation as a safeguarding issue for vulnerable individuals; the creation of mental health hubs which establishes an unprecedented association between counter-terrorism and the NHS; and the inclusion of the elusive 'mental health' criteria in extremism risk

³ "Psychologisation is not new. For example, slaves in nineteenth century America who escaped were diagnosed with "drapetomania". More recently, suicide attempts by detainees in Guantanamo Bay have been "construed as individual psychological failings – not acts of resistance. In doing so, 'the psy disciplines are invoked in ways that cast the actions of the detainees not as political, but as a result of their poor mental health. This positioned the detainees merely as victims, not as political agents' [Howell 2013]" (Younis 2021 p55)".

assessment frameworks" (Younis 2021 p40).

Younis (2021) wanted to go further to explain the psychologisation in this process - "everything - from behaviours to social relations - is reduced to risk; the future forever embodying a catastrophe needing to be averted" (p40) - and the radicalisation element (specifically Muslims in the UK). Concerning the latter, Younis (2021) stated: "As Muslims have embodied this Other in the western liberal historical trajectory of the 'West vs the Rest', the post-9/11 'war on terror' has securitised an indefinite 'insider/outsider' status of Muslim citizens. The onus then is on Muslim citizens to continuously prove their belonging to the nation-state - otherwise their presence poses a threat" (p41) ⁴.

Younis (2021) analysed the PREVENT training material. For example, individuals are asked to spot behaviours that are a cause of concern from a list (eg: becoming disrespectful; decline in appearance; asking inappropriate questions; crying). The emphasis is upon conforming behaviours as "normal" (appendix 5A), and the linking of non-conformity to radicalisation ^{5 6}.

In another example, NHS training material lists three "examples of grievances" that "may play an important part in the early indoctrination of vulnerable individuals into the acceptance of a radical view and extremist ideology: a misconception and/or rejection of UK foreign policy; distrust of western media reporting; "perceptions that UK government policy is discriminatory (eg: counter-terrorist legislation)" (quoted in Younis 2021). Younis (2021) reacted to this example: "An ethnonationalist pivot underpins each of its racialised points. First, a 'misconception and/or rejection of UK foreign policy' directly addresses Muslim populations and their concerns with British foreign military interventions across Muslim-majority countries. The fact that 'misconception' is employed is particularly insidious. It suggests that there is only one 'truth' in

⁴ "Many racialised policies and practices do not identify certain groups outright (eg: Black, Muslim etc) by maintaining a veneer of colourblindness. Colourblindness is a position which lessens or extinguishes the centrality of race in an interaction, by dismissing the potential of racism in social structures. Fundamentally, and irrespective of intent, colourblindness serves to sustain racist structures and those in power from the charge of racism" (Younis 2021 p41).

⁵ Younis (2021) talked of the "securitisation of normality - or rather the normalisation of security" (p45).

⁶ Frances (2013) wrote "about the need to 'save normal' given the unregulated inflation of 'psychopathologies' which have appeared in the DSM-V. He argues that the trajectory of the mental health industry has seen an inflation of clinical disorders which increasingly pathologise everyday behaviour, with an equally questionable increase in purported interventions. De-radicalisation and its hyper-individualised focus is exemplary in this regard" (Younis 2021 p53).

the 'war on terror', of which the British State is the sole arbiter - deviation from this is a risk factor. Second, the distrust of western media addresses the racialised Muslim Other in so far as it uses 'western' as its pivot, harkening to the 'West vs Rest' trope. Had the point mentioned 'British media reporting' instead, this would have potentially encompassed various alt-right, anti-establishment factions as well. Finally, and most pertinently... is the point concerning the perception that UK government policy is discriminatory, alluding to counter-terrorism legislation as an example. This risk factor creates a dangerous tautology for which even this article would stand accused: to be critical of counter-terrorism is itself a risk factor towards terrorism" (p47).

The search for signs of who will be the future offender has a long history, including Lombroso's assessment of faces in the nineteenth century (appendix 5B). PREVENT links mental health and crime/political violence specifically. "Silke (1998) refers to the enduring search for a universal, psychopathological profile of terrorists as Cheshire-Cat logic: there must be some psychological abnormality at play, otherwise how could a normal, rational person commit a violent act?" (Younis 2021 p49) ⁷. Younis (2021) reacted strongly: "Significantly, it cannot be overstated that PREVENT's universal outline of psychological vulnerabilities is without empirical foundations. What makes PREVENT interesting then is not its lack of theory or evidence, but that it can be instituted on the presumption that the psychologised public will readily understand there must be some universal, psychological profile of pre-criminality identified and managed by the state" (p49).

Because of the need to spot the signs, PREVENT justifies surveillance whether direct or indirect. Heath-Kelly (2017) described large-scale data gathering as "algorithmic auto-immunity". Meanwhile the private security industry is booming (Younis 2021).

5.1. APPENDIX 5A - ABNORMAL VS DIFFERENT

It is easy to confuse "different" and "abnormal". In this case, "abnormal" refers to the criminal behaviour (eg: eat humans in figure 5.1), while "different" is a

⁷ There are many different explanations of terrorist behaviour (Brewer 2003), but I would like to talk about it as normal behaviour in an "exo-normal" way - ie: ordinary behaviours applied in extreme ways.

non-offending individuals who behaviours differently in terms of social norms (eg: not cleaning teeth or brushing hair). Too much focus on overt signs of conformity misses the risk.

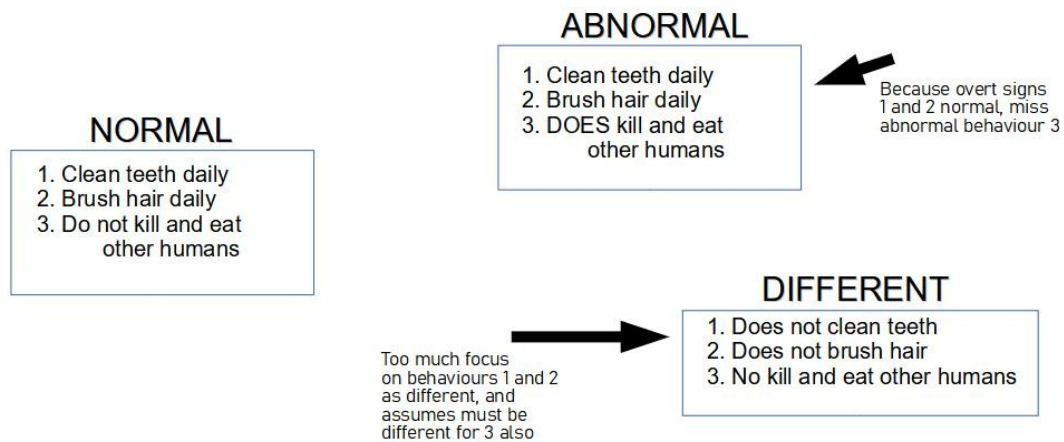


Figure 5.1 - Simple example to distinguish "different" and "abnormal".

5.2. APPENDIX 5B - LOMBROSO

In his book "L'Uomo Delinquente" (Criminal Man), Lombroso collected the physical measurements of Italian prisoners and non-criminal military personnel. He argued that the physical shape of the head and face determined the "born criminal" (or what he called "homo delinquens"). These people, he believed, were primitive and could not adapt to modern morality.

The underlying basis of the difference was genetic. The atavist (primitive genetic forms) had large jaws, high cheekbones, large ears, extra nipples, toes or fingers, and were insensitive to pain (figure 5.2).



RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES ET CRIMINELS POLITIQUES. — MATTOÏDES ET FOUS MORAUX.

(Source: In public domain)

Figure 5.2 - Examples of criminal faces.

5.3. REFERENCES

Brewer, K (2003) An Introduction to Psychology of Terrorist and Suicide Terrorist Orsett, Essex: Orsett Psychological Services

Crespo, E & Serrano, A (2012) The psychologisation of work, the deregulation of work and the government of will Annual Review of Critical Psychology 8, 43-61

Frances, A (2013) Saving Normal: An Insider's Revolt Against Out-Of-Control Psychiatric Diagnosis, DSM-5, Big Pharma, and the Medicalisation of Ordinary Life New York: William Morrow

Heath-Kelly, C (2017) Algorithmic autoimmunity in the NHS: Radicalisation and the clinic Security Dialogue 48, 1, 29-45

Howell, A (2013) Madness in International Relations Oxford: Routledge

Knudsen, R.A (2021) Between vulnerability and risk? Mental health in UK counter-terrorism Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression 13, 1, 43-61

Lombroso, C (1876) L'Uomo Delinquente (Criminal Man) Milan Torin

Rose, N (1999) Governing the Soul: Shaping of the Private Self London: Free Association Books

Silke, A (1998) Cheshire-cat logic: The recurring theme of terrorist abnormality in psychological research Psychology, Crime and Law 4, 1, 51-69

Younis, T (2021) The psychologisation of counter-extremism: Unpacking PREVENT Race and Class 62, 3, 37-60

6. NORMALISATION OF GAMBLING

- 6.1. Women and normalisation
- 6.2. Class-based gambling
- 6.3. Sports betting
 - 6.3.1. Gambling advertising and sport
- 6.4. References

6.1. WOMEN AND NORMALISATION

McCarthy et al (2020) began: "While gambling is traditionally considered to be a male-dominated activity, gambling participation rates for women have increased, with more women engaging in gambling than ever before" (p376).

McCarthy et al (2020) explored the "normalisation of gambling" ⁸ for women with telephone interviews with 45 18-34 year-olds in Victoria, Australia, in 2017-18 ⁹. "The interview schedule included a range of open-ended questions that examined gambling product use and attendance at gambling environments, gambling behaviour and motivations for gambling, early experiences of gambling, the normalisation and cultural acceptance of gambling in Australia, gambling promotions, and harm prevention strategies" (McCarthy et al 2020 p377).

The Problem Gambling Severity Index (Ferris and Wynne 2001) was also administered. The total scores of the nine items were categorised as "problem gambling" with a score of eight or higher (out of 27). Two participants were classed as "problem gamblers" (with 9 people scoring 0, 22 scored 1-2 (low risk), and 12 scored 3-7 (moderate risk)).

Overall, two-thirds of the respondents had gambled on three or more products in the previous twelve months, with lottery as the most common (followed by horse racing). "Betting regularly and across multiple products was associated with risk of gambling harm" (McCarthy et al 2020 p378).

The perception of gambling as normal was its

⁸ Thomas et al (2018) defined the normalisation of gambling thus: The interplay of socio-cultural, environmental, commercial and political processes which influence how different gambling activities and products are made available and accessible, encourage recent and regular use, and become an accepted part of everyday life for individuals, their families, and communities" (quoted in McCarthy et al 2020).

⁹ "Potential participants were recruited from a range of sources, including posters placed around university campuses and on community noticeboards, commentary in national media, and through a community health organisation in regional Victoria" (McCarthy et al 2020 p377). Two-thirds were university students.

embeddedness in other social activities (eg: at pubs), as well as the accessibility and "female-friendly" nature of gambling venues (table 6.1). Marketing was reported as an influence, as described by one 25 year-old: "That's how I even started the sports betting because it was on TV. Bonus bet, sign up today. Okay, that sounds good. So that's what got me in" (p379).

1. Exposure to gambling.
 - a. Early experiences with gambling.
 - b. Family rituals and traditions.
2. Social networks.
 - a. Peers.
 - b. Partner.
3. Gambling environments.
 - a. Feminisation of gambling.
 - b. Co-location of gambling and non-gambling activities.
4. Attitudes towards women gambling.
 - a. Social acceptance of gambling generally.
 - b. Marketing by gambling companies.

(Based on figure 1 p379 McCarthy et al 2020)

Table 6.1 - Factors that influenced the normalisation of gambling.

McCarthy et al (2020) ended: "According to the Total Consumption Model [Rossow 2019], as gambling participation increases, rates of gambling harm will also increase. Disrupting normalisation pathways and implementing comprehensive curbs on marketing are both important public health strategies to reduce demand for products and to prevent harm" (p380).

6.2. CLASS-BASED GAMBLING

Gambling has a class-based perception as summed up by a British politician in 2017: "Poor people believe there's one shot to get rich. They put getting rich down to luck and think they can take a gamble. They also have time on their hands. My voters are too busy working hard to earn a reasonable income" (John Redwood quoted in Casey 2020). Beckert and Lutter (2013) summarised the two prevailing myths that "gamblers lack an adequate work ethic, and... that gamblers are merely irrational consumers" (Casey 2020 p381).

Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

The association of gambling with the working-class has a long history (eg: concern of UK Parliamentary Select Committee in 1923; Casey 2020), but "gambling prevalence is higher in higher income households" (Casey 2020 p381).

Using data from the Mass Observation Archive (MAO), Casey (2020) explored gambling, class, and social mobility. The MAO contains a continuing collection of everyday views on contemporary life began in 1937. Currently, 500 "Observers" are invited (by "Directive") three times a year to write freely about their experiences and views on a variety of topics (Casey 2020).

Casey (2020) focused on twenty-four "upwardly mobile" "Observers" in middle age who were asked in 2013 to write about their views and experiences on gambling. Upwardly mobile was based on a higher social position at the time of writing ("middle-class") than as a child ("working-class").

Childhood memories of gambling covered a large part of the writings, and Casey (2020) noted that these accounts were "not simple factual recollections of the past; rather, they were self-reflexive narratives that helped to constitute the story of upward mobility" (p387).

The negative view of the "reckless abandon" of the poor gambler (McKibbin 1979) appeared in childhood memories, like: "when the men were all unemployed my dad and his brothers would pool their 'brew' money and put them on an accumulator bet" (p388; Observer C.4431). The writers emphasised their distance from such behaviour - eg: "I have never gambled if I haven't got the money to waste; this did not apply to my father; he'd bet his last penny as he didn't think he'd lose" (p388; Observer A.883).

"Given the dominant narratives and moral framing around gambling..., as associated with deepening poverty, greed and disreputable routes to wealth, the Observers were tasked with the burden of producing accounts of their present-day gambling which were distinct from these discourses" (Casey 2020 p390). For example, "Observer B.4750" wrote: "I don't [talk to others about dreams of winning money]. I think it would be almost indecent. It's weird. Sometimes I wish we had more money but I think that we have to continue to work hard to get it. Get promotion etc. I think that winning it means cheating almost!" (p390).

How to deal with the desire for money and the

negative perceptions of gambling? Casey (2020) pointed out the criticising of the National Lottery as a concept (and "flashy" winners) by individuals who bought tickets for it. She stated that "the Observers' dreams of winning money through gambling and particularly the National Lottery, were generally more mundane and more of an opportunity to remove some of the everyday stress and anxiety surrounding the precarity of their altered class positions" (Casey 2020 p392).

6.3. SPORTS BETTING

Traditionally, individuals bet on a sports game based on odds offered by bookmakers (eg: 2/1 for team A to win vs 5/1 for team B to win). So betting £1 on the latter, which happens, would lead to a £5 win (plus the stake back).

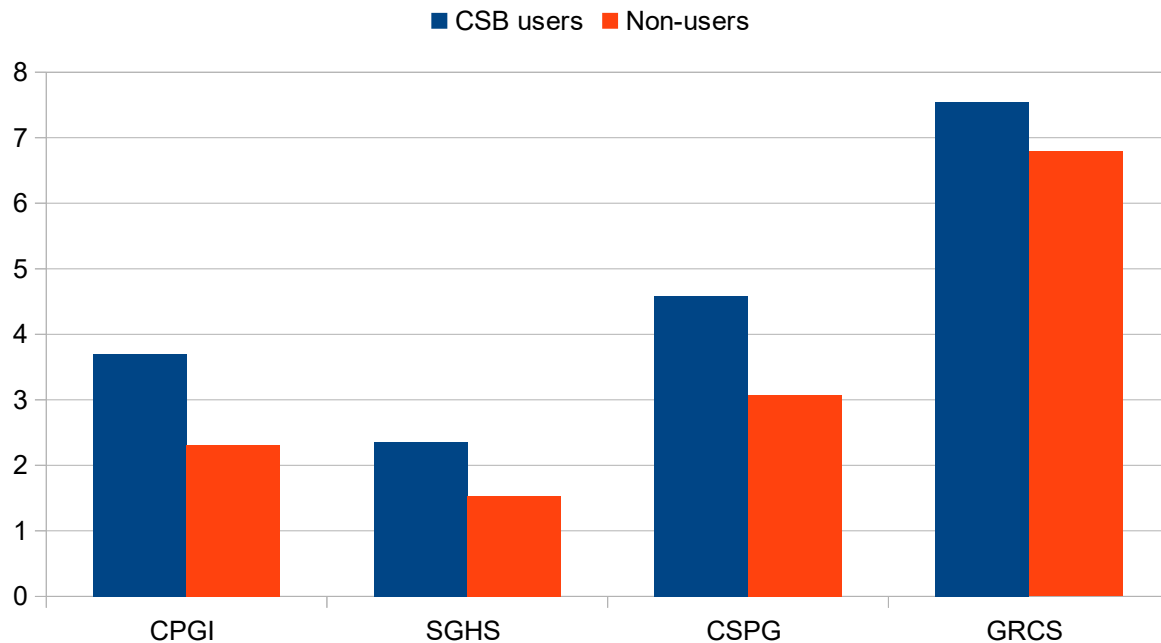
"Custom sports bets" (CSBs) allow individuals to create their own bet, particularly via online platforms and social media. Such bets can produce a sense (illusion) of control, and may attract individuals with gambling problems.

Newell et al (2020) explored this concern with a sample of 789 UK participants (recruited online from a crowdsourcing platform) who had sports gambled online before. The sample was divided into those who had used CSBs before (n = 489) and those who had not (n = 300) for further analysis (table 6.2).

- Canadian Problem Gambling Index (CPGI) (Ferris and Wynne 2001) - 31 items, each scored 0 (never) to 3 (almost always) (eg: "Have you ever lied to a family members or others to hide your gambling?").
- Short Gambling Harm Screen (SGHS) (Browne et al 2018) - 10 items (eg: "felt ashamed of my gambling"; "increased credit card debt").
- Consumption Screen for Problem Gambling (CSPG) (Rockloff 2012) - 3 items (frequency in last 12 months (0-5 points); amount of time per day (0-4); frequency of spending more than 2 hours per sitting (0-4); excessive gambling = total score 4+).
- Gambling Related Cognitions Scale (GRCS) (Illusion of Control sub-scale) (Raylu and Oei 2004) - 4 items (eg: "Praying helps me win"; "I have specific rituals and behaviours that increase my chances of winning"; "I have specific rituals and behaviours that increase my chances of winning"; "Specific numbers and colours can help increase my chances of winning").

Table 6.2 - Four measures completed by participants.

In terms of problem gambling generally, this was reported by 16% of the CSB users compared to 6.7% of non-users. The users also scored higher on measures of the illusion of control (figure 6.1).



(Data from table 1 Newell et al 2020)

Figure 6.1 - Mean scores on measures used by Newell et al (2020).

6.3.1. Gambling Advertising and Sport

Gambling advertisements are increasingly being shown during televised sports events (eg: around 150 000 advertisements in 2006 to 1.4 million in 2012; Djohari et al 2019). "While most gambling advertising (with the exception of bingo) is prohibited before the 9 pm watershed in the UK, sports betting may be promoted at any time of the day during live sport. Furthermore, and in common with other jurisdictions such as Australia, advertising restrictions do not apply to sponsorship promotions, such as shirt logos and signage" (Djohari et al 2019 p2).

Specifically, for televised English Premier League (EPL) football, online gambling was the dominant type of advertisement around matches (eg: on dynamic billboards on the sides of football pitches) (Cassidy and Ovenden 2017). Sports fans have been found to have a high recall

of the brand names. For example, in Australia, three-quarters of a sample of 5-12 year-olds could recall at least one team shirt sponsor associated with food, alcohol or gambling companies (Bestman et al 2015).

Djohari et al (2019) found similar results for sport betting brands in the UK. A convenience sample of families including 8-16 year-olds (n = 99) and a parent/carer (n = 71) were recruited in South London in the summer of 2018. Participants were presented with eight team shirts of the EPL sides with the logo hidden and had to match them to a selection of logos. There was always four gambling-sponsored team shirts and four non-gambling sponsors. Other general information was collected from the participants (eg: adults' recent gambling behaviour; amount of sports broadcasts watched; attitudes towards gambling advertising during sports matches).

In an unprompted free recall, 46% of the young people and 71% of the adults named a gambling brand that advertised at EFL games. Boys had a significantly higher recall than girls among the young people, as did "Super Fans" (who watched all televised games).

In terms of matching team logo and shirt, around two-thirds of young people got at least one right overall (20% for the gambling logos), and similar numbers for the adults (28% for at least one gambling logo correctly matched to the shirt). Boys did better than girls, and "Super Fans" better than the average.

Measuring the attitudes of the young people to betting, around three-quarters considered it a normal part of sport compared to 86% of adults. This view was seen in comments like:

- "Because if they love football it [betting] is part of wanting their team to win" (8 year-old boy).
- "You associate it with sports, especially football now" (48 year-old woman) (Djohari et al 2019 p8).

Djohari et al (2019) commented: "Research has shown that normalisation occurs when young people are exposed to the marketing of adult products including tobacco, alcohol, and gambling and that this can affect both their intentions to consume and actual consumption of these products" (p9).

Table 6.3 compares this study to the similar research in Australia (eg: Bestman et al 2015).

SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES
Mixed methods approach - both quantitative and qualitative data collected.	Sample - sports fans (Australia) vs community sample (Djohari)
Older children had better recall of gambling brand names than younger ones.	Gender differences - no (Australia) vs yes (Djohari)
Gambling perceived by the participants as a normal part of sport.	Advertising - junk food, alcohol and gambling (Australia) vs gambling (Djohari)

Table 6.3 - Similarities and differences between Djohari et al (2019) and Australian research.

6.4. REFERENCES

Beckert, J & Lutter, M (2013) Why the poor play the lottery: Sociological approaches to explaining class-based lottery play Sociology 47, 6, 1152-1170

Bestman, A et al (2015) Young people's implicit recall of junk food, alcohol and gambling sponsorship in Australian sport BMC Public Health 15, 1, 1022

Browne, M et al (2018) Validation of the short gambling harm screen (SGHS): A tool for assessment of harms from gambling Journal of Gambling Studies 34, 2, 499-512

Casey, E (2020) Gambling, status anxiety and inter-generational social mobility: Findings from the Mass Observation Archive Sociology 54, 2, 380-396

Cassidy, R & Ovenden, N (2017) Frequency, duration and medium of advertisements for gambling and other risky products in commercial and public service broadcasts of English Premier League football: Report SocArXiv (<https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/f6bu8/>)

Djohari, N et al (2019) Recall and awareness of gambling advertising and sponsorship in sport in the UK: A study of young people and adults Harm Reduction Journal 16, 24

Ferris, J & Wynne, H.J (2001) The Canadian Problem Gambling Index: Final Report Ottawa: Canadian Centre on Substance Abuse

McCarthy, S et al (2020) "It's a tradition to go down to the pokies on your 18th birthday" - The normalisation of gambling for young women in Australia Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health 44, 5, 376-381

McKibbin, R (1979) Working class gambling in Britain 1180-1939 Past and Present 82, 1, 147-178

Newell, P.W.S et al (2020) Who uses custom sports betting Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

products? Addiction Theory and Practice

(<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/16066359.2020.1792887>)

Raylu, N & Oei, T.P (2004) The gambling related cognitions scale (GRCS): Development, confirmatory factor validation and psychometric properties Addiction 99, 6, 757-769

Rockloff, M.J (2012) Validation of the consumption screen for problem gambling (CSPG) Journal of Gambling Studies 28, 2, 207-216

Rossow, I (2019) The total consumption model applied to gambling: Empirical validity and implications for gambling policy Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs 36, 2, 66-76

Thomas, S et al (2018) The Determinants of Gambling Normalisation: Causes, Consequences and Public Health Responses
Melbourne: Victoria Responsible Gambling Foundation

7. SEXUAL-RELATED CRIMES

- 7.1. Sexual assault
- 7.2. Sexual harassment
- 7.3. Appendix 7A - Synthesis model of aggression
- 7.4. References

7.1. SEXUAL ASSAULT

Sexual assault (SA) refers to "non-consensual sexualised touching (eg: fondling private parts), attempted penetration (eg: oral, anal, or vaginal sex), or completed penetration" (Khan et al 2020 p140). Khan et al (2020) lamented that it is a significant social problem that has received comparatively little scientific attention, particularly from within the social sciences" (p140).

Self-report surveys of college students, for example, give a prevalence of up to one in three women and one in six men, and these figures may be even higher with non-student adults of the same age (Khan et al 2020). However, at university, only 1 in 20 to 1 in fifty victims report these experiences to authorities, and men are "particularly unlikely to report" because of "stigma..., concerns with the legal or justice system..., lack of clarity about whether or not the incident was assault..., network ties to the assailant..., and concerns about reprisal" (Khan et al 2020 p140).

Khan et al (2020) called their article, "the social organisation of sexual assault". They noted the focus of research on "individual determinants of behavior: how much the parties involved drank, their attitudes about sex and gender, their prior experiences with sex and sexual abuse, their mental health, and whether they have any indications of sociopathology. These insights have been critical to making sense of sexual violence, but the lack of a broader social science approach has limited our understanding. In particular, attention to the social context – how relationships relate to sexual violence, the importance of institutional and organisational forms and dynamics, and a more concrete accounting of cultural influence – opens up both avenues for explanation and potential interventions" (Khan et al 2020 p140).

These researchers raised a number of issues related to SA:

1. Defining and operationalising SA - Different studies often use different definitions. In the USA the

"National Academies Panel on Measuring Rape and Sexual Assault in Bureau of Justice Statistics Household Surveys" recommended a definition that "does not restrict victimisation by gender, includes a broad range of penetrations, states perpetrator purpose as sexual arousal or degradation, involves force or the threat of force, involves a lack of consent, and includes various forms of unwanted sexual contact beyond penetration" (Khan et al 2020 p141).

Some studies measure the different forms of SA separately, while others combine them into a composite score. "The obvious challenge to those who construct composite variables is that sexual assault is not one category of experience. Touching, attempted penetration, and completed penetration are not simply different behavioral experiences, they may have different predictors, correlates, and consequences. Sexual assault is more than one category of experience and thereby aggregates potentially distinct variables, resulting in the possibility of inaccurate estimation. If the associations with sexualised touching are different than those of completed penetration (and work suggests they are), then analyses that collapse these into a single category may generate explanations that are an artefact of misidentification" (Khan et al 2020 p141).

Another issue is how the questions are asked. "Specifically, asking someone whether they had experienced rape or whether they experienced penetrative sex without their consent or agreement produces substantially different answers. In part, this reflects a widespread reluctance to label an experience as rape because that label comes laden with negative implications (eg: not being in control) and, as our research has indicated, the survivor identity, although certainly a source of strength for some, is not always experienced as desirable" (Khan et al 2020 p141).

Khan et al (2020) commented generally: "The most accurate estimates of sexual assault emerge from those studies that both ask about a wide range of acts and use behaviorally specific questions about types of sexual assault... Behavioral specificity avoids the twin pitfalls of participants using their own sexual assault definitions and the issue of participants not wanting to identify as a survivor or victim, both of which likely produce under-reporting" (p142).

Khan et al (2020) also wanted to include the types of relationship between the actors, and the situational

context. "If we imagine a relationship context of 20 years in a marriage and compare it to the relationship context of a stranger that is met at a bar and a rape that occurs in the bathroom, we might note that these are different phenomena. The correlates and consequences are likely different, as are the parties likely to perpetrate or experience these assaults" (Khan et al 2020 p142).

2. Data sources:

a) Crime statistics - Based on notification to authorities.

b) Surveys - Dependent on the honesty of replies, who responds (eg: response rate as low as 7% in US campus surveys; Khan et al 2020), sampling, and questions asked.

c) Qualitative interviews - Allows for more detail about experiences. "Yet interviews have their challenges: Subjects often exhibit social desirability bias, portraying sexual activity as consensual because of the strong social pressure to do so (both for their own subjective narrative and in presenting themselves to others). Victims of trauma often have inconsistent memories or narrate their experiences differently. Although interviews can focus on such narrative telling as their subject, if they are interested in what happened these inconsistencies are a challenge. Victims can experience questioning about such inconsistency as additional trauma" (Khan et al 2020 p147).

d) Participant observation - "Observations of assault themselves are unlikely, and ethical demands would require intervention when participant observers see an assault or the conditions likely to lead to an assault" (Khan et al 2020 p147).

But participant observation at rape prevention and survivor service organisations can help in "understanding assault not as an event but instead as a social process that includes those factors that lead up to an experience as well as, importantly, those factors that follow an assault that influence its conceptualisation and aftermath" (Khan et al 2020 p147).

e) Experiments - eg: SA intervention programmes.

3. Conceptual models for understanding SA - The

dominant models are the sociopathic male stalking a prey, and/or gender-based violence, which are "founded in some degree of truth, with a firmer empirical basis for the gender and power perspective" (Khan et al 2020 p142).

The former model is supported by Lisak and Miller (2002), for example, who found that "undetected serial predators are responsible for approximately 90% of all assaults on campus" (Khan et al 2020 p143).

Khan et al (2020) preferred the other model, stating that the "troubling conclusion is that rape is likely a far more normal event – meaning it is unlikely to be perpetrated by a small group of sociopaths but instead by more typical people (usually men). There certainly are sociopaths, and sociopaths certainly do commit rapes, but they almost certainly do not commit anywhere close to the majority of them" (p143).

Better still is a model that understands SA at different levels – individual characteristics, situational/relational context, and "the organisational environment that may encourage or hinder assaults; and the cultural contexts that generate attitudes and interactional contexts that might be related to assault" (Khan et al 2020 p143) ¹⁰. Khan et al (2020) further added "consent practices, social class, and cis/trans/gender non-conforming as relevant factors.

Looking at the different levels of the model in detail:

a) Individual level – eg: risk factors for victims (eg: high substance use), and of perpetrators (eg; hostile attitude towards women).

b) Relational level – eg: participation in "hook-up culture"; knowing the perpetrator. "The nature of the relationship between the victim and attacker is also associated with different kinds of assault: Acquaintance perpetrators are associated with incapacitated sexual assault, whereas intimate partners and perpetrators who met through internet dating apps are associated with non-incapacitated assaults" (Khan et al 2020 p150).

c) Organisation level – For example, some studies have found "social groups such as fraternities and athletic teams to be associated with increased risk for perpetration..., perhaps by creating environments that encourage a large number of casual sex partners or hook-

¹⁰ I (Brewer 2003) proposed a model of aggression generally based on different levels of factors (appendix 7A).

ups... and promulgate outmoded notions about sexual consent" (Khan et al 2020 p152).

d) Cultural level - Estritch (1987) argued that an individual's experience of SA is judged against the standard of "real rape". This required that "the assailant be a stranger, that the victim physically resist, and that the victim be a good girl (ie: does not use drugs or alcohol, does not have a history of criminal justice contact, and is not promiscuous)" (Khan et al 2020 p153). This is now referred to as "rape myths" - ie: "cultural ideas that minimise or justify sexual violence" (Khan et al 2020 p153).

More generally, "rape culture" has been used to describe "gender stereotypes, notions of sexual purity, sexual scripts, and the naturalisation of force and coercion within heterosexual relationships [that] clearly shape the social production of sexual violence" (Khan et al 2020 p153).

Khan et al (2020) commented that such ideas struggle to explain women assaulting men, non-heterosexuals by non-heterosexuals, and the experiences of trans/gender non-confirming individuals.

Khan et al (2020) made a few points in concluding their article, including:

- Different explanations may be needed for different forms of SA, and "a single framework to explain assault is unlikely" (Khan et al 2020 pp153-154).
- More clarity in definitions etc.
- An awareness of the multiple forms of inequality associated with SA, including social class, disability, gender identity, and ethnicity.
- Much research is US/Western-based.
- Research should not just produce models for understanding SA, but also interventions to deal with it.

7.2. SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Believing the victim is important in SA and sexual harassment (SH). Goh et al (2021) raised the concern that "women with less prototypically feminine physical and

psychological features are less likely than more prototypical women to be represented as sexual harassment targets and whether harassment targeting non-prototypical women is therefore more difficult to recognise, perceived as less credible, and discounted as less harmful" (p1).

These researchers performed eleven studies in three series of research to test the following hypotheses:

1 - That SH targets will be perceived as more prototypical (than non-prototypical) women.

2 - Potential SH behaviour is less likely to be labelled as SH when targeted at less (versus more) prototypical women.

3 - Non-prototypical (versus prototypical) women's claims of SH will be perceived as less credible.

4 - Non-prototypical (versus prototypical) women will be perceived as less harmed by SH.

5 - Perpetrators of SH will be perceived as deserving less punishment when targeting non-prototypical (versus prototypical) women.

Series A (5 studies) - Testing Hypothesis 1

These studies investigated mental representations of SH, and the targets of it as prototypical women. The basic design involved reading about an incident of SH or not, and then describing the victim.

Study A1 - One hundred and fifty-five students read about "Sara", who was either groped by her boss (SH condition) or bumped into (control condition) (table 7.1). Then the participants were given seven minutes to draw a picture of "Sara". Raters subsequently scored the drawings for prototypical women (eg: feminine characteristics).

- Sara is a product manager at a finance firm Smith & Simon Co, where she has been working since 2015. At a recent company event, Sara's supervisor walked behind her and [he discreetly groped her/he accidentally tripped and knocked her over].

(Source: Goh et al 2021 p20)

Table 7.1 - Scenario used in Study A1.

Study A2 - Four hundred and one participants

Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) read the story of "Sara" before choosing a photograph from six to best represent her. Three of the photographs were digitally altered to be "feminine" and three to be "masculine" female faces.

Study A3 - Three hundred and three students read about student, "Jennifer", whose supervisor showed unwanted romantic interest in her (SH condition) or not (control condition). Then the participants chose a photograph to represent "Jennifer" as in Study A2.

Study A4 - The photograph selection task was also used here with 238 MTurk-recruited participants, who read about "Brenda", shown a picture of a penis as a crude joke by her manager (SH condition) or a picture of a new company logo (control condition).

Study A5 - This study had two parts. Firstly, 165 participants from MTurk were asked to choose from a pair of photographs of blurred female faces who looked most like a SH victim. From 500 trials, the researchers combined the choices into a prototypical SH victim.

In the second part of the study, 141 MTurk participants rated the female prototypicality of the combined photograph.

The researchers combined the findings from the five studies, and concluded that "participants drew more prototypical women and selected more feminised photos to represent targets of sexual harassment than non-harassed targets" (Goh et al 2021 p6). This supported Hypothesis 1.

Evaluation of methodology:

- Strength - Independent design in Studies A1-A4, which means that the different conditions do not interfere with each other. For example, if the participants performed both conditions it would become clear the purpose of the study.
- Weakness - The scoring of the drawings in Study A1, and the measurement of the dependent variable with the photo selection task.

- Weakness - The SH scenarios were brief, and the control condition may not have been equivalent (eg: groped versus bumped into in Study A1). A more emotional option for the control condition in A1 could be to accidentally spill drink on.

Series B (4 studies) - Testing Hypothesis 2

These studies tested whether the same SH behaviour would be perceived as SH based on the female prototypicality of the victim. The design involved reading about a woman, who, for example, "either embodied prototypical female attributes (eg: art teacher with stereotypically feminine personality traits and interests) or non-prototypical attributes (eg: physical education teacher with stereotypically masculine personality traits and interests)" (Goh et al 2021 p8), then about a SH behaviour. The dependent variable was a rating of the likelihood of SH on a seven-point scale.

Study B1 - Three hundred and twenty-nine participants from MTurk read about "Jessica" (prototypical or non-prototypical female), and compliments from her boss about her physical appearance (table 7.2).

- Jessica is a [high school art teacher and coach of the girls' cheerleading team/high school physical education (P.E.) teacher and coach of the girls' ice hockey team]. She recently had a meeting with the principal that left her confused. [He complimented her skirt and noted that it reflected her tender and caring personality/He complimented her jersey and noted that it reflected her tough and dominant personality]. Later in the day, the principal inquired about her weekend plans. Jessica told him that she was going on a [weekend getaway with friends/ weekend fishing trip with friends]. At the end of their conversation, the principal asked her if she was still dating her boyfriend. She was unsure whether the principal was simply being friendly or whether this might be sexual harassment.

(Source: Goh et al 2021 p20)

Table 7.2 - Scenario used in Study B1.

Study B2 - "Jane", a student, represented by a

photograph of a feminised female face (prototypical condition) or a masculinised female face (non-prototypical condition), was talking to her supervisor who touched her waist (SH condition) or not (control condition). The participants were 545 individuals recruited via MTurk.

Study B3 - This study was the same as B2, but the SH was placing an arm around "Jane's" shoulder. The participants were 562 MTurk volunteers.

Study B4 - Here 484 students saw a photograph of "Anna" (prototypical/non-prototypical) before hearing that her boss had asked about her dating life (SH condition) or about her preparedness for a conference presentation (control condition).

Again the researchers combined the findings from the four studies. They found that the same SH behaviour was more likely to be perceived as SH when the target was a prototypical than a non-prototypical female. There was no difference for control conditions. This supported Hypothesis 2.

Evaluation - The findings between the four studies were "modest and mixed" (Goh et al 2021 p9).

Series C (2 studies) - Testing Hypotheses 3-5

The three issues tested here were the credibility of the SH claims, the perceived harmfulness of the SH, and the perceived punishment for perpetrators.

Study C1 - Two hundred and seventy-two participants recruited via MTurk were shown prototypical and non-prototypical female photographs (used in previous studies) before learning that the woman depicted had made a SH claim against a co-worker. The dependent variable was measured in the following ways:

- Confidence that the woman was sexually harassed (on a seven-point scale, where a higher score is more credible).
 - Psychological harm experienced by the woman from the
- Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

SH behaviour (on a seven-point scale, where a higher score is more harm).

- After reading the company's policy of SH, participants rated the level of punishment for a guilty individual (on a nine-point scale, where a higher score is more severe punishment).

The non-prototypical woman was rated as significantly less credible than the prototypical woman (mean 4.24 versus 4.92). This supported Hypothesis 3.

The non-prototypical woman was rated as significantly less psychologically harmed by the SH (mean 5.49 versus 5.76). This finding supported Hypothesis 4.

The perpetrator was recommended significantly lower punishment when the target was non-prototypical (mean 6.53 versus 6.74). This supported Hypothesis 5.

Study C2 - This study was a replication of C1 with 590 MTurk volunteers. The target of SHY by a co-worker was "Jessica", an art teacher (prototypical condition) or a physical education teacher (non-prototypical condition). The dependent variable measures were the same, as were the findings with one exception. The perpetrator was not recommended lower punishment for a non-prototypical target.

Evaluation - A number of common methodological issues remain (eg: use of brief scenarios). The participants were volunteers from MTurk, which excludes those on MTurk who did not volunteer, individuals who did not use MTurk, and individuals without access to the Internet.

Overall

Overall, these studies have implications in the real world. Goh et al (2021) explained: "Despite the pervasiveness of and considerable harm caused by sexual harassment, countless women are denied protection, fairness, and justice, and are made vulnerable to further victimisation and harm under the US legal system. Although #MeToo has recalibrated cultural awareness and responsiveness to sexual harassment, it seems the movement has largely amplified, credited, and addressed

the voices and needs of a narrow subset of victims... ¹¹ Indeed, there are still myriad barriers to enforcement of sexual harassment law for many women who are victimised. Sexual harassment remains under-reported by both its targets and witnesses, and credibility discounting is endemic. Even when women are believed, the harm caused by the harassment... is often minimized, allowing perpetrators to avoid being held accountable" (p12).

Despite some methodological limitations, over 4000 participants were involved in the studies. The authors, however, accepted that they "did not explore between-categorical variation among women, such as race, sexual orientation, and gender identity. Black women are perceived as less gender prototypical than White women... and people may thus more readily recognise sexual harassment when it targets White (vs Black) women, in addition to perceiving Black women as less credible and less harmed by sexual harassment" (Goh et al 2021 p14).

The main methodological limitations, in summary, are:

Use of vignettes (brief scenarios). Goh et al (2021) admitted: "Although they allowed us to carefully control our experimental manipulations, they may differ from how people often witness sexual harassment in the workplace" (p15).

Samples - They were, Goh et al (2021) accepted, "limited to American undergraduate or MTurk participants, but there may be cultural differences in perceptions of sexual harassment..., or effects of age group... or political ideology... that can moderate our findings in meaningful ways. Additionally, prototypes are socially determined and context-dependent, and societies or generations that do not share the same prototype of women as those in our samples would likely require other forms of prototypicality manipulations" (p15).

7.3. APPENDIX 7A - SYNTHESIS MODEL OF AGGRESSION

The synthesis model (Brewer 2003) attempted to synthesise ideas to account for both the general level of

¹¹ Some writers have criticised #MeToo for "largely centred on and benefited only a narrow subset of women, bringing the most attention to victims who conform to cultural stereotypes of 'prototypical' women — such as actresses in Hollywood — while neglecting the many victims who do not conform to this prototype" (Goh et al 2021 p1).

aggression of an individual or society, but also for a specific act. The model is presented in figure 7.1. Table 7.3 lists the different types of factors in the model. There are two parts to the model:

a) The general level of aggression of an individual or society, which is a combination of individual, group, and social factors;

b) How this general level is converted into a specific act of aggression. The main factors involved here will be disinhibitions, and/or environmental triggers.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS	GROUP FACTORS	SOCIAL FACTORS
- genes	- family	- social construction of aggression
- chromosomal abnormalities	- peer group	- aggression in the media
- attributions		- social identity
- personality		- economic disadvantage/relative deprivation
- neurophysiology		
- neurochemistry		
DISINHIBITIONS	ENVIRONMENTAL TRIGGERS	
- aggression in the media	- heat	
- alcohol	- frustration	
- deindividuation	- "weapons effect"	
	- general arousal	
	- overcrowding	
	- noise	
	- pain and discomfort	
	- direct provocation and reciprocation	
	- powerlessness/lack of control	

Table 7.3 - Examples of different factors in the synthesis model to explain aggression.

I want to develop the synthesis model here, both generally in relation to aggression, and specifically as applied to SA. I have added an extra stage which is the repeated or continued use of aggression (figure 7.2), and three three groups of factors that influence it.

a) Pleasure of aggression - There are individuals who are sadistic, and enjoy inflicting pain on others, but there is also the thrill of a fight experienced more

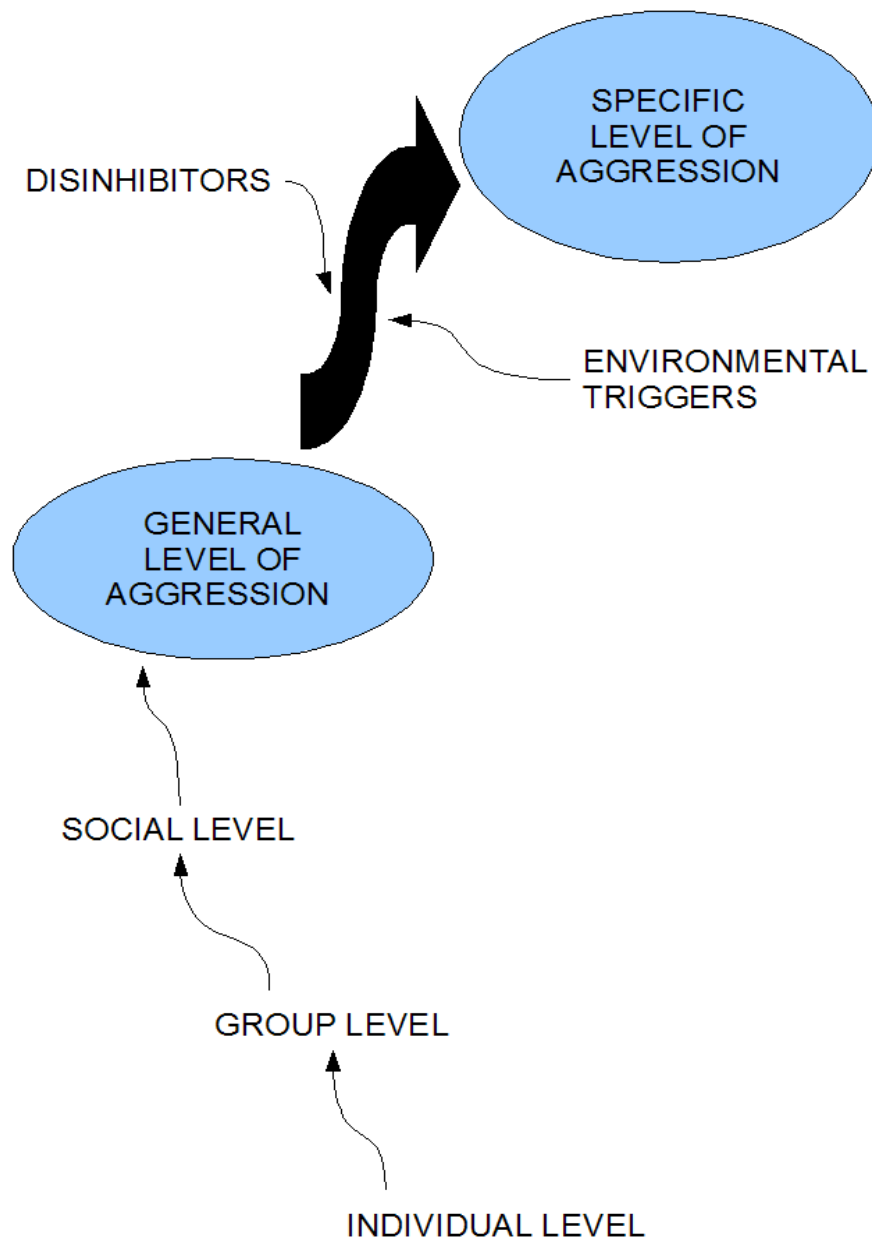


Figure 10.1 - A synthesis model to explain aggression.

generally. In the case of SA, aggression in various forms and degrees can be sexually arousing.

b) Direct rewards for aggression can lead to a

reinforcing of that pattern of behaviour.

c) A specific reward from using aggression can be the power gained.

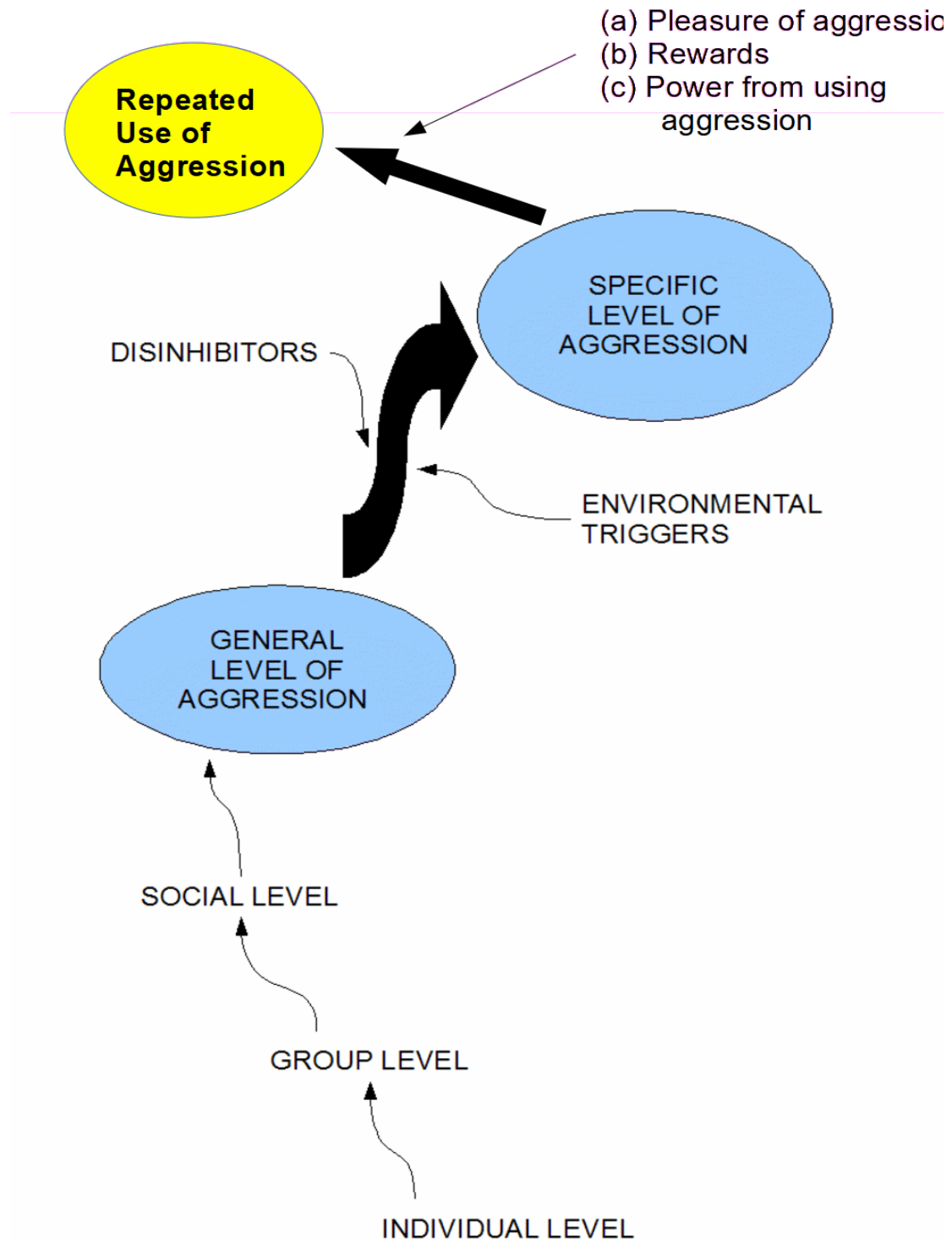


Figure 7.2 - Updated synthesis model of aggression.

Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

7.4. REFERENCES

Brewer, K (2003) A synthesis model to explain aggression Orsett Psychological Review 10, June, 13-21

Estrich, S (1987) Real Rape: How the Legal System Victimises Women Who Say No Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Goh, J.X et al (2021) Narrow prototypes and neglected victims: Understanding perceptions of sexual harassment Journal of Personality and Social Psychology: Intergroup Relations and Group Processes (<https://doi.org/doiLanding?doi=10.1037%2Fpspi0000260>)

Khan, S et al (2020) The social organisation of sexual assault Annual Review of Criminology 3, 139-163

Lisak, D & Miller, P (2002) Repeat rape and multiple offending among undetected rapists Violence and Victims 17, 1, 73-84

8. AUTHORITARIANISM

- 8.1. Introduction
- 8.2. Leaders
- 8.3. Racial authoritarianism
 - 8.3.1. Some evidence
 - 8.3.2. Public health view
- 8.4. Aggression
- 8.5. Appendix 8A - "Race"
- 8.6. References

8.1. INTRODUCTION

Writing at the time of George Bush as President of the USA and the "War on Terror", Wolf (2007) outlined ten universal steps from democracy to authoritarianism:

1. Invoke terrifying enemies at home and abroad.
2. "Create a gulag" - a prison system outside the normal rule of law.
3. "Develop a thug caste" - ie: paramilitary groups to terrorise the population.
4. Set up surveillance systems.
5. "Harass citizens' groups" (and potential dissenters).
6. Use arbitrary detention and release.
7. Target key individuals (who could rebel or lead a rebellion).
8. Control the media.
9. Create a situation where dissent is portrayed as treason.
10. Suspend the rule of law.

8.2. LEADERS

Leaders, and leadership styles or types have been divided into two extremes (Young 2020):

- a) Democratic, participative, prestige - The

influence of followers by the "superior personal attributes" or charisma of the leader. The followers are encouraged to be involved in decisions.

b) Autocratic, directive, dominance - Leadership by threats for disobedience and the physical imposition of demands on followers. Decisions are made at the top and handed down.

Van Vugt and Smith (eg: 2019) proposed an evolutionary basis to prestige and dominance leaders ¹². For example, there are biological bases to the difference, and the two types are found in non-human primates. Concerning the former, dominance leaders are usually male, have high testosterone levels and larger bodies, while prestige leaders have higher levels of oxytocin (a "pro-social hormone") (Young 2020) ¹³.

Among non-human primates, bonobos live in harmony in female-led societies (prestige), while the conflictual groups of chimpanzees are led by alpha males (dominance) (Young 2020).

Van Vugt and Smith (2019) argued that prestige leaders would be more common in human evolutionary history as small groups would thrive better with such leaders. But the shift to larger societies with urbanisation around 6000 years ago started to favour dominance leaders (ie: the pressure of cultural evolution) (Young 2020).

Leaders need their followers, so group dynamics and traditions play a role in what type of leader emerges. Also different types of leaders are needed in different situations. Animals and humans can have leaders for war (dominance style, males) and peace (eg: finding food - prestige style, females) (Young 2020).

¹² The "dual theory of leadership", as it is called, "raises the possibility that natural (and sexual) selection has shaped these two proximate leadership mechanisms independently" (Van Vugt and Smith 2019 p952).

¹³ "Studies of behavioural and neurocognitive mechanisms support the dual model, too. Prestige-style and dominance-style leaders can be distinguished by their postural and vocal cues. Followers show more mimicry when exposed to a prestige leader, whereas cues of dominance elicit behavioural submission. Endocrinal studies show that dominance-style leaders, in both ad hoc and formal groups, have higher basal testosterone levels. By contrast, (self-reported) prestige influence correlates negatively with testosterone. In terms of hormonal reactivity, when dominant leaders are at risk of losing their position of influence, their testosterone and cortisol levels go up, suggesting a readiness to compete. Finally, the neural pathways by which these leaders exert influence on followers may differ. Exposure to dominance-style leaders activates sub-cortical brain areas like the amygdala and striatum (suggesting upregulation of threat-reward systems), whereas exposure to prestige-style leadership is associated with cortical areas like the anterior cingulate cortex and medial prefrontal cortex (indicating an upregulation of social learning and exchange mechanisms)" (Van Vugt and Smith 2019 p958).

Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

8.3. RACIAL AUTHORITARIANISM

Weaver and Prowse (2020) commented: "The United States is now and has historically been characterised by high levels of state control of and violence toward racially subjugated groups alongside formal political freedom. Just as racial slavery defined US democracy historically, racial authoritarianism continues to define the practices of our democracy" (p1178). These authors argued that academics should be more vocal about the paradox of democracy with racial authoritarianism in the USA.

"But racial authoritarianism has been central to citizenship and governance of race-class subjugated communities throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries. It describes state oppression such that groups of residents live under extremely divergent experiences of government and laws. Yet when police engage in excessive surveillance, incursions on civil liberties, and arbitrary force as a matter of routine patrol, many scholars of American politics are reluctant to consider it a violation of democracy and instead deem them aberrations in an otherwise functioning democracy" (Weaver and Prowse 2020 p1176).

Based on online conversations between Black residents in highly policed US neighbourhoods, Weaver et al (2019) reported that "people possess dual, contradictory knowledge about how the state should operate based on written law and how it actually operates as a lived experience; that their knowledge is attained through involuntary encounters with the state rather than through civics education; and that this knowledge, rather than functioning to improve preferences to be communicated to an elected official, serves to help individuals distance themselves from the anti-democratic face of the state" (p1153)¹⁴. The researchers analysed 233 conversations from thirteen neighbourhoods where technology was made available for the residents to use as part of the "Portals Criminal Justice Dialogues" project.

Adverse police encounters was a dominant theme with around one-quarter of respondents having been stopped by the police in the previous week or month, and only one-fifth had never been stopped.

¹⁴ Foucault (1980) used the term "subjugated knowledge" to describe the "unique experiential knowledge of oppressed populations" (Weaver et al 2019 p1158). This fits also with the concept of "interpretive labour" - ie: "within relations of domination, it is generally the subordinates who are effectively relegated the work of understanding how the social relations in question really work" (Graeber 2012 quoted in Weaver et al 2019).

The view of the police is summed up by a Baltimore man: "Listen my, my overall opinion is... the police is a legal gang. They, they, they—they conduct business just like gangbangers here conduct business, right? So, but they hide behind the shield and they got the law protecting them. Legally carry their weapon, and use it, with no consequences!" (p1156).

Weaver et al (2019) pointed out that this view "reflects the new institutional context of policing, the wide latitude police have to approach people in poor communities of colour, the discretion they have in deciding who to stop or arrest, and the 'qualified immunity' they enjoy when they engage in poor discretionary actions that harm people. Such discourses also operate in a context of a sweeping change in policing toward targeting minor violations of order or the possibility of crime under broken windows theory, resulting in a sharp increase in stops that did not yield arrests, and arrests for minor infractions. Legal cases effectively deregulated policing, encouraging stops of people for 'furtive movements' or 'simply being in a high crime area' or race plus location, and civil ordinances that criminalised mundane behaviour across the nation encouraged police to make contact with many more Americans" (p1161) (appendix 8A).

8.3.1. Some Evidence

For example, in the USA, around 1000 civilians are killed by police officers each year, but the risk within that is approximately twice as great for Black as White men (Peeples 2020). But the data are limited, for instance, because data submission to the FBI by law enforcement agencies is voluntary (Peeples 2020).

Hockstra and Sloan (2020) used a larger data set of two million emergency calls in two US cities. White officers dispatched to "Black" neighbourhoods (ie: >80% of residents in the area are Black) fired their guns five times more often than Black officers responding to the same calls and neighbourhoods (Peeples 2020).

An anomaly is that the rate of police fatal shootings of civilians per 100 criminal homicides is much higher in smaller US communities (Sherman 2018), but the reason why is unclear (Peeples 2020).

8.3.2. Public Health View

Deivanayagam et al (2021) argued that policing is a public health issue because "it is a tool of racist and discriminatory power structures, actively harming the physical, mental, social and emotional health and well-being of populations, particularly Black and people of colour, and other minoritised populations" (p1).

Around the world, Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC) (or Indigenous, Minority and People of Colour; IMPOC) are "disproportionally subject to state violence, surveillance and its adverse health outcomes" (Deivanayagam et al 2021 p2). For example, in Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are 2% of the overall population, but 28% of the adult prison population, while in the UK, Black individuals are nearly nine times more likely to be stopped by the police than White individuals (Deivanayagam et al 2021).

Deivanayagam et al (2021) outlined the links between such policing and health-related outcomes, including:

- Fatal injuries from contact with the police.
- Psychological responses to such events, along with legal, medical and funeral bills, and their impact of wealth and health.
- The stress of living in an environment where such things happen regularly, and that impact on health.

Policing is part of the "prison industrial complex", which is designed to uphold social stratification (Deivanayagam et al 2021). Deivanayagam et al (2021) explained: "Well-trained police officers sustain this stratification, not necessarily by prejudice or incidental misunderstanding, but by system design: largely by making arrests for low-level offences, for which the burden continues to fall primarily on BIPOC. Thus, policing is a racist institution that traffics in criminalisation and confinement. Its function is generative of a number of harms, including the criminalisation of people with mental health disorders, the unhoused and those living in poverty, which only serves to exacerbate such conditions and denies people the right to a dignified and healthy life. We must think critically about the implications of supporting an institution whose sole response to the consequences of unmet need is criminalisation and the perpetuation of inequality" (p2).

8.4. AGGRESSION

Finding the area of the brain that "causes" or "controls" aggression has always interested researchers. Walter Hess working in the 1920s, for example, found an area of the hypothalamus in cats, which was labelled the "hypothalamic attack area" (HAA) (Fields 2019).

More recently, Motta et al (2013) focused on a part of this area - the ventral pre-mammillary nucleus. If this area of the hypothalamus was removed from female rat mothers, they do not attack male stranger rats approaching their pups (which is the normal response) (ie: defensive attack). "But destroying these neurons did not affect the mother's responses to a predator cat or other threat" (Fields 2019 p56).

Studies with non-human animals have limitations in applicability to humans. Human aggression involves different areas of the brain which combine in a pathway (Fields 2019):

- i) Threat detection involving the amygdala;
- ii) Physiological aggression response controlled by the HAA;
- iii) Impulse control and decision-making controlled by the pre-frontal cortex;
- iv) Reward areas active afterwards.

Humans are able to inhibit an aggressive response at step (iii). But violent offenders are more likely to have abnormalities in the pre-frontal cortex than non-violent offenders (eg: Schilitz et al 2013) (ie: unable to inhibit aggressive impulses) (Fields 2019).

8.5. APPENDIX 8A - "RACE"

Cavalli-Sforza (1991) observed that "races" or "ethnic groups" are "hard to define in a way that is both rigorous and useful because human beings group themselves in a bewildering array of sets, some of them overlapping, all of them in a state of flux" (quoted in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

While Morrison (1992) noted the social nature of the concept: "Race has become metaphorical - a way of referring to and disguising forces, events, classes, and expressions of social decay and economic division far

more threatening to the body politic than biological 'race' ever was" (quoted in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

Omi and Winant (1994) developed a "racial formation theory", which suggested that "race is a matter of both social structure and cultural representation" (quoted in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). They described "the socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed... [It] is a process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organised" (quoted in Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995).

8.6. REFERENCES

Cavalli-Sforza, L.L (1991) Genes, peoples and languages Scientific American November, 104-111

Deivanayagam, T.A et al (2021) Policing is a threat to public health and human rights BMJ Global Health 6, e004582

Fields, R.D (2019) The roots of human aggression Scientific American May, 53-59

Foucault, M (1980) Lecture One: 7 January 1976. In Gordon, C (ed) Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-77 New York: Vintage

Graeber, D (2012) Dead zones of the imagination HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory 2, 105-128

Hockstra, M & Sloan, C.W (2020) Does race matter for police use of force? Evidence from 911 calls NBER Working Paper 26774 Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research

Ladson-Billings, G & Tate, W.F (1995) Toward a critical race theory of education Teachers College Record 97, 1, 47-68

Morrison, T (1992) Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Motta, S.C et al (2013) Ventral pre-mammillary nucleus as a critical sensory relay to the maternal aggression network Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA 110, 35, 14438-14443

Omi, M & Winant, H (1994) Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s (2nd ed) New York: Routledge

Peeples, L (2020) Brutality and racial bias: What the data say Nature 583, 22-24

Schiltz, K et al (2013) High prevalence of brain pathology in violent prisoners: A qualitative CT and MRI scan study European Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience 263, 607-616
Psychology Miscellany No. 145; March 2021; ISSN: 1754-2200; Kevin Brewer

Sherman, L.W (2018) Reducing fatal police shootings as system crashes: Research, theory and practice Annual Review of Criminology 1, 421-449

Van Vugt, M & Smith, J.E (2019) A dual model of leadership and hierarchy: Evolutionary synthesis Trends in Cognitive Science 23, 11, 952-967

Weaver, V.M & Prowse, G (2020) Racial authoritarianism in US democracy Science 369, 1176-1178

Weaver, V.M et al (2019) Too much knowledge, too little power: An assessment of political knowledge in highly policed communities Journal of Politics 81, 3, 1153-1166

Wolf, N (2007) Fascist America, in ten easy steps Guardian 24th April, II, 4-11

Young, E (2020) Dominate or influence? New Scientist 4th July, 30-34

9. ALCOHOL AND IMPAIRMENT

Alcohol consumption was linked to nearly one-third of vehicular-related fatalities in the USA in 2017 (Tyson et al 2021).

Among the effects of ethyl alcohol on the body is the impairment of eye movements, which is relevant to driving. Countries have legal blood-alcohol concentration (BAC) levels because it is assumed that low levels are not impairing¹⁵. Tyson et al (2021) considered if impairments occurred at low doses (ie: within legal limits for driving). Previous research has studied BAC levels from 0.04 to 0.1%, and found impairments in eye movements, while Tyson et al (2021) examined BAC levels lower than 0.04%.

Sixteen adults in their 20s volunteered for this study at NASA Ames Research Centre, California. Alcohol and caffeine consumption were prohibited for three days before the laboratory experiments (which lasted two days). Pre- and post-dose testing occurred on each day, and it varied between lower-dose (BAC 0.02%) or higher-dose (BAC 0.06%) alcohol administration. Eye movements were tested in a number of ways. For example, the motion stimuli task involves focusing on a small dot in the centre of a computer screen which moves unexpectedly in one direction and back (taking 700-1000 ms), and the participant has to track the movement.

The ability to track the dot was significantly impaired at both levels of BAC. Performance on other eye movement tasks was also impaired at the lower-dose BAC. Overall, performance dropped by around one-quarter with the lower-dose, and over one-third with the higher-dose alcohol.

REFERENCE

Tyson, T.L et al (2021) Dose-dependent sensori-motor impairment in human ocular tracking after acute low-dose alcohol administration Journal of Physiology 599, 4, 1225-1242

¹⁵ Eg. 0.08% in USA (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drunk_driving_law_by_country; accessed 10th February 2021).

10. A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF JONESTOWN

In November 1978 in Guyana, over nine hundred members of the "People's Temple" at Jonestown participated in a mass suicide/homicide. Suicide/homicide is used because there is debate about the willingness of members to take the poisoned drink at the end ("Jonestown: Paradise Lost"). There are many attempts to explain this behaviour, but I want to present a simple conceptualisation that shows that it is a process that leads individuals willing and unwilling into "cults" and to such extreme acts (figure 10.1).

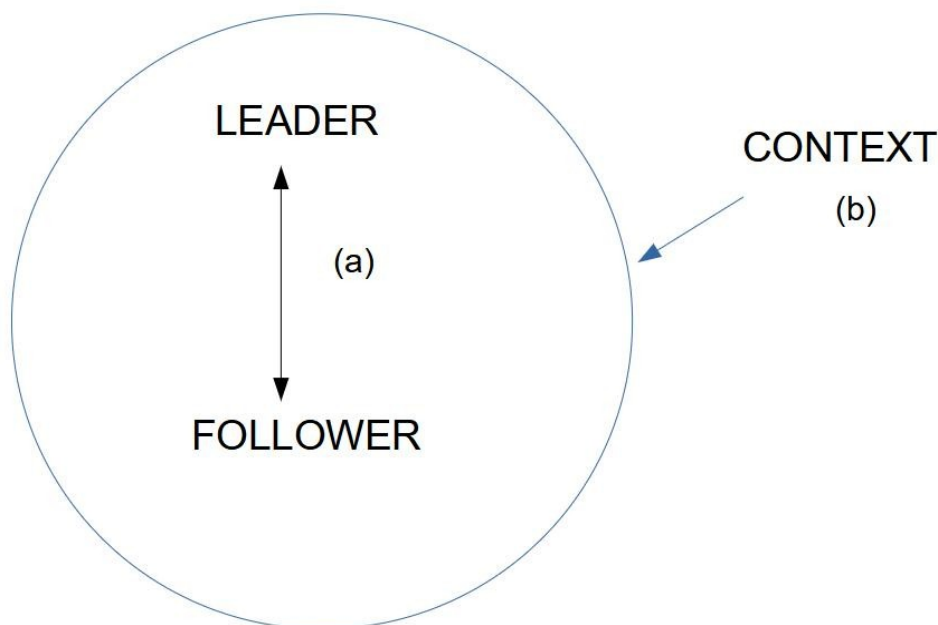


Figure 10.1 - A simple conceptualisation for cults and extreme acts.

Key to figure:

(a) The relationship between the leader and follower. Early research focused on the leader and (usually) his characteristics that attract followers, and these can be important, but the characteristics of the followers can be as important. These include:

- Vulnerability
- Belief in the cause

- Loyalty and commitment.

(b) The context of the group/event, and the relationship between the leader and followers. Factors here include:

- Small changes - the move to extremism occurs in small steps, each by themselves is not that great, and the individual is slowly tied in. Milgram (1974) showed this in his experiments where the electric shock to be administered to the victim increased by only fifteen volts each time.
- An agreed authority that is misused - eg: Jim Jones misquoted the Bible, and the followers placed great store on that book.
- Dislike/fear/paranoia about the outside world - eg: Jones talked of a "revolutionary suicidal protest".
- How other members perceived them - eg: leading to conformity.
- Physical constraints - eg: guards keeping members at Jonestown.

These factors mentioned are not exhaustive, and there will be others, but there are also three stages where different factors may vary in importance:

i) Brings together - reasons for joining the group (eg: vulnerability; attracted to cause).

ii) Keeps together - beliefs that encourage the individual to stay, particularly when they start to notice small changes or that things are not what they seemed (eg: increasing fear of the outside world; use of physical punishments).

iii) Leading to the event - precipitating factors that lead to the "final event" (eg: a specific crisis; cracks too big to hide).

The important point is at the moment of the "final event", the followers are both willing and unwilling participants. From the outside, the "warning signs" seem so obvious, but the individual's behaviour can only be fully appreciated from within the context. The taking of the poisoned drink may have been forced, but the

individual had made willing decisions previously that had led them to that point. That is not to say that I am blaming the victim, but that how individuals come to particularly points is a complex combination of chosen and forced decisions. This is the case in everyday life, but there is no "final event" with such ultimate consequences.

REFERENCES

Milgram, S (1974) Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View
New York: Harper & Row

Film: "Jonestown: Paradise Lost" (2007) (Director: Tim Wolochatiuk)