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UNDERSTANDING GANG LEADERS: CHARACTERISTICS AND DRIVING FORCES OF STREET GANG LEADERS IN SWEDEN

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Abstract

In this criminological study we have combined ethnographic fieldwork observations with twelve in-depth interviews with Swedish street gang leaders and twelve associate gang members to understand the driving forces behind street gang leadership and gang membership by delineating the multiple themes of the subjects' narratives. A descriptive and interpretive analysis of the data suggested four ideal-types, each with specific goals, aspirations, and motives. These were in accord with a limited, though diverse literature on gang leadership that has primarily emerged in the United States. The analysis, however, does not necessarily support the claim that U.S.-style intergenerational, institutionalized gangs exist in Sweden; simply that there are similar gang leadership styles and motivations in these different contexts. In terms of policy, the analysis contains important lessons for agencies involved in social control efforts against street gangs and similar subcultures by focusing on the heterogeneous roles and influences of gang hierarchies. Further, the analysis reiterates the need for a more nuanced understanding of street gangs and the structured agency of members within their own narrative accounts. In terms of research, these findings suggest a need for further in-depth, holistic studies to create a more empirically grounded gang leader typology.

INTRODUCTION

The gang research tradition is based on a range of approaches from ethnographic fieldwork (Brotherton and Barrios 2004; Hagedorn and Macon 1988; Jankowski 1991; Moore and García 1978; Thrasher 1927; Venkatesh 1997; Vigil 1988 inter alia.) to quantitative survey research with supplementary data collection (Bursik, Jr. and Grasmick 2006) primarily conducted in the United States. One of the strengths of the ethnographic and ecological research traditions is their flexibility (Bryman and Nilsson 2011; Kontos and Brotherton 2007), useful for subject populations where unexpected obstacles to research are common and new areas of investigation are always emerging. The case study design allows for a descriptive research approach where researchers can describe and analyze behaviors of interest and test universally accepted or perceived assumptions (Christensen 1997; Gerson and Horowitz

2002; O'Reilly 2002). In this study, we have combined a variation of the ethnographic fieldwork approach with a case study design consisting of indepth interviews with 24 gang members and leaders in Sweden. Our goal was to construct a gang leader typology based on behavioral and character traits described in members' accounts to further our understanding of Swedish gangs and their organizational dynamics. As Spergel (1995:86) notes an analysis of gang leadership is critical for policy and theoretical considerations. Although the public perception of gang leaders is largely stereotypical, dominated by media and popular cultural images of demonic and pathologically violent Black or Latino lower class males, (Cohen 1972; Gilbert 1986; Jankowski 1991; Kontos and Brotherton 2007; McCorkle and Miethe 2001) or rebellious outsiders (Höjer 2009; Webster 2008). These largely inflammatory and sensationalized descriptions, often prompted by the newsworthiness of territorial feuding,

reports of "urban terrorism", and cycles of inter-group "violence" (McCorkle and Miethe 2001), add little to our knowledge of the continuing and changing nature of these subcultures. In contrast, the sociological and criminological literature point to a much more complex universe of gangs that has great variety both in terms of structure, meaning and leadership styles, especially as the gang takes on a more global significance (Hagedorn 2008). Hence in our qualitative study of Swedish gang leaders, one of the first in the literature, we seek to go beyond the presumptions of most journalistic accounts and collected data in which gang leaders revealed much about their varied style of governance, their range of aspirations and their ascendancy to their present ranks. The project was conducted by police-researchers in collaboration with a social scientist in the first such social scientific investigation of gang leaders in Sweden.

LITERATURE

The literature on gang leadership is diverse and does not necessarily accord with Klein's finding that gang leadership is ephemeral, situational and relatively weak due to the gang's weak organizational structures (Klein 1995). Many researchers have observed gangs with both weak and strong leaderships (Spergel 1995) and some (e.g. Jankowski 1991) have reported on both types. Nearly all the criminological literature in this area comes from the United States but there is an increasingly important more global literature emerging from Europe (Decker and Weerman 2005; Feixa, Porzio, and Recio 2006; Palmas 2010), Latin America and other developing geographic areas (Cerbino and Barrios 2008; Dowdney 2005) which also divide along the same lines regarding both weak and strong gang leadership patterns.

Strong Gang Leadership

In one of the first social scientific treatments of street gangs, Thrasher (1927) notes that leaders often emerge because of their willingness to try things before other members of the group. In this context, the act of participation, especially being the first to act, also elevates one's status, particularly within juvenile gangs in which courage and boldness are esteemed qualities. Thrasher also wrote that this "gameness" –the idea where the leader goes where no one else dares and is brave in face of danger– sometimes is developed to the point of exaggeration and "daredevil type of personality traits" (Thrasher 1927). However, the strong gang leader (e.g., Thrasher's natural leader) is often able to support his daring with physical prowess (p. 241), which makes his followers feel secure and protected in his presence. Jankowski (1991) also emphasizes the role of leadership in gangs, suggesting there are three cohesive structural typologies that govern the codes and the rules of gang leadership and behaviour: (1) the vertical/hierarchical, (2) the horizontal/commission, and (3) the influential. Regarding the first type, Jankowski argues that some gangs have powerful hierarchies – what he calls "vertical gangs"– in such gangs the characteristics of leaders are similar to those noted by Machiavelli, namely that the leader is only concerned with the maintenance of power, rather than with any ethical consideration. In this perspective, a successful gang leader must: attend to the needs and desires of the rank and file, maintain a court of loyalists, recruit and train staff to carry out routine duties, be flexible in handling a range of personal and membership problems without appearing "weak", and be fair in distributing justice (or at least be prudent and not reckless). For Jankowski, the gang is often entrepreneurial and thus leadership is part of a rational business model in response to a deindustrialized political economic landscape. A similar argument can be seen in the work on street drug gangs in the work of Padilla (1992) and Taylor (1990).

Staying with the gang as an economic organization of the lower classes, Venkatesh (2008) describes the local Chicago gang captain "J.T." as a highly charismatic and ruthless leader and shows how gang leaders can be violent, paranoid and manipulative in

imposing their personal agendas. Venkatesh states that the principal trait among gang leaders is the willingness to use violence at a moment's notice, arguing that successful gang leaders have to be calculating and possess the organizational skills to maintain cohesion within the ranks, a challenge since many gang members are frequently involved in illegal activities (Ross 2008). Burns, a former practitioner, argued that gang leaders maintain dominance over members by a "mixture of rewards and violence, with an emphasis on the latter." He argues that a gang leader "manipulates gang members by testing loyalties, determining status, and keeping members off guard and subservient to his or her will– perfecting a totalitarian form of control" (Burns 2003). Meanwhile, Spergel cautions that too much emphasis on the asocial psychological qualities of the gang leader is not borne out in the research. In some studies, leaders or core gang members are deemed pathological (Yablonsky 1962) and prone to be more "loco" and violent (see Vigil and Long 1990) than peripheral members whereas in other literature they are often "normal" (Short and Strodtbeck 1965), possessing a wide range of talents valued by mainstream society (Brotherton and Barrios 2004).

Looking further afield, Dowdney (2005) argues that gangs have developed sophisticated command structures and have come to resemble inner-city young male armies or groups of organized armed violence as they struggle to defend space against other armed groups, including the state, while holding sway over the informal economy, principally around the drugs trade. Hagedorn (2008) concurs and sees these new hierarchical gangs as a permanent characteristic of many urban areas as the majority of the world adapts to living in conditions distorted by neo-liberal political economies and their attendant punitive cultures of social control (Garland 2001; Young 1999). Meanwhile Brotherton and Barrios (2004) describe various leaders of large "institutionalized" U.S. gangs as charismatic, disciplined organizers of the urban poor who are committed to higher ideals and principles than those normally associated with gangs. In their work, leadership varied across the organization with some leaders ready to use violence when necessary to keep discipline and maintain the gang's reputation whereas others were given to more pacific forms of social control, preferring to rely on moral rather than physical authority. Further, such leaders were strongly embedded in the community, and reflected its myriad ethnic, social and cultural traditions.

Weak Gang Leadership

As stated, Klein concludes that gangs do not require strong leaderships because gangs have weak structures and are rarely tied to the drugs trade or other economic engines of the ghetto and barrio. Vigil (1988) similarly did not see strong leadership traits in his Chicano gangs of Los Angeles, and this concurs with Jankowski's other two models of gangs which he calls horizontal and influential. In the former, the gang is run by a council of equal members, and though rare, this comes about in times of crisis in the group's organization. The latter model is more common and fits the gang culture of the West Coast and the ethnic gangs of Chicano and Irish heritage. In such gangs, the importance of family and friendship ties is paramount and leadership is achieved through one's real and symbolic relationship to the community rather than through strict rules of succession and election processes. In this model the charisma of individuals in leadership positions is critical but the organization must still provide for its members. Finally, Jankowski argues that this latter form of "weak" leadership (in the structural sense) is accepted by the members as it appears to give them more freedom, and since most gang members are "defiant individualists", the experience is critical to their continued affiliation and to maintaining the leader's legitimacy. Thus the literature points to a range of findings on gang leadership. While such research has generated a plethora of knowledge, however, there is little information available on the motives and values of these individuals in

Sweden where data and analyses are virtually non-existent (Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012). Recently there has been a call for more "practitioner-researcher" to help fill these gaps in the literature, by including those in the field, especially who possess a wealth of "insider" knowledge and unanalyzed data that might be off-limits to purely academic researchers. This study therefore is an effort to carry out such research combining the strengths of the practitioner and the academic researcher in a collaboration rarely seen in gang sociology/criminology.

Gangs in Sweden and Europe

With its 450,000-km^2 area, Sweden is the third largest country in Western Europe, but with only nine million residents, it ranks only 14th in terms of population. Along with its size, Sweden is noted for its adherence to the welfare state model of governance (Sundell, Soydan, Tengvald, and Anttila 2010). Despite its history of cradle-to-grave state paternalism, in contrast to the United States, Sweden in recent years has developed a gang problem (Leinfelt and Rostami 2012; Rostami and Leinfelt 2012). The majority of gang studies have been conducted in the U.S. using American data. During the past few years, however, there has been a growing interest among researchers to study gang-involved youth in Europe (Decker and Pyrooz 2010; Esbensen and Maxson 2012; Esbensen and Weerman 2005; Haymoz and Gatti 2010; Klein, Weerman, and Thornberry 2006; van Gemert, Peterson, and Lien 2008). These studies suggest that European street gangs and gang-involved youth may be similar to their American counterparts.

Despite recent attempts at developing an "international scope" to the gang problem, Swedish gangs have not yet caught the interest of Swedish researcher. Criminological explorations in Sweden have mainly been limited to "juvenile networks" (Sarnecki 2001; Sarnecki and Pettersson 2001). In fact, there has been a widely held research belief among leading Swedish criminologists that street gangs, like those

found in the U.S., do not exist in Sweden (Fondén and Sarnecki 1996; Sarnecki 1990; Sarnecki 2001; Sarnecki and Pettersson 2001).

These Swedish studies posit that these groups are simply various forms of juvenile delinquent networks. As Klein (1995) points out, however, juvenile offending should not be equated or confused with street gang criminality; that is, not all gang members are juveniles. Klein would argue that some street gang members can be in their 20's or older. Our recent study and our experience working with gangs at the Stockholm County Police shows that street gang criminality in Sweden is more organized than loosely-tied networks of delinquent youth (Leinfelt and Rostami 2012; Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012). In fact, we have seen some development in our case files that suggests that gang members are older than juvenile delinquents and that they engage in various types of crime, including serious, violent crimes. This phenomenon has also been documented elsewhere (Lindmark 2005; Rikskriminalpolisen 2009) and would seem to be in concert with American and European trends. For example, the upper age limit of gang membership in the U.S. has risen over time, expanding the issue beyond a juvenile matter (e.g., Klein 1995; Maxson, Curry, and Howell 2002). This reiterates the need to look beyond the existing Swedish literature on "juvenile networks" and juvenile delinquency and adopt a broader research agenda.

During the 1990s and onward, the focus among Swedish scholars has been to argue that gangs are not a widespread phenomenon, and if gangs existed, they do not have the same characteristics and structure as their American counterparts. Some have even implied that the concept of organized crime groups is a police construction, a strategy for gaining more resources, new policies, and expanded criminal laws (Flyghed 2007). Nonetheless, the Swedish government has made it clear that criminal networks and gangs, in addition to organized crime, are becoming a serious problem (SOU 2010:15). Our recent work is in line with the standpoint of the Swedish

government (Leinfelt and Rostami 2012; Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012). In contrast to what previous researchers have argued, our findings suggest that the Swedish welfare society has street gangs, and consequently a gang problem. Our findings about the comparison of the Swedish street gangs with their European and American counterparts are in concert with other European studies (Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012). For example, like our European counterparts, territoriality is absent in Swedish street gangs. Swedish gangs, however, have a similar pattern with their European counterpart regarding durability, size, age, crime patterns and gender compositions, meaning that many Swedish gangs have 50 or fewer members, consist of primarily adolescents or early adults and last for 10-15 years with versatile criminal behaviour patterns. We also cannot find any race-ethnic homogeneous gangs in Sweden or a dominating ethnic group with the exception of white ethnic Swedes who account for the majority of the gang population (Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012).

METHODS

Based on our reading of the literature, it is clear that a greater understanding of the motives, drives and world views of individuals who become gang leaders will advance our knowledge of gang formation and development. This knowledge is especially invaluable in the Swedish context where such data and analyses are so lacking for practitioners and researchers alike. To accomplish these goals, we chose a qualitative approach to take advantage of our proximity to gang subjects and thereby come closer to an understanding of the meanings and the "vocabularies of motive"[1] (Mills 1940) behind both individual and collective actions and behavior.[2]

Data Collection
Leaders of prominent street gangs had been identified in a previous study (see Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012) and were approached by the field researchers to participate in this inquiry. Such leaders were defined as individuals who had an elevated hierarchical status in these groups and who were seen to possess some "operational responsibility." Their positions in the group's hierarchy were also identified by their peers through such as "General", "President", "Father", or "Clan Leader". Some gang members and virtually all gang leaders were also self-identified. As shown in the diagram below, we used three different sources in identifying gang members and gang leaders: police records, peers, and self-identification.

In total, twelve individuals fit the "leader definition" and agreed to face-to-face interviews with field researchers using a semi-structured questionnaire. Twelve other associated gang members also consented to participate. They did not fit the definition of a gang leader, but through both police records and self-identification were members of a gang. The subjects came from a total of seven established street gangs operational in Sweden. All interviews, which lasted between one and two hours, were conducted outside of the regular line-work of the police.

The role of police as social investigators is not a common one and, of course, this dual role can be problematic for this kind of research. Nonetheless, there are numerous studies where police have successfully navigated the terrain and emerged with data of considerable integrity (e.g., Holgersson 2005; Librett 2008; Moskos 2008). We found that as long as our motives as researchers were clearly explained and that none of the subjects were part of any ongoing investigation, which would have muddied our identities, a mutually trusting relationship with the subjects could be established. All gang members knew that they were talking to the police officers doing research, but did so voluntarily despite not being offered any incentives. In most cases, gang leaders were enthusiastic about telling their stories with at least one gang leader contacting one of the authors to offer his services stating: "…I'd like to open this world for you, so that you can change it." (Respondent A72).

The interviews were conducted over a four-year period, between 2007 and 2011, at various locations, including prison. However, the data is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. All participants gave their written consent to participate and were informed the researchers were not seeking detailed information about crimes or specific events, but about their experiences in general, which types of crime they had committed, and for which they had been adjudicated. The aim of the interviews was to gauge and assess their attitudes, values and motivations towards crime and gangs, as well as appraising other emotional components related to criminal conduct. We found that interviewees answered the questions truthfully, although in a few cases they may have lied to protect themselves and at times embellished in attempts to impress. These types of data have been used before (e.g., Wright and Decker 1997) without compromising the overall validity of the findings and since we did not concern ourselves with the participants' own criminality, there is no reason to believe that our data is any less dependable. Supplementary data were also gleaned from informal conversations and small talk with numerous gang leaders, fringe, or associated gang members during the course of our daily work as police officers in Stockholm County. These conversations, however, were not subject to an active data collection process. Consequently, we used these supplementary data to develop a framework in preparing for the scheduled, in-depth interviews. None of these conversations have been included in this paper since participants had not given us their consent. Letters were also used as a source of data and gave us further information on subjects' relations with other members, their social networks and their feelings on range of group and non-related matters (e.g., Brotherton and Barrios, 2004). These were either given to us by subjects during the interviews or taken from publically available sources such as criminal investigation protocols.

FINDINGS

Characteristics of the Sample

Data confidentiality was important for us and the participants and a crucial component of this study. Even though the participants seemingly could make a distinction between our roles as police officers and researchers, they were still concerned that other inmates or gang members would find out they were talking to us (outsiders) and risked being labeled as "snitches". Consequently, we cannot reveal any information on which gangs the participants are affiliated with, or any other identifying information about the sample and/or the participants. Regardless, some demographic characteristics are listed in Table 1. The street gangs in this sample are all prominent Swedish street gangs with membership numbers reaching in some cases to 50 members. All the gangs appear to fit the "compressed" or "neo-traditional" gang typology (Klein and Maxson 2006). In a previous study, we demonstrated that this "American typology" can also be used with Swedish gang samples (Rostami, Leinfelt, and Holgersson 2012).[3]

Gang Leader Typologies

Based on our data, we found four different leadership types, some of whose characteristics overlap: the entrepreneur, the prophet, the realist, and society's victim. These types are drawn from other findings and empirical analyses in U.S. sociology and criminology (see Brotherton and Barrios 2004; Jankowski 1991; Matza 1964; Merton 1938). However, this does not mean that we

Illustration 1: The Gang Membership Identification Triangle

Table 1: *Demographic characteristics of the sample.*

	N *Associate Members*	N *Gang Leaders*
Sex		
Male	12	12
Female	0	0
Total	**12**	**12**
Age		
18-29	9	7
30-39	2	5
40 and over	1	0
Total	**12**	**12**
Ethnicity		
Africa	1	2
Scandinavia	3	3
Middle east	6	7
Latin America	2	0
Total	**12**	**12**

also see the same U.S.-type gangs rooted in the most marginalized and often segregated urban and suburban spaces of the United States. There are no such Swedish gangs that might be characterized as institutionalized and intergenerational. The interview quotes have been translated from Swedish to English, maintaining where possible the nuances, tones, and subtleties of the language.

The Entrepreneur

The entrepreneur is a pragmatic leader driven by the spirit of business and profit, and according to Jankowski is found in all gangs (1991).[4] He is concerned with money and status, but does not necessarily need to engage in criminal behaviour to get there, although crime is usually seen as a suitable solution. For the entrepreneurial type, it is important to build an empire to reap the material rewards. Essentially he is an innovative actor (Merton 1938) who lacks the legitimate means to achieve societal goals and has found alternative ways of reaching them. A major character trait is that he is selfish and ego-centered with little use for

political ideals. Three participants from different street gangs (respondents 912, 1511, and 54) fit this leadership type.

Respondent 912: "You know, I'm a businessman. What I do is making money from criminals. You think that is immoral? Hey, I use criminals, not ordinary people. I'm not like those other niggers sitting here [in jail] who do drugs and get caught for shitty offenses. I am innocent, I'm not really a criminal at all […]. You know how many celey chicks I have banged? Come to my cell and I'll show you their letters. […]. I feel like a king when I'm out and people respect me. I wouldn't make all this money and have this life if I'd stayed at home […]. I don't give a shit about this life, I just want to make money and live a good life, get respect. You should see how all the celebs cling to me since I am the one who provides them with cocaine. They all like to hang with me since they think I'm a bad boy, they read about me in the papers and shit. Come with me one night, I'll show

you. Hook you up with some babes too! [laugh]. If I would have made as much doing something else, I would have done it. You think I enjoy watching my back all the time? To commit crimes is not my thing."[5]

Nonetheless, this kind of gang leader is not primarily driven by the criminal lifestyle. Instead, he is more interested in becoming a successful and influential person, obsessed with the notion of power and prestige within frames of reference that come directly and indirectly from a global culture of conspicuous consumption and celebration of the entrepreneur's societal role. To him, it is not fame per se that is a motivating force, but rather the rewards that accompany it. He is therefore often seen analyzing and calculating every possibility to maximize his gains in pursuit of his desire to become financially independent, live a comfortable life, be seen at all the trendy nightclubs, mix with various celebrities, and network with the powerbrokers.

> *Respondent 1511:* "Why haven't you come to me sooner? You should have contacted and interviewed me sooner? You all know where to get me. That guy Wierup[6] usually finds people, you should too […]. We could make a deal, you help me start my own business and I will help you."

Thus the entrepreneurial personality is more greedy than self-occupied and feels little for the gang he leads or is a member of, for it is merely a means to an end. As such, the entrepreneur jumps between gangs as he sees fit, depending upon his calculations of profitability. Hence a characteristic for the entrepreneur might be a long list of previous gang memberships– although there are exceptions. The entrepreneur may be loyal to a single gang, if it is something he created himself and as long as it generates revenue. For example, respondent 54 views himself as having his own business and regards this business as his baby.

"This is my creation. I started this, and it works!"

Regardless, his primary motivation is still money– financial independence and the fame that comes with it. This preoccupation with personal financial gain takes precedence over sharing this wealth with others:

> *Respondent 54*: "Sure, I make money for myself, but the guys [other gang members] get the brotherhood by being members, we become their family. I didn't have a family growing up."

> *Respondent 1511*: "I'm going to get a patent and start my own business. I'll get a job to get experience, but the dream is to start my own company and live well from running it. You know, you should never trust anyone, only your own flesh and blood. You should be egoistic and only think about yourself and your family."

One common finding regarding the entrepreneurs is the negative view of them by other gang members with virtually all rank-and-file gang members in our sample making disparaging comments about such leaders. It is, therefore, not a surprise that the entrepreneur has the highest turnover in membership among all the gangs we examined (Rostami 2010). The following respondents provide examples of this rank-and-file disquiet of their leadership:

> *Respondent 9T1*: "He [respondent 912] only thinks about himself and money, he's only interested in that. He doesn't give a shit about us or the brotherhood. It's all a fake, a sham, a fuckin' pyramid scheme for him to make money, he fuckin' uses kids. He is a fucking pathological liar, he's a fuckin' idiot, that what he is […]. Everything goes to him; everything [money] that was collected had to be kicked up to him […]. He just talks, but it's all bullshit, everyone hates him and most have quit. Either they go with someone else or start their own thing, we don't know yet, but he can go to fuckin' hell!"

Respondent XH111: "The leader sits at home and scratches his balls while he lets everyone else do his dirty work…"

Respondent OL2: "I want to quit because when X took over, it was all about money, no brotherhood anymore."

The entrepreneur blends with his environment and has an amazing ability to adapt to "the client". These skills are developed by careful observation and research. He is like a chameleon, changing his attitude, dialect and approach depending on whom he meets. For example, the entrepreneur can extort someone by making his voice and non-verbal communication appear threatening, and in the next breath, speak rhetorically with a business owner about a legal cooperation. Respondent 1511 elaborated on this ability:

"I am an able actor, you have to be in order to be a successful businessman, otherwise you go nowhere."

To summarize, the entrepreneur is an innovative social actor who appreciates the set goals in society, but who lacks the legitimate means to achieve them. As such, the entrepreneur finds alternative means of attaining them. Criminality per se and the sense of brotherhood are not a primary motivator for him, but are merely tools for success. His traditional leadership styles range from authoritarian to charismatic and democratic. However, it is not his leadership style, background, childhood or even type of gang that are the sources of his motivation, but rather the sheer determination to overcome his blocked pathway to societal success.

The Prophet

The prophet can easily be confused with the entrepreneur due to their great rhetorical ability, charisma, determination and leadership abilities. Both see themselves as visionaries, are verbally skilled and grandiose, but the prophet is more genuine and well-liked by his peers. Granted, the entrepreneur can mimic some of the prophet's characteristics to achieve their goals, but the difference is the enduring nature of these traits. The Prophet is concerned with a higher calling– he is devoted and true to the gang notion and holds personal goals that are above those set by mainstream society, such as building an army of devoted followers in the cause of personal and collective empowerment (Brotherton and Barrios 2004). The Prophet sees his group's and his action as the hallmark of strong, male leadership, and a salutary reminder to other members of their mission. Contrary to the Machiavellian style of leadership, which is often in evidence with the entrepreneur, he sees the salvation of the members as his obligation, rejecting the social-Darwinistic approach of attaining collective purity by the purging of weak individuals. The Prophet sees himself, and wishes that others see him, as the righteous leader, whose leadership emerges as much from a moral calling as from any materialistic calculating strategies of gang leadership. In a way, he is a romantic– holding on to the belief of leading a selected few outside of mainstream society and mainstream goals.

Respondent 21PAK: "Discipline is everything, we are warriors and outlaws. Sure, in the beginning, there were those who were misanthropes, but now we are holy warriors, and thus there has to be discipline in all we do. There's no room for mistake. Now, we're a brotherhood, I can't just kick someone out, just like that, but if you can't follow the rules you can fuck off. You always back your brother, help one and another, do whatever so that they can make it. You know, you don't, I mean, you don't kick a brother out; if you're a family, you're a family. You don't want to lose a brother. But if you rat someone out, your family, you have to take the consequence."

Some of the entrepreneur's members surely regard the entrepreneur as a prophet,

but unlike the entrepreneur –who markets the "brotherhood" for personal gain– the prophet has dissimilar motives; his goals and aspirations are more than just the material and individualistic. In other words, he is not just trying to achieve societal goals like status, economic prosperity and security, although he accepts these goals, but is driven by a yearning for something more social and even spiritual, for example, maintaining a mutual "brotherhood love" with his closest peers. As such, his quest for power is not to gain control over a group of individuals as a pathway to material success, but rather to reap more psycho-social rewards, such as being held in high esteem and loved, or deemed irreplaceable and unique by the membership.

> *Respondent 126 to respondent 11X*: "My beloved brother […]. As God is my witness, you know how much I love you. I love you like no other. I kiss your eyes. You are loved by me like no one else, my love to you is like a mother's love."

> *Respondent 127 to respondent 11X*: "You make us proud, I'm proud to be your brother. You have my full support until I die. You have warriors ready to do as you say, General, […]. Don't forget who you are, brother, and the power you have […]. Love, brother. Love you with all my heart, your brother for life."

The prophet thus believes in his mission and that the brotherhood must do everything possible to create, build and maintain the group. He gets an emotional, intrinsic reward in commandeering his "people", like a feeling of transcendence with the gang representing his creation, a dream come true, an extraordinary achievement worthy of praise and recognition. Unlike the entrepreneur, the prophet values the quality of members over the quantity and would rather take a few devotees than a mass of recruits who do not believe in his message. The prophet regards his members as apprentices who should look up to their master, similar to a spiritual leader. It is all about being faithful to your creation and not to lose it to anyone, even if that might lead to personal gain. Consequently, he views his gang as his family unconditionally and wants his followers to stand by his side until death because that is what he would do.

> *Respondent 11X*: "The most important thing is to keep the name [the gang] respected, then all is good. It doesn't matter if it leads to a long trip [long prison sentence]. Once in, death out."

> *Respondent 46*: "He (the prophet) is treated like a God, everyone calls him big brother, older members too."

> *Respondent 124*: "You should always secure the family interest [gang], the family goes above all else […]. An enemy of the family is everybody's enemy."

> "I know that you have been given a great deal of responsibility, but we trust you 100% and know that you can do this. Like I said to brother, you make the family proud."

> *Respondent 11X*: "A member should always obey a direct order and obey his superior, discipline is a must. The one who do not obey will be punished as a traitor. If anyone fails his brother or leave, he will be punished hard or pay with his life. Every legionnaire is their own brothers-in-arms, regardless of nationality or religion, and you should give him the same respects and loyalty that unites the members into a family. They are my legionnaires, my soldiers."

In summary, the prophet is distinct from the entrepreneur in having goals which are not simply material in nature, but emerge from deeper desires and aspirations that are both personal and rooted in the community's history and experience. He is as much motivated by the satisfaction that comes from

creating something new and the unity that is achieved by feelings of brotherhood than mainstream goals of the dominant culture. As such, his aspirations emerge from the power he gains intrinsically from his leadership position rather than extrinsically and this seems to be his strongest motivator.

> *Respondent 11X*: "Brother, I know we had conflicts, I know we have not agreed, but the most important thing is the family, we can lead this together, we are brothers for life."

> "I take care of my brothers, they can count on me, they know I am there for them, when they need, know that I am their family. […]. He is a fucking idiot, but we can solve this work it out."

The Realist

Jankowski (1991) conceptualized what he called "defiant individualism" as a series of core personality traits in all gang members. These traits are the results of growing up in a Hobbesian world, which does not lend itself well to the Swedish context. What we see from our data, however, is that the realist has characteristics is similar to Jankowski's notion of the "survivor instinct"– that is, gang members who find a way to make it by doing what needs to be done, whether that is committing a crime or by way of legitimate work.

In this context, the realist is a leader with a distinct plasticity and flexibility depending on the situation at hand. He is pragmatic in the sense that he identifies what is feasible and what is not. As such, he is not overly optimistic, utopian or dogmatic in his leadership role. In fact, he does not have direct ambitions to lead a gang unless it is a part of his personal strategy to achieve his individual goals. The realist is therefore a leader who continually adapts to his environment and situation.

> *Respondent 111b*: "I didn't think about anything, not society, the police, politics, all that stuff is crap, that thing with unity and brotherhood is full of shit. I didn't want it, I just

smoked weed and will always do it. I just wanted to find some people to hang with, do drugs, party. Eighty percent was about doing drugs, the rest… criminality was just an image. Crime was spontaneous, just happened; it was not the most important. But I never felt like I belonged, it just created headaches and problems, so I left. I realized it's better to be alone with few friends than to be many with lots of enemies. Everyone who becomes members bring with them all their crap, all their enemies. Their enemies suddenly become everyone's enemies. I didn't gain anything by that, it just gave me a bunch of enemies that I had nothing to do with. Wasn't my problem. So I left that shit. Now I keep to myself, look after myself."

> *Respondent 13XP*: "People have nothing to do, there ain't no jobs available, and this means gangs. You see? I'm sitting here and I want to make money […]. They say, sell this and you get some money, you do it and you want more. There's nothing else, you see… And you get respect too. People know how you are, they know you […]. The thing is, you see… the only reason you start a gang is so that people can work…"

The realist will therefore be malleable depending on the available means and on what he wants to accomplish, and while driven by higher societal goals, he will always take shortcuts to achieve them. Crime is not a purpose, but usually represents the shortest path to accomplishing his desires, which are primarily materialistic in nature. One of the differences from the entrepreneur is that the realist is satisfied when he achieves his goals, and if he can find a legal way, then he will utilize it. Further, the realist is not driven by ideology and does not care about brotherhood and loyalty to a particular cause. Criminality and gangs become the

means to an end, but gang membership does not represent a motivation in itself.

> *Interviewer:* "Can you tell us why you joined a gang?"
>
> *Respondent 12X:* "It's very simple. I am a criminal, and I have decided to keep doing this for a long time, it is my professsion, you know. I don't know anything else but this. It's my livelihood, so I thought, am I stronger alone or with others? How can I survive and prosper the best? So I decided to join a gang. I wasn't interested in Bandidos or Hells Angels, so I joined… Because I knew someone who was with them. It was a simple and logical choice."

This pragmatic attitude for joining a gang is also the rationale for leaving. For the realist has no problems departing from a gang that does not live up to his perceived hopes or opportunities, even if it means terminating newly acquired friendships or long-term relationships with childhood friends. The realist will never favor the road less travelled, but will always decide to do what is most convenient at the time.

> "I really want to leave this shit, but I have no way back, I have punched a lot of people in the face, you know what I mean, so if I leave, I'll have 1000 enemies waiting to kick my ass. If I leave, I'll stand there with my dick in my hand. I have no way back. No."

While the realist tries to find logical, innovative answers to obstacles and problems, he is often guarded and sees a potential enemy in everyone; he does not share or open up much to his members for he believes that many wish him harm. He expects attention and privileges without the need to reciprocate.

> *Respondent 13*: "I have one motto: you are with me, you are against me. Black, white, yellow, doesn't matter. You could be me fellow countryman, you can be my brother, but you're either with me or against me, it is that

simple. I'll give you a chance, and then it's up to you. I'll meet with you, and then you decide if you are going to fuck me over, or stand by my side. Nothing more than that. Doesn't matter what our history is, how much we have backed each other in the past, but if you fuck me over, what do I need you for? I'm not scared of dying. I believe in God. It has to be within me, if I die today, you think I'll go to heaven? Hell no."

Thus the realist is characterized by a lack of empathy and cares little about the feelings of others. During our observations, we noticed that if the realist does not get what he wants, he often throws what appear to be contrived tantrums that could be physical. Consequently, he is prone to using violence to achieve short term goals and can be quite manipulative as he evaluates whether his violence capital is strong enough to leave him victorious. In this scenario, he will often mobilize others to do the fighting for him. As such, his outbursts do not seem to be triggered in the heat of the moment, but rather are more strategic, deliberate and thoughtful, as he carefully weighs the pros and cons before taking action.

> *Respondent 12*: "I did what I gained the most out of. If it was shooting someone, then I shot someone. If it meant beating someone up, then I did. I still do, if I need to. But I am not stupid, I know what I am doing before I do it."

To summarize, if the realist believes that his actions can accomplish a goal, he will go ahead with it. If not, then he does not. Things for him are black or white, with his actions often dissected and analyzed. His motivation is not to become exceptional in the eyes of his members, but always to focus on what is best for him given his situation, even if it means that his close friends can face the negative consequences of his actions. The realist therefore does not care about ideals, conviction or gang norms, but prefers to view of daily life strategically, adapting himself to

each situation after judging exactly what he can and cannot accomplish given his perceived strengths and contextual limitations.

Society's Victim

It is hard to characterize this type of leader, since he is a combination of someone whose motivation lies with changing society, because of a realization that he cannot control his own destiny, while at the same time showing no apparent interest in ideology or higher societal goals. This leadership type accepts societal goals, but realizes that he cannot achieve them, believing that society will not accept his kind, and will actively prevent him from achieving them. This type of leader accords with some of the characteristics and rationalizations contained in Sykes and Matza's (1957) notion of techniques of neutralizations. In particular, the notion of "denial of responsibility" prominently describes this leadership type as he constantly claims that his circumstances and actions are due to some unfortunate set of circumstances beyond his control. As such, we describe him as "a victim of society" in which everything that happens to him is someone else's fault. Moreover, "society's victim" is convinced that he is justified because what right does society have to criticize him when they have treated him so unfairly? Such world views are also well suited to the notion of "condemnation of the condemners" (Sykes and Matza 1957) as this leadership type is quick to transfer the responsibility for his situation onto the shoulders of another person or agency and thus he is an expert at "passing" or "disbursing" the blame.

Consequently, society's victim is the angry rebel who conceives criminality as a way to oppose societal norms and values. As a person, he is frequently vexed and likes to see himself outside of society looking in. His motivation for crime is based on his contempt for society, and his latent anger stems from society's inability to guide him and socialize him adequately. As a result, he accuses society for forcing him to become what he has become. At the same time, he sees himself as a survivor and even as society's savior, as he is compelled to take on every role from a humble leader to an authoritative leader. Society's victim has dual standards. While he spends much of his time either thinking about or acting out his revolt against the current system, he also hopes to achieve a measure of wealth, status and economic independence. Ironically, he thinks about change, but does not have the motivation to work for it for he is too pessimistic, and perhaps cynical, only seeing the negative aspects of life and of his own situation.

Respondent 13X: "Fuck the world. Fuck everybody. You see? It is us against you, against the society."

Hence, society's victim does not feel happiness or contentment in his everyday existence and seems to find few things to be pleased about. When life does go well, he does not have the ability to feel joy and true appreciation for his good fortune. Instead he is constantly worried and sees risks everywhere. For him, the world is a scary and unsafe place, full of hazards and a place he is constantly trying to control. Society's victim is anxious and has an overwhelming fear of the unknown. Yet he will present himself as a secure and safe person, often over-estimating his own abilities and capacities.

Respondent 146X: "You get caught when you do crimes, sooner or later. But I don't think it's too hard, I don't give a shit. I don't care that I am locked up. I don't even care when they let me out; I don't long for being released. Fuck that. […] I still have the same thoughts and questions as I did when I was with a gang, the only thing now is that I have turned on them. From wanting to bring terror and chaos to society, for that is what it was all about, to helping others. I have lots of experience, and it feels like that, if I throw it all away, I have done all this shit for nothing. So it's like my duty to do it, to give something back. I'll be the person that people will listen to, learn from."

As stated, society's victim is both discontented with and angry at society and its authority figures since they represent a social order that has victimized him. One respondent (above) recounted that he was leaving the gang to give back to the kids, only to attempt to start a new gang a few months later because he felt like society did not want to help him. This leader was constantly concerned about getting into trouble with other gang members and exaggerated the threat level against him to both police and family members. Still, he insisted that people wanted to do him harm, and that society was against him since they did not put him in protective custody and issue him a new life.

Finally, society's victims are quick to blame others for their errors and for their criminality, and often assert that although "they" never wanted to commit crimes, they had no choice.

Respondent 13X:
"It's the media's fault, they are to blame for this development and they ruin many innocent lives. I never understood the severity of my crimes […] it was narcotics that made me join my gang, that's why I joined in the first place, but I will work to change what media destroys. Media forms Sweden's view on everything from fashion to gang crime."

"I don't know anything about how the system works…I would have told them to fuck off. I have nothing to do with you. I get my own money, my own way. I don't know, I never applied for a job in my life, still today; I have yet to write a resume. I don't know how. What am I going to put on it? I am not alone in not knowing how. Many are with me. How many do you see in the suburbs that are white-collar criminals? Not very many, it's fucking few actually. Something to think about, why and how that is? Look where they live, where they grew up; they learn from their group, that's why. We learned something else, we'll keep learning it and that is

that. It will go in a vicious circle, round and round. All the time, round and round. Until someone shows us something else. When there are no jobs, then there are crimes, you see? It's how it is. I am sitting here and I want to make money; what do I do? Okay, you go sell this, bring me back this, make a cut. Then you do it more often. Get respect for doing it. People will know who you are; you go to clubs. You get it all, you get to go straight inside, don't have to stand in line."

Society's victim is convinced that being subservient to society is equal to being defeated. An order, or even simple demands, created in him a feeling of revolt and frustration, but he does not express his feelings since he believes that saying what you actually feel carries too many risks. Instead he commits destructive acts and attempts to go his own way, acting out against the symbols of the mainstream when he can. One respondent, who refused to speak to us when he thought we were disrespectful toward him, finally allowed us to engage him and provided an excellent example of the mistrust this type of leader has for the world at large:

Respondent 13X:
"Everything was fake. He made the whole shit up. I got convicted anyways. But the whole thing was a lie. I am innocent […]. It was the first sentence I got and I got more aggressive since it was bullshit. So, I was like fuck you, you son of a bitch, what the fuck is this? But no one believe me, not society, not anyone, so fuck it all. What difference does it make? I might as well just do what I do. Things like that makes you go: fuck the world."

In summary, during our observations and conversations with "society's victim", we found him to be capable of intensive rage coupled with problems controlling his aggressive impulses. Certainly there were

some police records of assaults that seemed to bear out this conclusion. In such extreme cases, we interpreted such behavior as a reflection of significant levels of insecurity and instability in the society's victim self-image and sense of self; it might be linked to his lack of remorse for crimes he committed and an absence of epathy for his victims. Lastly, we found society's victim to be motivated by his contempt for a society that has failed to show him the right path and has essentially "let him down." Therefore he uses his involvement in crime and other transgressions as a way to manifest a rejection of laws and rules that do not apply to him. Rebellion for society's victim does not, however, spring from his class-consciousness or racial solidarity (Cloward and Ohlin 1960), but from a deeply cynical view of society now channelled through his leadership role in the gang.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that not only are there different types of gangs (DiChiara and Chabot 2003; Klein 1995; Kontos and Brotherton 2007; Kontos, Brotherton, and Barrios 2003), but there are also different components or building blocks to gang structure, which include various kinds of gang leaders. It is clear to us that since the social, economic, political and cultural situation in which gangs emerge is so complex, it is necessary for both researchers and those agencies involved in socially controlling gangs to adopt a more holistic approach to the gang to achieve a fuller understanding of the phenomenon and its social actors. The law enforcement agencies, as a part of their mandate, should work to improve the conditions for strengthening social capital in society and strengthening society's democratic institutions. Their focus will need to shift to prevention (see Manning 2010). In Sweden, we have been fortunate to have been able to engage gang members and leaders at multiple levels through our holistic methodlogy. This approach has given us much greater flexibility that is atypical of most police work and has enabled us to collect

primary data for an in-depth criminological analysis as well as to aid our efforts at social control of a growing social problem in Scandinavia. We found in contrast to some of the literature in the United States that leadership was an important part of the gang, both as an organizational and cultural phenomenon. The types of gang leadership frequently influenced the character of the gang, and this finding underscores the importance of approaching gangs through the recognition of their heterogeneity and not through a uniform generalized concept of the gang that can be imposed on the data. This research has contributed new knowledge of gangs in the Swedish context and demonstrates the utility of applying gang theory across different domains and sociocultural fields. We hope that this study will serve as a rudimentary platform for further studies in gang leadership and as an example of the possibilities of research collaborations between the worlds of the academy and the practitioner.

ENDNOTES

[1] By vocabularies of motive, we are referring to the ways in which people account for their actions and conduct in specific social contexts and situations. This method of analysis was expertly used by Sykes and Matza to describe the various rationalizations of "the delinquent" as part of their subjects' delegitimation of the dominant social and cultural order.

[2] The only way to utilize data similar to that used in this study is to examine them from the broader context of the participants' life experiences and to realize that they make choices based on their emotions, reflections and internalized cultural forces.

[3] Gangs are defined by Eurogang as any durable, street-oriented youth group whose involvement in illegal activity is part of their group identity. "*Durability*" means several months or more, and refers to the group, which continues despite turnover of members. "*Street-oriented*" means spending a lot of group time outside home, work and school– often on streets, in

malls, in parks, in cars, and so on. "*Youth*" refers to average ages in adolescence to early 20's or so. "*Illegal activity*" generally means delinquent or criminal behavior, not just bothersome activity. "*Identity*" refers to the group, not individual self-image; at minimum it includes acceptance of participation in illegal activities by group members.

4 Jankowski (1991) said the entrepreneur has five key attributes: ability to plan, competitive, status-seeking, desire to accumulate capital and willing to take risks. Similarly, Padilla presents the notion of an "entrepreneurial gang" that is organized around the drug trade and the prospect of making money, fuelled by the lack of economic opportunities and socio-cultural isolation. Padilla concluded that young people come together, collectively due to the realization that they are weak individually, in an effort to make money.

5 Respondent 912 is the only participant who actively and persistently contacted the researchers with a view to being interviewed. Our interpretation of this behaviour is that he was using this research to launch a new "career" as indicated by the following exchange with this subject: *"I would like to go out to the schools and talk about this. Can you help me get this book published? […]. I will be able to live well by doing this. I could sell this, by doing this…"*

6 Lasse Wierup is a Swedish journalist who has written several books on Swedish gangs and organized crime*.*

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Moving Beyond Borders
Julian Samora and the Establishment of Latino Studies
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The lifework of a pioneering scholar and leader in Latino studies.

Moving Beyond Borders examines the life and accomplishments of Julian Samora, the first Mexican American sociologist in the United States and the founding father of the discipline of Latino studies. Detailing his distinguished career at the University of Notre Dame from 1959 to 1984, the book documents the history of the Mexican American Graduate Studies program that Samora established at Notre Dame and traces his influence on the evolution of border studies, Chicano studies, and Mexican American studies.

Samora's groundbreaking ideas opened the way for Latinos to understand and study themselves intellectually and politically, to analyze the complex relationships between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, to study Mexican immigration, and to ready the United States for the reality of Latinos as the fastest growing minority in the nation. In addition to his scholarly and pedagogical impact, his leadership in the struggle for civil rights was a testament to the power of community action and perseverance. Focusing on Samora's teaching, mentoring, research, and institution-building strategies, *Moving Beyond Borders* explores the legacies, challenges, and future of ethnic studies in United States higher education.
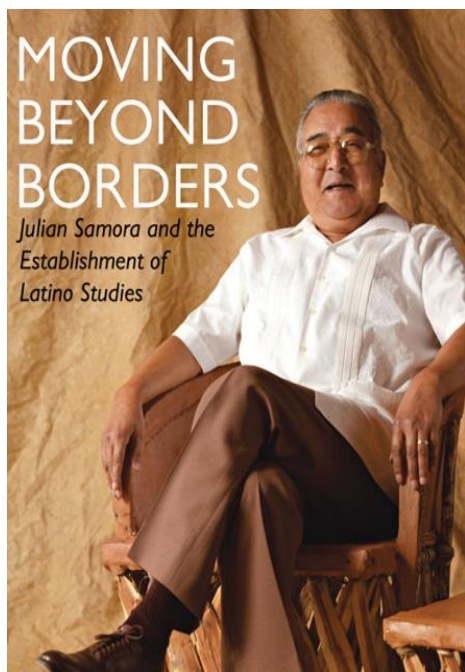
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GLOBALIZATION, SYNCRETISM, AND RELIGIOSITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract

Although the phenomenon of "globalization" has become a central focus of intellectual interest, the globalization of religion and religiosity has largely been ignored. This is in spite of the fact that religion has both changed and been changed by the forces of globalization. Focusing on a comparative study of religion and religious change in Britain and Western Europe, it is found that the United States has taken a direction apart from other postindustrial societies. The central postulate is derived that major social institutions are not "unilinear" vis-à-vis the dynamics of globalization. This is clearly seen by considering the effects of differential rationalization. Additionally, the structural forces in the United States that have facilitated "micro" changes in religious affiliation have progressively led to qualitative changes with respect to religious "dwelling" and "seeking."

"Things fall apart; the center cannot hold" –
Yeats

"…the old gods were dying while the new ones had not yet been born" –Durkheim

INTRODUCTION

The 'New' Religiosity: Social Dynamics in Global Context

Considered separately, the concepts of "globalization", "syncretism", and "religiosity" have formed the basis for the themes of many sociological investigations. Rarely, however, have they been employed in combination in an attempt to provide an explanation for changes in current religious beliefs and practices. It is now apparent all three concepts can increasingly be seen to play a central role in an analysis of religious change. This can clearly be seen with an examination of the central meanings of each of the three concepts. *Globalization* implies the process of expanding social networks, modifying these networks, and reshaping them in new ways (cf. Sassen 2007; Steger 2009). The notion of *syncretism,* denoting the combination of more traditional forms of belief into new and different forms, takes on global significance as religious beliefs can be diffused across cultures in the same way as economic systems or political beliefs. Finally, *religiosity* is a dimension distinct from religious membership. While membership in a religious organization may indicate religiosity, it is a partial indicator at best: for example, 59% of adults in the U.S. pray at least once a day (an indicator of religiosity), while only 31% report regular attendance at their place of worship (NORC 2007:175,183).

With respect to religion, these three concepts converge to explain much with respect to the changes in the religious landscape that are emerging. Cast in the framework of Moore's thesis of differential rationalization –an elaboration of Weber's theory of rationalization– it may be seen that these global changes within religion are not homogeneous across societies. Taking religiosity in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain as an analytic backdrop, it is demonstrated that religion in the United States is distinctive in several respects. A number of empirical demonstrations are offered in support of this thesis, and the theory of differential rationalization provides an overarching explanatory framework.

Table 1: Church Membership in Britain: 1900-2000

YEAR	MEMBERS (millions)	POPULATION (millions)	MEMBERS AS PERCENT OF POPULATION
1900	8,664	32,237	27%
1920	9,803	44,027	22%
1940	10,017	47,769	21%
1960	9,918	52,709	19%
1980	7,529	56,353	13%
2000	5,862	59,122	10%

Source: Brierley, 2000.

Finally, what may legitimately be seen as the effects of globalization on religiosity in United States are explicated, and the role of differential rationalization on mitigating these effects is identified.

Is The United States Different?

A comprehensive meta-analysis by Bruce (2001) entitled *Christianity in Britain, R.I.P.* effectively argues that religion in England has been diminished to the point of near-extinction. He stated, "Recently gathered data on church membership and church attendance show that unless trends are reversed, major British denominations will cease to exist by 2030" (Bruce 2001:191). Working historically and reporting data gathered since the mid-19th century, Bruce found exactly the opposite of what Stark and Bainbridge (1987), Stark, Finke and Iacconne (1995), and Stark (1999) have long argued– that religious membership and religiosity are increasing.[1] Stark has pointedly singled out religious participation in Britain as evidence of this increase.

Examining the data longitudinally, however, that evidence now looks thin. The first national census in Britain (the Census of Religious Worship) was conducted in 1851. While the census conflated such important data as "attendances" with "attendees" (thus providing a likely overestimation of church attendance), contemporary analyses of the data appear to be in sharp contrast to the thesis presented by Stark et al. Based on his own assessment, Brown (1987; 1993), as well as that of Crockett (1998), provides the very

conservative estimate that "between 40 and 60 percent of the adult population of Great Britain in 1851 attended church" (Brown 2001:194). By comparison, a rigorous study recently conducted by Brierly (2000) concluded that in 1998, not quite 10% of the adult British population attended church. In fact, the decline in church attendance in the United Kingdom has declined steadily over the past century, as Table 1 illustrates. Clearly, the study of church membership, measured at twenty-year intervals over the past 100 years, points to a steady decline. While these data are not absolute indicators of a decline in religiosity, it would be extremely difficult to present a valid argument that religiosity would have increased in the face of this evidence.

This downward trend is very likely to continue. After a survey of data involving Sunday school attendance, Brown concluded "…the vast majority of young Britons have no church connection or religious socialization" (Brown 2001:196), and that both the numbers of full-time clergy as well as available funding for major religious organizations have declined rapidly.[2]

The most precipitous decline, in fact, appears to be within established denominations. Based on his examination of church data, Sawkins (1998) found that there has been a gradual and consistent decline in Methodist church attendance that averages between 1-2% per year. At that rate of decline, he predicts that in the year 2031, the Methodist Church will cease to exist in Britain. Even the Church of England is not immune to

this trend. As evidence, Bruce (2001) found in 1962, the number of baptisms in the Church of England represented 53% of the entire number of baptisms; by 1993, this had dropped to 27%.

If one were to assume a zero-sum constancy of religious beliefs and practices, this abandonment over time of the major denominations would be replaced by NRMs, or New Religious Movements. In Britain, there has been an increase in numbers for each of these religious groups: Christadelphians, Christian Scientists, Latter-Day Saints and Jehovah's Witnesses. Together, their membership numbered over 500,000 in 2000 (Brierley 2000). This represents a marked increase over their numbers in earlier decades, however, as Bruce (2001) noted, that figure of one-half million makes up for only one-sixth of the losses sustained by mainstream churches. Thus, while NRMs are increasing in numbers, these gains are overwhelmed by the overall losses within organized religion in Britain. There exists also the possibility that "private religion" –or what Davie (1994) termed "believing without belonging"– has become the dominant mode of religious expression, and this has simply replaced organized religion. To which Bruce (2001:201) argued, "…it is difficult to suppose that the almost universal decline of the Christian churches in Britain does not signify a decline in the demand for Christianity." This does not preclude, of course, the possible rise of new forms of religiosity that are syncretic in nature, and this may very well include New Age beliefs (cf. Cimino and Lattin 1999; Wesselman 2001).

The religious ground in Britain is shifting in a far more dramatic way than this, and this in turn provides a vital clue to both the vibrancy and globalization of religion in the U.S. The British Office for National Statistics estimates that by 2009, there were 2.4 million Muslims in Britain, making Islam now represent the second largest religion in Britain. Over the study's four year period, the increase of Islam was *ten times* the general growth in population. At the same time, the number of Christians actually *fell* by two million during 2004-2008. Growing numbers of Hindus comprised the third largest religious group at 707,000, with Sikhs following at 389,000. Clearly, the effects of globalization through in-migration are apparent here. Now ranking fifth, just below the population of Jews in Britain, are Buddhists, who number 214,000. Significantly, the second largest group in Britain are those who profess to have "*no religion at all*" (italics added) at slightly over 11½ million.[3]

Figure 1: Comparative Religiosity as Measured by Participation in Religious Organizations and Frequency of Prayer

Those sociologists of religion who have taken a directly opposite interpretation of religious change in Britain and elsewhere have been termed "supply siders" (cf. Casanova 2001), and this perspective is exemplified in the works of Stark (cf. Stark 1999) and his colleagues (cf. Stark, Finke, and Iaconne 1995). These scholars argue that religious beliefs and practices –including organized Christian religion in Britain– have remained constant or are even increasing. In a sharp rejoinder, however, Bruce (2001:202) concludes, "When the Methodists, the exemplars of nineteenth-century dissent, finally fold around 2030, when the Church of England is reduced to a trivial voluntary association with a large portfolio of heritage property, and when church attendance [in Britain] falls below one percent, will the supply-siders finally stop insisting that secularization is a myth"?

Is the case of secularization and the general decline of religion in Britain as a developed, post-industrial nation, atypical? It appears not to be– in fact, the rates of church attendance in many nations are actually lower than those of Britain. Results from a comprehensive investigation (Norris and Inglehart 2004) find that the process of secularization is increasing in Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Western Europe generally. In Western Europe, the weekly church attendance in France is 21%; in Austria and Switzerland this drops to 15%. However, even with these figures low and declining, they are still much lower elsewhere. In Sweden and Finland, for example, church attendance now stands at 4% and may not yet have reached its lowest point (Streich 2009). In France, the famed nationalist historian Jules Michelet –in an admittedly overreaching statement– proclaimed that it was now thrust upon France to take on the role formerly occupied by God ('whom we miss') and that French society would now have to fill the "incomprehensible abyss left by an extinguished Christianity" (Bernstein 1999:114). As expressed in Figure 1, when the indicator "participation in religious organizations" is paired with "frequency of prayer" (a measure of religiosity), only the

United States, Italy, and Poland stand out as retaining a strongly religious dimension, while France, Denmark, Britian, Germany, Spain, Japan, Australia , and Canada exhibit far lower levels of religious membership and religiosity.

But how different is this than the expression of religion and religiosity in the United States? Perhaps there is a secularization trend similar to that of Britain and the rest of the Western European countries, only characterized by something akin to "cultural lag", meaning that the decline has been less precipitous, but will be equally as inevitable at some future point. If true, the processes involving globalization and religious decline could be viewed as essentially unidirectional, and strong predictive statements could thus be made regarding its progression. Given, however, the overwhelming amount of data on participation in religious organizations and religiosity in the U.S., bold assertions about the future effects of globalization in this respect would appear to be highly suspect. Approximately 85% of U.S. adults identify with some form of organized religion (NORC 2005:169). Ninety percent of all American adults claim to have received some degree of

Table 2: Religious Identification in the United States by Denomination (2004)

Religion	Percent
Protestant Denominations	52.7
Baptist	17.7
Methodist	6.8
Lutheran	4.5
Presbyterian	2.4
Episcopalian	2.1
All others or no expressed denomination	
	19.2
Catholics	23.3
Jewish	2.0
Other or no answer	7.6
No religious preference	14.3

Source: General Social Surveys, 1972-2004: Cumulative Codebook (Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 2005).

Figure 2: Distribution by Religious Denomination in the United States.
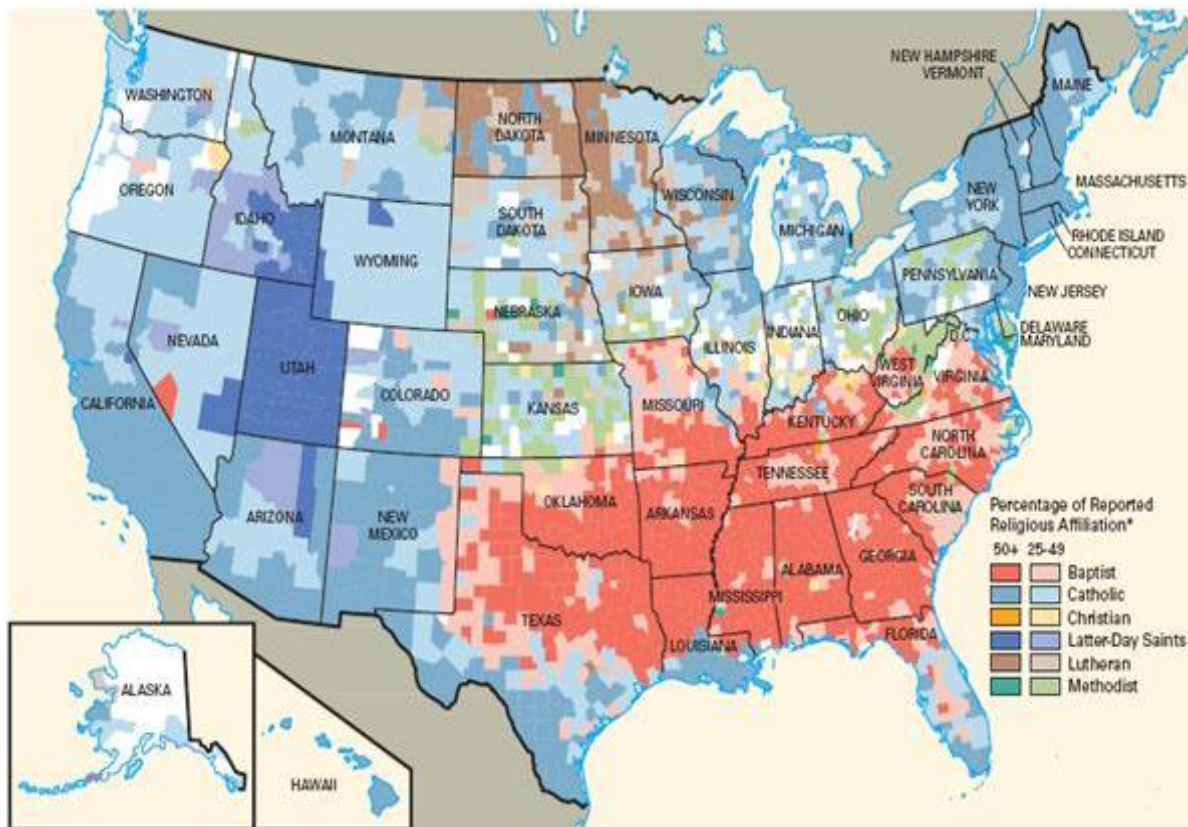
*When two or more churches have 25-49% of the membership in a county, the largest is shown. When no church has 25% of the membership, that county is left blank. Source: Glenmary Research Center (2002)

religious instruction while growing up (NORC 2005:4405). As Table 2 indicates, many Americans remain committed to an established organized religion. Moreover, approximately three- fourths of the children born in the U.S. remain in their parents' religion, indicating a degree of stability not found in many regions of Western Europe and Great Britain.[4] Thus, unless one were to assume that this steadfastness of established religious membership serves only the function of forming and reinforcing communal ties, a strong sense of sustained religiosity also obtains.

Not only does there appear to be stability over time, but also regional stability in terms of membership, as shown in Figure 2. This would suggest that mainstream religions are not necessarily being displaced by NRMs. Rather, just as public and private religion do not necessarily conflict, traditional, modern, and postmodern religious forms and beliefs may co-exist in largely the same fashion. Further, these denominations tend to be regionally distributed, reflecting a relative permanence in the overall cultural patterns within these areas.

POSTMODERNITY AND RELIGION: THE U.S. DEPARTURE FROM THE "GRAND NARRATIVE" OF GLOBALIZATION

Has the United States, in fact, taken a qualitatively different turn, moving away from other western, post-industrial nations with respect to religion? If so, this would be a significant factor in predicting the independent course that the United States may take with respect to globalization as well as its own changing global image and

cultural identity. In considering the characteristics of globalization, Cassanova (2001:423) remarked, "While continuous with modernity, globalization breaks with the grand narratives and philosophies of history, undermines the hegemonic power of Western universalization, and decenters the world system. In this sense, globalization is post-modern, post-colonial, and post-Western." If globalization is a totalizing process, and if globalization involves the inevitable sweep of continuous change, differing only at variable rates, how is it also possible that this is 'post-modern' in the sense that there is no central process– that is, that no clear unilinear development exists? It does appear that no major institution in any developing society is immune to the forces of global change. In fact, the institution of family organization – once thought to be the most 'stable' social institution– has been repeatedly singled out as the most rapidly changing institution in the United States (Bianchi and Spain 1996), and the 'traditional' family in its most traditional sense is no longer the dominant institutional form. According to the U.S. Census in 1950, for example, one in ten households reported having a single adult. By 2006, this number had increased to one in four, comprising a total of thirty million single adults in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau 2006). Comparatively, it is important to assess the relative rate of change of religion to the family.

The course of religious development in the United States is different from that of the family, but the reasons have remained obscure. If we return to the narrative of developments in Britain, one important parallel emerges–Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism are increasing, and this is not directly at the expense of Christianity, the denominations of which appears to be in rapid decline. This is not only the result of in-migration alone. It is also important to consider one's prior national identity as well as to the social capital that belonging to –and commitment to– large communities of like-minded believers can provide. One is not

"the Other" inside these communities, and common cause can be found.

On a much larger scale, the same can be said for immigrant groups in the United States, and it might be posited that this is a factor in the phenomenon of ethnic succession. Referring to Figure 3, it can be seen that Catholicism, while losing traditional, resident members in the United States (cf. Steinfels 2003), has retained its overall numbers (approximately 23%) of the U.S. population. On closer examination of Figure 2, it is evident that the growth has been centered close to the southwestern border with Mexico and in California. Thus, Catholicism in the United States has become largely a bilingual, multi-ethnic religion as a result of this large number of immigrants retaining their native religion. In fact, even though Catholicism has experienced the largest drop in *traditional* membership of any of the major religions in the United States (Mossaad and Mather 2008), Catholicism has remained robust for this reason.

The relatively high birthrate of Hispanic/Latino groups also contributes to this growth of Catholicism– e.g., the fertility rate for women who are Mexican immigrants to the United States is 3.51, which is significantly higher than for women who remain in Mexico (Camarota 2005). High birthrate is also a central factor in the rapid growth of the fourth largest organized religion in the United States– the Church of Latter-Day Saints (*Encyclopedia of Mormonism* 1992:1518).

Apparently religion –both in terms of organized religion and the less-well understood dimension of religiosity– does not seem to have changed as dramatically as other social institutions –such as the family in the United States–, and has certainly not declined in the precipitous manner experienced by European nations particularly. The reasons for this are in part captured by a recent reformulation of Weber's theory of rationalization.

## DIFFERENTIAL RATIONALIZATION AND THE PERSISTENCE OF RELIGION

Moore (1979) has provided an important clue to this incongruous development in the post-modern, "globalized" world. There exist, he posits, cultural aspects that facilitate, constrain, or –rarely– even contradict the rational developments that are associated with globalization. He takes "rationalization" in the Weberian sense here, as a steady progression of calculability, modes of efficiency, predictability, and control– which ultimately leads to a "this-worldly" secular worldview. It was, of course, in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958), that Weber explicated the reasons for the decline of religion in the West– that a 'rational' ethic within Protestantism would generate an ethos of capitalism that would erode the foundations of religion. Even the ideals of the Enlightenment itself would be ground under the heel of this emerging ethos. In fact, Weber proclaimed that long before his writing *The Protestant Ethic* in 1903-1904, the ascendance of rationality –the "line of development having *universal* (italics in original) significance and value" (Weber, 1958:13)– had taken place.

Moore's refinement of this "universal" force of rationality contradicts, in a fundamental way, the universality of Weber's, and later theorists', assumptions about the notion of globalization. Moore posited that there exists, in every culture, a complex structure of deeply-held values, beliefs, and norms that can lead to what he terms "differential" rationalization. With respect to religion, this may constitute one important explanation for the large disparity in religion and religiosity between one post-industrial society and another. Moore, citing the difference between Weber's notions of *zweckrationalitaet* (instrumental rationality) and *wertrationalitaet* (value rationality), suggested a reason for this persistence of religion. While economic modes of production, legal codes, and political styles of foundations that involve value rationality. Moore (1979:133) wrote, "If new religious sects and cults proliferate…older religious traditions also survive, along with more secular but still non-rational traditional identifications and allegiances."

In concert with such significant factors such as immigration and birth rates, differential rationalization constitutes a significant theoretical contribution with respect to the existence of a unique complex of values in the United States. The notion of differential rationalization adds an important theoretical dimension to any consideration of

Fig. 3: U.S. Hispanic/Latino and Catholic Populations, 1970-2000
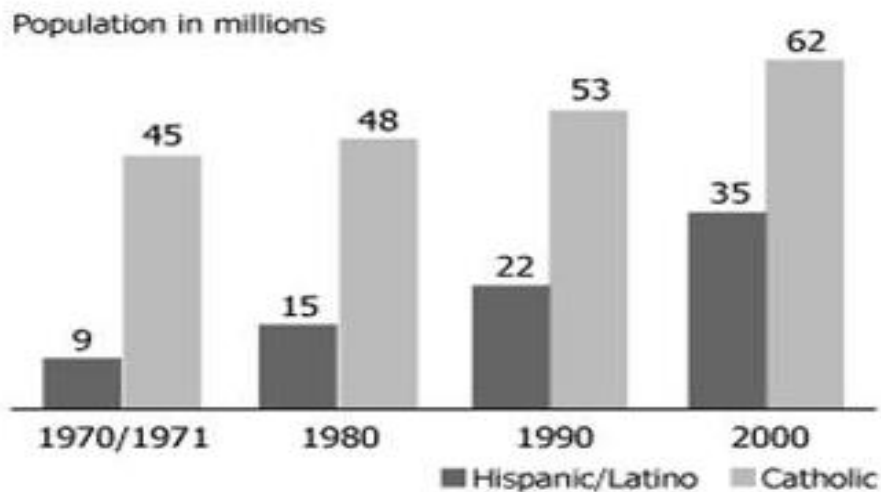
Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Glenary Research Center, 2002.

Figure 4: Comparative Attitudes and The Centrality Of Religion
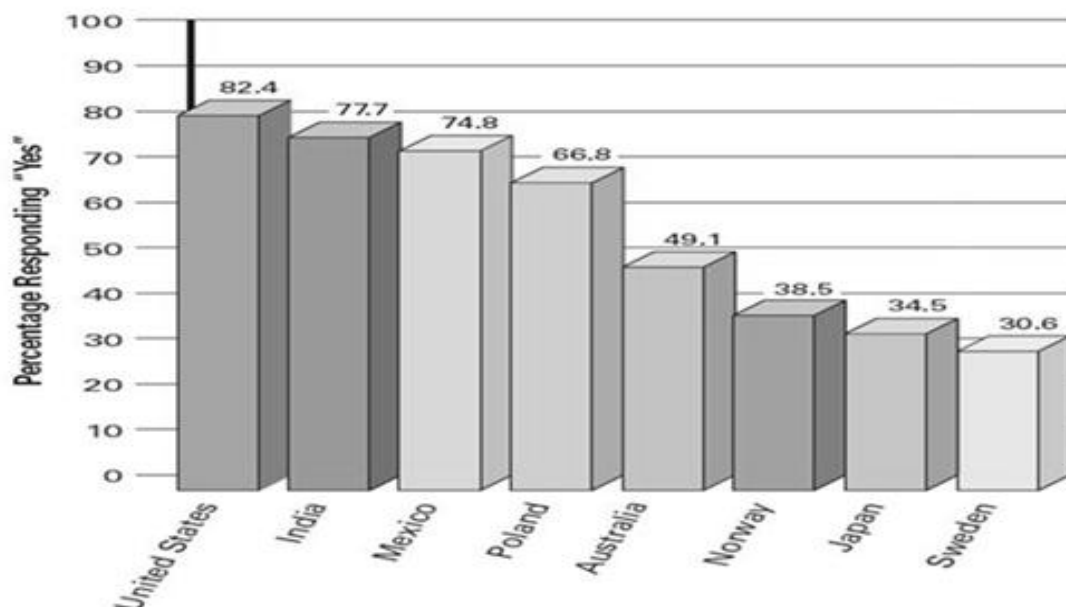
Survey Question: "Do you gain comfort and strength from religion?"
Source: Inglehart et al. 2000

globalization, particularly those that involve an explanation for the quest for religious meaning. It indicates that a society's underlying ethos[5] (much as Weber suggested) may direct the development a society takes as it becomes part of the global community, and with respect to religion in the United States, this is especially salient. While it appears that a very high number of those living in Britain and western European nations are forsaking any form of religion, in the United States, a different phenomenon is occurring.

Despite the fact that religion in the United States is consistently changing in form relative to other post-industrial societies, religion is deeply felt in the life-worlds of a majority of Americans. As shown in Figure 4, religious belief remains a central aspect of their lives, over and above virtually all other industrial and post-industrial societies. The question, "Do you gain comfort and strength from religion" indicates that religiosity in the United States still exceeds even more traditionally religious societies such as India, Mexico, and Poland.

While this might indicate religious stability within organized religion in the United States, there is an increasing practice of what is often referred to as "denominational switching". Wuthnow (1989), comparing Gallup poll results across three decades, found that in 1955 only one in twenty Americans switched denominations, but by 1985 this number had climbed to one in every three Americans switching denominations. Roberts (1995:130) importantly noted "Switching of denomination does not necessarily involve a conversion. It may not involve any change of world view." What denominational switching may very well do, however, is to legitimatize secular values.

It appears, for example, that even within conservative religious organizations, which are generally thought to be increasing disproportionately in membership, the growth is from gaining members from other religious groups with similar political perspectives (cf. Kelly 1972). The obvious paradox here is that, in a nation that formally rests on secular foundations, political life often merges with religious life. By contrast, in other nations that were constitutional monarchies until very

recently, in broad historical outline, religion itself has been largely abandoned regardless of political involvement or orientation. In this way, religious belonging in the United States has retained a fair degree of social and political capital, but very possibly at the expense of religiosity or even commitment to one established organization.

Based on this, Wuthnow has also observed a further transition that has come to render the American experience unique. Much more significant than denomination switching, Americans have moved from religious "dwelling" to religious "seeking". He remarked, "People who are faced with a dizzying array of choices and who experience so much uncertainty and change that they must negotiate and renegotiate their relationships, if not their very identities, are likely to find it easier to imagine that the sacred manifests itself at odd times and in less predictable ways" (Wuthnow 1998:7). Globalization clearly plays a central role here, bringing into the field of choice entirely new religious organizations and perspectives. This echoes the analysis of American character by David Riesman in his classic work, *The Lonely Crowd* (1952), in which he identifies the transition from an 'inner-directed' social character, which is formed by strong attachments to social institutions such as the community, family and religion, to an 'other-directed' social character, in which these ties begin to break down, and the quest for re-anchoring identity begins. Here, the intersection between religion and this quest become manifest through both immigration and access. Wicca, a neo-pagan religion, for example, is the fastest-growing religion in the United States by percent, growing from 8,000 adherents in 1990 to 134,000 in 2001. The number of Wiccans in the United States appears to be doubling every 30 months (American Religious Identification Survey 2001). At the same time, all forms of Buddhism has increased 170%, becoming the third most practiced religion in the United States. Even more significantly perhaps is that most American Buddhists (70%) are native-born converts; only 30% of American Buddhists come from in-migration. Hindus in

the United States now number one million, with their numbers increasing largely as a result of in-migration and birth rates (Pew Forum Religious Landscape Survey 2010).

What the data increasingly suggest is that the practice of religion in the United States is to a significant degree a unique response to globalization. The direction that new forms of religiosity has taken is one of religious seekership, in the manner that Wuthnow described. In seeking new religious directions, choices are now available that were not even in existence a few decades ago. Beyond the forces of inmigration and birth rates lies a developing ethos of the acceptability of choice regarding religious belief. This in turn has been fueled by access. Certainly the media carry information, but they often confer a sense of legitimacy to new religions. The result of this could be what Cassanova (2001:429) termed *glocalization*. While referring to this as another "awful neologism", he finds it useful as a way to explain the fragmentation of what had been the "national" into ever smaller units, while simultaneously becoming part of a larger (i.e., international or fully global) unit. There is a reciprocity between the global and the local, and yet both have become virtual– what is 'local' includes persons who form a community, but never meet; the "global" increasingly becomes the torrent of knowledge drawn from several sources at once. In this sense, religion has become globalized, and what Cassanova refers to as "deterritorialization" takes place. He concluded, "…local and transnational identities, particularly religious ones, are likely to become ever more prominent" (Cassanova 2001:430). The United States is not immune to this, and it may very well be that even traditional religions will remain vibrant to the degree that they are able to absorb elements of this transnational community of seekers, which at the same time they may fervently deny the legitimacy of these very same elements, while reaffirming traditional ties to their local communities. "Globalization", with respect to religion, leads to syncretic transformations in ways that are becoming, at once increasingly macro in scale, yet also far

more subtle in reshaping social and personal values.

END NOTES

[1] Interestingly, the argument presented by Luce, in his recent book *In Spite of the Gods* (2007) would find resonance with respect to India's economic rise in much of Bruce's argument; viz, that religion as dominant factor has been dramatically diminished

[2] Brown (2001:199) noted 'Most of the major UK [religious] organizations now depend for almost half their income on profits from invested capital garnered during better days.'

[3] Source: Labor Force Survey Report (quoted in *The Times of London Online*: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/ article5621482.ece).

[4] Of course, this may be true in many instances of Europe and the U.K. because parents do not belong to an established religion, and so the notion of ascription does not apply.

[5] The discussion could be extended, with respect to a discussion of the importance of religion, to what Geertz (1973) refers to religious beliefs as the power to establish "moods and motivations", for large social groups.

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FINDING VEBLEN'S LEISURE CLASS STUDIES IN SOME NOVELS BY H.G. WELLS, FELIX J. PALMA, AND SUZANNE COLLINS

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ABSTRACT

Thorstein Veblen has a mixed presence in modern sociology because many of his findings are still viable, his writing style is a gymnastic exercise in syntax, and his theories of causality are speculative. Rosenberg (1956) says that Veblen had little impact on the sociology of his time, House (1936) wrote that sociologists of the future would be wise to pay attention to Veblen's discourse, and Coser (1971) called Veblen one of the "masters." Veblen is most recognized for his descriptors of the leisure class lifestyle, but his discussions also have currency outside sociology, especially in popular literature. This article, for example, evinces some of the main features of Veblen's studies in H.G. Wells' novels *The Time Machine* and *The War of the Worlds,* in Felix J. Palma's novels *The Map of Time* and *The Map of the Sky,* and in Suzanne Collins' trilogy of novels *The Hunger Games, Catching Fire*, and *Mockingjay.* These sets of stories represent a combination of convenience and purposive samples, but they are not used as substitutes for scholarly evidence. They can instead be used by serious and by casual readers of Veblen to better understand the scope of his complexities.

INTRODUCTION

Novels are not intended to be evidence of sociological findings, but the stories often contain relatable sociology as novelists formulate their constructed mediated realities for the reader's enjoyment as perceived mediated realities (Whetmore 1991). H.G. Wells' novels *The Time Machine* (1895/1963) and *The War of the Worlds* (1897/1964), Felix J. Palma's novels *The Map of Time* (2012a) and *The Map of the Sky* (2012b), and Suzanne Collins' popular set of novels *The Hunger Games* (2008), *Catching Fire* (2009), and *Mockingjay* (2010) are cases in point. Each contains several of the described lifestyle variables identified in Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899/1994) as is shown here.

This article, understanding sociology through fiction, has several stages of development. First, dominant elements about Veblen and the highlights of his leisure-class study are offered, with some enhancements. Second, the same process is then followed for Wells, for Palma, and for Collins, and their respective stories. Third, the presence of Veblen's contributions in the selected novels is illustrated, and the completion of this piece provides ample evidence showing that traditional sociology and elements of popular literature can be welded together, successfully.

This project began while reading Palma's *The Map of Time,* and that was followed by reading Wells' *The Time Machine* because Palma's "time" book is based on Wells' "time" book. Those readings were followed by reading Wells' *The War of the Worlds* because it was the inspiration for Palma's *The Map of the Sky* story, and as these four books were being read, several approaches to this study were explored. It was finally determined that Veblen's presence was appropriate, but vestiges from other considerations remained. It was also concluded that Collins' books, and the movie version of the first, fit the theme of this article so they were included. All was accomplished to stay in concert with the meta-thematic style of O'Sullivan (2002, 2006, 2007, and 2011a) who uses literature to explore sociology's ideas. He believes in the tandem premises that sociology can be found anywhere (Berger 1963) and that sociologists sometimes need to separate themselves from traditional research settings (Ogburn 1931). Normal academic lenses, topics,

research methods, and sources of insight may satisfy the rigors of science, but do little to stimulate a broader curiosity about sociology. This article is offered then as a grounded bridge between expectations.

VEBLEN AND *THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS*

The life and career of Thorstein B. Veblen (b.1857-d.1929) were marked by marginality (Coser; Rosenberg). Coser, for example, described him as being a marginal Norwegian, a marginal student, a marginal academic, a marginal free lance, and a marginal man. Rosenberg calls him eccentric and "a man at once strange, uprooted, complex, and déclassé" (8). Regardless of where he was or what he was doing, he did not seem to fit. Though he may have had his share of shortcomings and was academically mobile, his renowned *The Theory of the Leisure Class* should be required reading in classes addressing social theory and social stratification.

The book's value is that it describes the lifestyle of those whose wealth comes from inheritance, but that gain's place in universal cultural history is not accepted by all scholars. Nonetheless, Veblen identifies a number of lifestyle variables that are characteristic of "old money" as they are compared to other social classes. Those traits are offered in combined and aggregate forms.

Wealth, Poverty, and Class Structure

Members of the leisure class, according to Veblen, are rich, but their assets are not dependent on recent earnings and are separated from actual work, wages, and salaries in an industrial economy. He illustrates these ideas in several places. "The upper classes are by custom excluded or exempted from industrial occupations…" (1). Work is divided into exploitation and drudgery (9) where labor is morally impossible for the noble (27). Wealth brings dignity, refinement, and respectability, but absence or loss of wealth brings debasement and disgrace (57) for local and foreign populations alike.

Veblen does not clarify finite lifestyle features of classes below the leisure class except to say that their consumption habits are often downwardly imitative. Veblen does, however, spend some time describing the opposing poverty class in the same ways that Lewis (1968/1969) discusses the culture of poverty and that Gans (1971) addresses the functions of poverty. The jobs of the poor are to stoically serve the needs and the wishes of those above them, toward whom they hold quiescent disregard. They are street savvy and they protect their own. Unpleasant jobs are often comparable to those of India's *untouchables* sub-caste (Nanda 1980:190). Decisions are often spontaneous, impulsive, lack deferred gratification or forethought, yet satisfy immediate needs.

Conspicuous Consumption and Conspicuous Leisure

These are Veblen's hallmark characteristics and habits of the leisure class. The basic necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter) are required by members of all social classes, but members of the leisure class can afford the creature comforts. It is not sufficient, however, to consume secretly, so conspicuous displays of economic privilege and excessive consumption go hand-in-hand. By so doing, prestige and esteem are accorded to the consumer-displayer and to those who engage in overt leisure time activities.

Leisure Time

Such time does not merely refer to time-not-spent-working because that could also refer to imposed unemployment. Veblen discusses leisure for the privileged class as the ability to be free from the need to work because personal wealth derived from investments, inheritance, and absentee ownership provides insulation from active management and the demands of labor forces. Veblen's thoughts are later supplemented by Dumazedier (1968), who concludes that leisure has no utilitarian purpose other than pleasure-seeking and recuperation. Viewed this way, leisure activities are selfish pursuits.

The economically privileged in the leisure class are then free to pursue such peer-acceptable habits as indulgence in aesthetic pursuits at private schools, while leaving public schools for practical arts, and they spend their vacation time at upscale resorts. They often attend "high brow" operatic or orchestral events and participate in gentlemanly sports. They practice refined etiquette and attend private displays of material acquisitions. They are the caretakers of antiquity and sponsors of the performing arts. Polite conversation is rehearsed, punctuality is prescribed, ceremony is paramount, and fashionable disregard for the poor is practiced. Decisions are based on calculated returns, and they are often perceived as being haughty by outsiders. The leisure class is essentially comprised of elitists toward whom Veblen may have felt much animosity (Rosenberg 20, 22), an assessment that begs the question "Was Veblen describing the leisure class or indicting it?"

The Role of Women

Married leisure class women, according to Veblen, have several duties: Providing heirs for their husbands, becoming familiar with the arts, and being silent on poltical or economic matters. They are to be good hostesses, agree with their husbands, and if they are young and pretty, they are displayed as trophies as evidence of their husbands' ancient predatory skills. Women of lesser financial means are relegated to other status-role sets, but regardless of class membership women are chattel (Veblen 15). Novelist Bram Stoker voiced a similar opinion in *Dracula* (1897/1988: 57) during a conversation between two women when one asks the other "…why are men so noble when we women are so little worthy of them?"

Luck and Phenomenology

Veblen discusses ascension into societies' privileged classes through a combination of cultural and Darwinian traits. Industrial growth, he argues, is based on "a process of quantitative causation" (173) or rationality over invisible causality. Executive privilege in such a system is based on inherited cultural and genetic codes, whereas similar but reversed templates are the fate of the poor.

Luck, as "propensity to eventuate in a given end" (Veblen 171), is something over which a person or a social class has no control, but it can be given a helping hand. The sporting man who feels an incomplete sense of outcome may be drawn to "wearing charms or talismans to which more or less of efficacy is felt to belong" (Veblen 171), meaning that good luck charms and rituals are used to direct desired outcomes.

Just as the future cannot be specifically predicted or explained, nor can all beliefs be verified or debunked via scientific revelation. Social superstitions, lucky charms, phenomenology, and romanticized folk lore offer meaning, hope, and explanation beyond physical evidence or theological traditions.

Wealth, Poverty, and Sports Entertainment

Male members of the leisure class are free to engage in sporting events of their choosing, but not in public venues and not in those sports that are considered as being "common." The elite go to private clubs for their recreation and engage in expensive sports that are beyond the financial ability of the less privileged. When members of the leisure class attend the performing arts, the performers and their directors are not peers, but only entertainers. That same relationship is known about professional golfers who were disallowed from mixing with country club members, being relegated to locker room facilities.

Ancient gladiators, in similar fashion, were owned, fought to the death, and those whom they entertained wagered on the contestants and preferential outcomes. The combatants were from underclasses, often slaves, had no rights, and were forced into arenas for the prurient pleasure of others. Survivors may have been made freedmen, trainers, or owners, ever functional for the leisure class and never allowed into it. Finally, when leisure class men engaged in business, in politics, in debates, and in sports, one ethic

runs through all: Losing is never an acceptable outcome.

Techgnosticism

This is O'Sullivan's 2011b expression, but Veblen's work is apropos to it. Both writers discuss a reverential and quasi-religious, almost spiritual, awe directed toward material creations that have political, economic, and social implications. Similar deference is directed toward their entrepreneurs, but without religions' ritualistic and symbolic trappings. Such people as Leland Stanford, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and J.P. Morgan were successful risk takers, power brokers, and economic expansionists whose industrial and financial legacies are virtually synonymous with the nation's "Gilded Age" of development.

Veblen was born toward the end of the acknowledged Industrial Revolution so he would have witnessed many of the techno-scientific advances at the turn of the century. Those changes helped create industrial capitalism as Veblen understood it, as well as its rational principles of organization and the well-defined social class system and lifestyles derived from it. He was trained in economics and is recognized as a sociologist. His thoughts may not have been specifically borrowed by Wells, by Palma, or by Collins, but Veblen is present in their stories, so it is now time to look at them.

THE NOVELISTS AND
THEIR BOOKS

Sociologists, like novelists, have stories to tell, but their tales may vary. Sometimes sociologists and other social scientists use their methods and venues to promote certain paradigms or needs for social reform, as some novelists do. Borrowing from Steward's cultural ecology theory (1979), O'Sullivan (2007) called such writers *peripheral activists*, much like *guerilla minstrels* (Hampton 1986) whose music exists at the peripheries of core social institutions, commenting about them, and bringing to the forefront moral imperatives for social change

or responsibility. Many of James A. Michener's famous novels, for example, call for ecological stewardship rather than raw exploitation of natural resources, but not all novels are so constructed.

Others are written purely for entertainment with the use of active imaginations to create vivid images, capturing the attention of readers– the intersections between constructed mediated realities and perceived mediated realities. Writers of such stories can simply be called *peripheral artists* whose works use the core social institutions, or an unvisited timeframe, as backdrops without impugning them.

The novelists chosen for this study represent both types. Some of their books have overt entertainment value, yet others have the combined purposes of entertainment and enlightenment. All of them, however, capture Veblen's analyses to varying degrees of precision and inclusion as Wells and his books are discussed first.

H.G. WELLS' *THE TIME MACHINE* AND *THE WAR OF THE WORLDS*

Many of the books written by Herbert George (H.G.) Wells (b.1866-d.1946) are now classified as science fiction, but that assignment is a retroactive one. Wells' *The Time Machine, The War of the Worlds,* and other tales of speculative imagination by him and by Jules Verne, were then identified as *scientific romance.* The expression "science fiction" waited until 1926 for its origination by Hugo Gernsback in his *Amazing Stories* magazine (Roberts 2000). The genre has been called a "literature of ideas" (Gilks, Fleming, and Allen 2003) as various elements speculate on lifestyles, settings, time-space travel, technologies, parallel/alternative universes, and so on, trying to describe some thing or some time that has not yet arrived. As such, it *loosely* reflects the expression "the doctrine of maybe" from Jainism's *syadvada* (Parrinder 1971:244) that can be rephrased as "What if…?" or "Why didn't …?"

The life and career of "Bertie" Wells were identified by a wide range of labels including

father, husband, womanizer, draper, chemist/pharmacy assistant, teacher, artist, socialist, social activist, Fabian, journalist, social critic, writer, and novelist. His publications cover a wide range of topics in fiction and in non-fiction. He is likely best known for his contributions to science fiction, and within those works perhaps his most popular books are *The Time Machine* and *The War of the Worlds.* Such renown may be due to the two-tiered stories that each contains, but it may also be due to presentations in other media. Both books have been made into several movies wherein liberties were taken with the plots, locales, and special visual effects. Orson Welles' 1939 radio broadcast version of *The War of the Worlds* remains a masterpiece of adaptation.

The Time Machine

A narrator tells the story of an unidentified scientist named the Time Traveler who invented a machine that allowed him to travel in time. He first advanced 800,000 years, then about 30,000,000 more from his cottage home in late 19th Century London, returning to it, and probably traveling back to the future. Such scientists as Albert Einstein (1920), Stephen Hawking (1988), and Carl Sagan (1980), even novelist Michener (1982:612) applaud the hypothetical value of such ability, but all would agree that it has more attraction for the imagination than scientific probability.

The Time Traveler introduces a miniature version of his device to several of his friends. They are educated/rational men– a professor, a mayor, a physician, a psychologist, a historian, an editor, a journalist, the unidentified narrator who has seventeen publications on his *C.V.,* and friend Filby. All understand the theory of time-space travel but have difficulty accepting its actuality. The Time Traveler demonstrates the capability of the model as it vanishes apparently into another dimension whereupon the guests voice their incredulity, bid their host a good night, and leave. The Time Traveler decides to give his full-sized prototype a "test drive" into time travel, but it

is not space travel because he remains stationary. He witnessed accelerated changes around him, was not part of them, and he remained in one place.

He enters the future in a pristine environment where he meets the Eloi who are a care-less people who seem to have no vested interests in anything except relaxed leisure. Even when one of their own people is in peril, the Time Traveler is the only person who saves the drowning girl. As the story unfolds, he learns that the Eloi do not work because it is not required, having evolved into a listless race: The Morlocks, hideous and nocturnal subterranean dwellers, provide for the Eloi while raising them as their livestock.

The Morlocks find and confiscate the Time Machine so the Time Traveler ventures into their underground lair where unsuspected truths about human evolution are revealed. He eventually battles the Morlocks with fire and recovers his device. Distraught with his experiences and conclusions, he reactivates the Time Machine, leaves the remains of humankind to its fate, travels forward millions of years, and eventually returns to his home in London where the story begins.

The guests are so dismayed by his mien and tale that they consider it a hoax. One guest remains after the others leave and has a short chat with the host, who then excuses himself for a few moments. After a while the guest/narrator follows the Time Traveler to another room where he sees…

> "a ghostly, indistinct figure sitting in a whirling mass of glass and black for a moment– a figure so transparent that the bench behind with its sheets of drawings was absolutely distinct; but this phantasm vanished as I rubbed my eyes. The Time Machine had gone." (Wells 1895/1963:138-139)

Wells was no fan of elitism, but through the Time Traveler he showed that the Morlocks had no propensity for guardianship or leadership. They laid antiquity to waste and the Eloi were totally helpless. It is easy to conclude, then, that the Time Traveler had returned to the future to reshape it.

The War of the Worlds

Mars is the fourth planet from the Sun, approximately 144 million miles from it and approximately 49 million miles from Earth. Space probes now emit data showing that it is an inhospitable and uninhabitable place, but such findings have never deterred poets, novelists, screenwriters, musicians, theologians, philosophers, and astrologers from romanticizing it or discussing its superstitious portent, as Wells did.

Britain is no stranger to military-imperialist invasions, but this time *it* is invaded by foreign forces– the Martians and their well-armed spaceships. After waxing philosophic, the story's narrator tells how he and other scientists noticed an unusual sight that resembled an explosion on the planet Mars, and others soon followed. Ten days later, Woking, a small village outside London, becomes the "Plymouth Rock" for the extraterrestrials who landed at other places across the country.

Curious on-lookers, local politicians, scientists, and police/military personnel arrive at the scene to make sense of it. The Martians, and their weapons, emerge making their presence known with the obvious military purpose of killing people and destroying things. The much-hailed and confident British military is called to destroy the invaders. Its weaponry is powerless against heat rays, deadly gases, Black Smoke, and Red Weed– an invasive plant like a fast-growing kudzu that sucks the energy and oxygen from all living things near it. The future of the world is at risk, modern weapons are useless against the invaders, and humankind is harvested by the aliens.

Apparently the planet Mars had lost its capability to sustain life, so its residents decided that Earth would be a substitute home. Perceiving that the atmospheres of Mars and of Earth are different, Wells used this difference to his advantage. The Martians were from a different ecosystem, lacking the natural immunities that humans develop through evolution and adaptations to different environments. The Martians died not from the technologies of modern weapons but from microscopic life forms against which they had no natural defenses.

Wells was a peripheral activist and a peripheral artist since both books had tandem purposes. Each contains an outward and obvious story of adventure while containing not-so-subtle social commentaries about differential distributions of power, prestige, and privilege that were based on Wells' socialist ideas about political economics. Since Wells and his books provided inspiration for Palma and his books, it is now time to look at them.

PALMA'S *THE MAP OF TIME* AND *THE MAP OF THE SKY*

Felix J. Palma (b.1968) is a young Spanish author and is previously known for short stories. His "map" books are early ventures into full-length novels and are strongly influenced by Wells and other writers of the era, especially Garrett P. Serviss. His novel, *Edison's Conquest of Mars* (1898/2010), is an unofficial sequel to *The War of the Worlds* that was viewed unkindly by Wells in real life and in Palma's book.

Dust jacket comments for the "sky" book identify his works as being in the genre of meta-fictional time. Its features can include an author's self-reflection in the tale, reference notes or asides added to the story, authors speaking about their stories as they progress, flexible timeframes, and presenting biographies of imaginary writers (Hutcheon 1984, 1987; Levinson 2007; Waugh 1984). Palma takes this last feature and modifies it considerably by taking authors' known biographies and creating alternative or fictional ones, working them into broader plots.

Palma's books are also clear-cut science fiction as they represent the intersection between classic themes: Space-time travel, alternative or parallel universes, alternative history, time warps, and the moral dilemma that time travelers would face. Should the events of one timeframe be modified to affect desirable outcomes in another? Palma's approaches to these topics provide plausible answers to "What if…?" questions, as long as

readers suspend their disbeliefs as the books are read.

The "map" books are fairly long and layered, each containing three integrated stories. As such, only brief sketches and lacings can be offered.

The Map of Time

The first story in the book tells of a footloose young man, the son of a wealthy businessman in 1890s London, who becomes infatuated with a portrait in his father's house. The subject is a beautiful young woman who was painted by Walter Sickert, who, incidentally, is identified as being Jack the Ripper in Patricia Cornwell's 2002 non-fiction forensic investigation of London's infamous killer. The young man learns her name and that she is a White Chapel prostitute. He finds her, secures her services, falls in love with her, and she is disemboweled and dismembered by Jack the Ripper as Palma seems to have modeled her after an actual victim of the serial killer. Still in love with her eight years later, and distraught that his father disowned him for such contemptuous behavior, the young man decides to commit suicide in her apartment.

He is stopped by his likewise freewheeling cousin who has heard that H.G. Wells has a Time Machine. They convince the author to use the device to go back to the night of the murder and prevent it from happening. Wells agrees to this noble enterprise, the man is transported, the murderer is thwarted, and the woman continues to live in an alternative/parallel universe. The cousins eventually marry twins and are incorporated into the business run by their fathers, but both are allowed to continue their randy ways.

The second story in the book is also about Wells and his disagreements with an aspiring novelist of Wells' style. Wells rejects both him and his efforts. The jilted writer proceeds to prove his merit by creating his own Time Machine with the aid of hired actors and an elaborate sound set. His Time Machine "takes" wealthy riders to the year 2000 so they can witness the earth-saving battle between Captain Derek Shackleton and Solomon, the wicked automaton. One passenger, a rich London socialite, spies Shackleton after the battle and falls in love with him. Shackleton is actually an itinerant worker and in real life meets the young patron who believes he was transshipped back in time to save the future. Wells agrees to another worthy plan, helping Shackleton and his relationship with the passenger into the future, but the actor's employer is threatened by this affair because he has a lucrative charade. He employs his other actors to kill Shackleton, but they create their own staged production, saving Skackleton from drowning, thus allowing him to return to his true love living as a man from the future in then-1890s England.

The third story is centered on some perplexing murders where one victim's torso is burned, almost as if he was shot with ray gun similar to that used by the Martians in Wells' tale. As the story unfolds, Wells receives a mysterious letter from a not-yet-born descendant who warns him of a plot by a *Homo temporis* or Time Traveler (Palma 2012a:596) to steal his unpublished manuscripts, as well ones by Stoker and by William James. All will then be issued under a pseudonym, but the exchange is interrupted by Shackleton who is indebted to Wells. Shackleton is killed with a heat ray. The books are saved. The Time Traveler vanishes, and the reader is left to wonder "What if…?"

The Map of the Sky

Like its predecessor, there are three entwined stories, and the first begins in London when Wells is visited by Serviss. He takes Wells to a secret storage area in a natural history museum that holds a preserved Martian. Wells is skeptical and unaware that a recent cut deposits some blood on the inert form that absorbs his DNA and clones Wells.

The Martian was discovered by an expedition to the Antarctic that was searching for the legendary "hole in the earth" that led to a subterranean world. The expedition got caught in the ice when a strange vehicle fell from the sky and crash landed. The

spaceship was impervious to the sailors' weapons. A recovered body was taken back to the ship where mysterious events began to occur. Eventually the ship and the creature are blown apart in an explosion that leaves only two human survivors, and one of them is later revealed as being Edgar Allen Poe.

The second story begins in New York City where a wealthy immigre from London and patron of the arts meets and falls in love with an "old rich" socialite. She wants nothing of the newcomer unless he can re-create a Martian invasion that adequately reflects Wells' tale, thereby enhancing her social status by lending credibility to an important heirloom of hers. That inheritance was an ornate Map of the Sky created by her ancestor Richard Adam Locke, perpetrator of the Great Moon Hoax of 1835, which appeared as a series of newspaper articles in the *New York Sun*– a tabloid in its day.

The suitor accepts the challenge, returns to England, sets a date and a place for the exhibition, and seeks the aid of Wells because they had already met– he was the writer whom Wells had dismissed. Wells again denies a request for help, but on the day of reckoning, a Martian spaceship was in the commons at Woking, a crowd was gathered, and Martians emerged. They were not, however, actors with toy weapons. To paraphrase Palma, the impossible had happened.

The Martian was not killed in Antarctica, but rather had slid under the ice and became cryonic. Later found by another expedition, it was transported to London and was copied from Wells' genetic codes. The now-cloned alien was the Envoy of the invasion force that had already arrived as fifth columns, silently waiting as humans for his calling. The invasion took place just as Wells described it– heat/ray guns, Black Smoke, the Red Reed, and the reaping of humans.

Wells, the socialite, the con artist, and others are caught in the maelstrom, simultaneously trying to escape it and stop it when Wells discovers that he too is a Time Traveler. Palma modifies Wells' time travel to time *and* space travel by having Wells zip back to Antarctica where he kills the Martian

and returns to London before he is born. Wells then gets to witness his own childhood and adult years, and watches the staged invasion from the fringes of the audience where he sees himself in the crowd.

The books by Wells that are used here are stand-alone ones, but the two by Palma should to be read in succession because elements from the first are in the second. Using the criteria offered here, Palma is a peripheral artist, and if his intentions are to be a peripheral activist they are deeply hidden. Suzanne Collins' intentions are different from Palma's, deeply rooted like Wells' as criticisms of abusive social power.

SUZANNE COLLINS' *HUNGER GAMES, CATCHING FIRE,* AND *MOCKINGJAY*

Suzanne Collins (b.1962), the author of the Hunger Games trilogy and another series of fantasy fiction books, is the daughter of a U.S. Air Force officer whose deployments took his family far and wide. Those travels were one source of inspiration for her popular trilogy because she was able to directly observe the widespread presence and effects of poverty, hunger, deprivation, powerlessness, and war on children. Other sources of inspiration were ancient gladiator fights, televised wars, and "reality television's" contrived contests, settings, plots, outcomes, and rewards structures. An even greater influence was the Greek myth about Theseus and the Minotaur that has several variations (Kerenyi 1978; Walker 1995) as are offered in a consolidated and abbreviated form.

After a war between Greece and Crete, King Minos ordered seven unarmed boys and seven unarmed girls sent from Greece to Crete to feed the man-bull Minotaur as a reminder that Greece was vanquished. The frequency of these harvestings varied by source, but one year Theseus, son of Aertha, sired by gods Aegeus and Poseidon on the same night, volunteered, substituting himself for the selected boy. Theseus hid a sword in his tunic and killed the monster. As often happened in Greek lore, Theseus was accorded divine traits with his humanity,

became the embodiment of democratic potential, mayor/founder of Athens, and unified Greece.

Collins' books offer a duplex tale of two classes. The overt one tells of children from the under classes who are forced into gladiatorial survival. The back story is about the differential distributions of power and privilege, and this polarity is a popular theme in novels as O'Sullivan's 2002 literature review for a case study in labor economics shows. Collins' books can easily be added to his examples.

The Hunger Games

Panem is the country that was formally called The United States of America; the city called the Capitol sits deep in the Rockies and replaces Washington, D.C. as the capitol; and twelve Districts now replace the states. A boy and a girl are selected randomly every year from each District to engage in deadly and televised combat against each other to re-celebrate the victory of Capitol forces over the Districts' armies in a failed revolt from seventy-three years earlier. The boys and girls, all teenagers, are called "Tributes" in the contests that are fatal versions of "King on the Mountain" because they are fought until there is a single living survivor. That person, boy or girl, uses a combination of skills, including brute strength, deadliness, or cunning (Collins 2008:282), elusion, or other abilities, in the hope of staying alive and bringing honor to the home District.

Panem's economic cartography directly reflects its social class structure. There is the Capitol where its leaders and leisure class live, and then there are the twelve surrounding Districts that provide the Capitol and the other Districts with material goods, food, and utilities. Throughout the whole land is the presence of the Peacekeepers– a national police force.

District 1 provides luxury items for the Capitol, and District 2 furnishes masonry products. District 3 produces electronic goods, and District 4 houses fisheries. District 5 generates electrical power, and District 6 contributes national transportation. District 7 procures lumber, and District 8 creates textiles. District 9 harvests grains, and District 10 maintains livestock. District 11 provides other agricultural products and District 12, the "Seam," produces coal. District 13 generated nuclear power before it was eliminated in the revolt that led to the Hunger Games.

At the annual "Reaping," the day children are chosen as Tributes, Primrose Everdeen is selected as the girl from District 12, but her older sister, Katniss, volunteers as her replacement. Subsequently, Katniss Everdeen and Peeta Mellark, the boy, are sent as Tributes from their District to the 74th Annual Hunger Games, where the catchphrase "may the odds be *ever* in your favor" is repeated often.

Twenty-four Tributes battle each other in the controlled environment, with the games telecast to audiences with different effects. Residents of the Capitol are entertained, whereas residents of the twelve Districts watch in anguish. The Tributes are always at a disadvantage because Gamemakers manipulate the obstacles and rules of play, meaning there are no rules of play. One by one the children die. Some are killed by Katniss. Ultimately, she and Peeta survive an attack from wolves that are not ordinary beasts. They are called "muttations" and they were genetic anomalies created with the hair, the eyes, and the voices of fallen Tributes– a variation of Theseus' Minotaur. Katniss is defiant, convincing Peeta to eat poison berries with her, thus denying the Capitol and its leaders the joy of victory over the historic rebels. The rules are changed again. Katniss and Peeta are declared co-victors, but Panem's President Snow is not amused, concerned that the seeds for another uprising had been planted…

Catching Fire

and they were, with Katniss as a catalyst. The dresses she wore for galas at her first Hunger Games were partially comprised of artificial fire, from which she was dubbed "the girl on *fire*." That handle, combined with her spirit of defiance, solidifies President Snow's

perception that she was a threat. A year later he decrees…

> "On the seventy-fifth anniversary, as a reminder to the rebels that even the strongest among them cannot overcome the power of the Capitol, the male and female tributes will be reaped from the existing pool of victors." (Collins 2009:172)

The rules had been changed again, sending Katniss, Peeta, and surviving Tributes from other Districts back into a new arena.

Katniss and Peeta follow the same drills as before –presentation to the people of the Capitol and training sessions– but now with older Tributes and their abilities. The arena is changed, destroyed, and there are survivors. When Katniss recovers from the shock of the explosion that destroys the set, she is in the rebel stronghold of District 13. There she is told that her District, her hometown, her friends, and her family were all erased by Peacekeepers, who were quelling a new revolt and its insurgents.

Mockingjay

Tributes were informally allowed to take one item that was symbolic of their districts, or one good luck charm, as long as it was non-lethal. The book version of *The Hunger Games* has the mayor's daughter giving Katniss a golden brooch designed as a Mockingjay bird, and that design eventually becomes the emblem for all rebels, especially those in District 13. The area and its populations had not been destroyed as previously believed, but had gone underground. Katniss begrudgingly becomes the persona of the bird and the movement for social reform. Theseus has been reincarnated.

Physical battles are described as are Katniss' emotional ones. Bad things happen to memorable characters. The final confrontations between Katniss and President Snow and the national forces against the rebels take place in the Capitol. Katniss commits a murder, is arrested, and is released. Physical, social, and emotional

healing occurs as strife, oppression, deprivation, and war end. The Hunger Games are over, and Katniss reflects upon the past and wonders about the future.

VEBLEN AND THE NOVELISTS

There are several ways that this section could have been organized and presented. It was finally decided that salient illustrations by authors rather than by individual books was the best approach.

Finding Veblen in Wells

Palma says something to the effect that science fiction is the domain of such writers as Wells or Verne whereas social commentary is left to such other novelists as Charles Dickens. *The Time Machine*, for example, was a bitter declaration against Britain's dual-class social system that is manifest in Parliament's House of Lords and House of Commons. The empire's privileged royalty has been, and still is, viewed as a political and financial liability for the commoners. That dichotomy is evident as the Eloi toil at nothing while the Morlocks do nothing but toil.

The War of the Worlds has a similar thoughtful presence. Wells' story is a partial retelling of Sir George Chesney's *The Battle of Dorking* (1871/2008) wherein England is invaded by Germany, but Wells shifts the story a little. Wells would likely have read history lessons about British military victories and ignominy at such faraway places as Gawilghur and Khartoum; he would have read in the news about Isandlwana, Rorke's Drift, and Ulundi; and news about Ladysmith and Gallipoli had yet to be made: British expansionism was not entirely altruistic. Wells' *The War of the Worlds* asks what would happen if tables were turned and Mother England became the target of foreign incursion, adding the town of Woking to the list of military shame?

Wells may not have consulted Veblen's scholarship, but some of Veblen's ideas are in Wells' stories. Several are apparent and are presented in combined forms.

Wealth, Poverty, and Class Structure

The Time Traveler may not actually be a member of the leisure class, but there are hints that he approximates it. He lives comfortably with domestic help. The occupations of his friends are identified and Veblen reports that such social homogamy among the privileged is normal rather than exceptional. The Time Traveler and his friends disagree politely about the efficacy of the Time Machine, and all are dedicated to punctuality as a form of respect to each others' schedules. This Veblenian trait is symbolized by the many clocks in the Time Traveler's house in Wells' *The Time Machine* and in Palma's *The Map of Time.*

Veblen had also concluded that underprivileged classes held enormous leverage over the privileged, making those who are socially and financially secure inept and susceptible to changed opinions among the underprivileged. The reader of Wells is left to wonder if the Time Traveler could perform his duties as a host without his hired help. Wells further explores this question where social power between the Eloi and the Morlocks is reversed.

Veblen notes that a historical calling of the privileged is to preserve cultural artifacts in such cultural features as museums, galleries, and libraries, yet the Eloi have abandoned this duty, and all others for that matter. The Morlocks became the caretakers of humanity's material and intellectual traditions, but they did so recklessly and the Time Traveler found them in shambles. What would happen, "What if …?" asks Wells, "if the underclasses became empowered over the privileged?"

Techgnosticism

The Time Traveler had invented a machine that could seemingly perform an impossible task, one that held humankind's curiosity for eons– the ability to travel through time. Humans pass through time, of course, almost imperceptibly, but here was a device that would allow them to move instantaneously through time, into the past and into the future. Not only could they move backward and revise history, but they could also move forward and change the future. While such activities are fraught with danger and benefits, the story elicits two questions: "Could the heretofore impossible become possible?" and "Would or should a Time Traveler change events?", yet other practical questions plagued Wells.

"Why didn't…?" asked Wells, England's industrial-military machinery build weapons that could defeat the Martians? Religious leaders are weak and frail, so would God come directly to rescue humankind? What would happen if real invaders had natural immuno-defense systems that the Martians lacked? "What if…?" asked Wells.

Finding Veblen in Palma

Whoever reads Palma's books should also be familiar with Wells' two stories, Jack the Ripper, and Poe's sole novel *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1837/1960). Working knowledge of astrophysics' theories about time-space travel, the "Hollow Earth" theory, concentrated reading with a lively imagination, and some understanding of Veblen would be helpful to the ambitious reader. Palma's familiarity with Veblen is only speculative, but Veblen is clearly present in Palma's layered stories.

Wealth, Poverty, and Class Structure

The Map of Time begins with a young man's romance with a prostitute who is eventually killed by Jack the Ripper. The victim was not an employee of London's finer bordellos, but she was a streetwalker in the White Chapel neighborhood, the "mean streets" of East London. Prostitutes there were often substance abusers and unclean so their customers took many risks. Such encounters were often rites of passage for young and privileged men, but the couplings were never intended to be permanent ones. The women could not have been brought into "polite" society, even though the portrait of the prostitute was prominently displayed in the house of the young man's father.

The actors in the staged production of time travel were not the stars that fill the glossy magazines and entertainment television shows of today. The performers, even the

reveled Shackleton, would be only called "extras" in today's language, hoping for recognition but with other jobs to keep them employed regularly. Their employer became rich as he appealed to the gullibility of the privileged and hoodwinked them.

The Role of Women

Veblen offered a summary statement about women. They were inconsequential, but they were also expected to behave according to status norms, and Palma made good use of these conduct codes in the portrayals of five prominent women in his stories.

Wells was married twice in real life and in the portrayed one, and his first marriage was disappointing. The second one, to Jane, was more companionable, intimate, satisfying, and traditional even though it had origins in infidelity and impropriety. Jane was dutiful and supportive, abiding the expectations of the time, but there was also a romantic side to her. When two separate men approached her husband for advice and help –one dealing with the murdered prostitute, and the other with a woman who fell in love with a man who did not exist– Jane was a co-conspirator in the schemes to provide inner peace for the supplicants.

Then there were the two socialites who appreciated social decorum, and had yen for adventure. The first was in *The Map of Time* where she was fascinated with tales of an ingenious company that had developed a machine that could take people into the future, where she wanted to be with Shackleton. The second was in *The Map of the Sky* where she was reluctantly attracted to the suitor who claimed that he could make Wells' fiction a reality. The first was polite and demure, yet violated sexual norms of the era; and the second was vocal about family heritage and those whose wealth was not old. More conspicuously, however, both were drawn to men beneath their social stations as overt disregard for social mores about propriety.

The fourth portrayal was the household maid of the New York socialite. She was sent with notes to and from the suitor with little or no concern for the frequency of the trips, their hardship, the hour, or the weather. She was, after all, just the hired help. The fifth illustrative woman was the murdered prostitute whose portrait hid her marriage, her residential neighborhood, her occupation, and her personal habit of drunkenness. As a member of the poverty class, she was used by the privileged and dismissed by most of them.

Techgnosticism

O'Sullivan introduces the term in the context of modern electronics communications devices, but fascination with new technologies is timeless. The stories by Wells and by Palma take place in an era when technological innovations were being made with exponential progress and England was the epicenter for the Industrial Revolution. Wells used this information in both books, as did Palma, especially in *The Map of Time.*

As that story unfolds, pianolas or player pianos were popular toys of entertainment, and these self-operating technologies led to the creation of other household and self-propelled devices. These robots eventually became intelligent and able to communicate with each other, becoming disparaged with their diminutive positions and lack of appreciation. They eventually conspired and revolted under the leadership of Solomon, killing many and taking control over their owners who had become weak and ineffectual. A world war between humans and machines came to an end in the year 2000 when Shackelton killed Solomon.

The crafty charlatan created a "Time Machine" and became rich from the passengers who wanted to visit the future and witness this fight. Travelers paid handsomely for the machine to make several trips into the future. The trickster was well aware of the possible interactive effects between constructed mediated realities and perceived mediated realities about the unknown, but knowing that his notoriety had faded and that his profits were great and secured, he faked his death and left town.

The Phenomenological

The "Hollow Earth Theory" states that there are two holes in the Earth's crust that lead to a verdant subterranean universe whose accesses are supposedly located at the North and South poles. Beliefs in the place and its entryways have been the bases for many fictional explorations.

One opening is supposedly "found" in Palma's first book, but it is located in central Africa rather than at either of its traditional locations. A huckster publicizes its discovery, it becomes the rage of conversation and economic speculation, and Queen Victoria orders a summer home to be built in the idyllic locale. The other hole is being sought in Palma's second book by the ill-fated expedition to Antarctica, and one of the exploration's crew members, Poe, later writes a bizarre tale that ends with a voyager who disappears in a large atmospheric maw.

Palma's books are filled with Veblenian examples and readers of this article are encouraged to find them, independently. It is time now to assess Collins' trilogy.

Finding Veblen in Collins

Both media outlets of the stories are controversial and visually dramatic in several ways. Their portrayals of totalitarianism is compared to George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1946/1962) and *Nineteen Eighty-four* (1949/1961) and to Ray Bradbury's 1953 *Fahrenheit 451*. The child-to-child violence is reminiscent of William Golding's *The Lord of the Flies* from 1954. Finally, the theatrical march of the charioteers in the 1959 film adaptation of Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* (1880) is replicated in the movie version of the *The Hunger Games* as Katniss and Peeta make their public debut riding a horse-drawn chariot for the cheering crowd: Katniss' costume is ablaze with artificial fire. This article now looks into the stories for evidence of Veblen's sociology.

Wealth and Power

Panem's social class structure has two main divisions: The "haves" who reside in the Capitol and the "have nots" who live the Districts. While class gradations in the Capitol are not specified, there are several occupational groupings including President Snow, other elitists, the Gamemakers, media personalities, the games' control room technicians, the Tributes' escorts, and the Tributes' attendants. Beyond President Snow, however, clear class distinctions in the Capitol are not as important as the infinite social power that is wielded by the Capitol over the Districts. Their people were beaten in their historic revolt and the Hunger Games represent absolute control over, and retribution toward, the masses, but Katniss Everdeen beat the system. She defied President Snow, who would not tolerate being upstaged by an imprudent and impudent girl. For him, losing was never an acceptable outcome.

Conspicuous Consumption

The village of Katniss and Peeta is poor. Their exposure to the wealth of the Capitol is described in the opulence of the train that carries them to the Capitol and in clothing that residents of the Capitol wear. The movie version of *The Huger Games* greatly enhanced Collins' written imagery, making it obvious that neither Katniss nor Peeta have anything to consume conspicuously. Even when the games' survivors return home, the rewards offered them, their towns, and families are merely palliative appeasements –"bread and circuses"– while the Districts, towns, and families of the slain children receive nothing.

Sports and Luck

As Hunger Games training progresses, the Tributes are given opportunities to show, or hide, any survival skills they may have. Each Tribute is then ranked and such a scale provides the elites wagering odds on, or against, the combatants. It also offers possible assistance for Tributes. Their trainers, former survivors, petition sponsors for emergency supplies when in jeopardy, making supported survivors valuable in two ways. The financial return on good wagering is self-evident, and the social esteem that is accorded to those Capitol elitists whose selective breeding allows them to sort

winners from losers, and the strong from the weak, is beyond monetary value.

Residents of the Tributes' Districts want their children to live, and most residents of the Capitol want the children to die. While aforementioned catch-phrase of the games is primarily directed toward the Tributes, this interpretation suggests that it may also apply to those who bet on the Tributes who they selfishly want to live.

About Women

There is no doubt that Katniss Everdeen is center stage throughout the troubling trilogy, but there is another woman, Effie Trinket, whose effusive mien and self image are important to notice. Effie has a parallel presence in the maid of the New York City socialite in Palma's *Map of the Sky*; they are both minions of the privileged, but Effie works for Panem's Capitol. She is its representative and emcee for District 12's Reaping where she selects their Tributes. After that, she is the escort/chaperone for Katniss and Peeta as they navigate all the public exposure in preparation for the Hunger Games. Effie is probably not a member of the Capitol's elite, but engages in exaggerated imitations of them. As her name implies, she is a social bauble– a trinket.

Effie is punctilious, punctual, and supercilious. She pays close attention to details and propriety. She is always conscious of clothing fashion and her presentation of self to others– traits that are alien to the impoverished and practical *gemeinschaft* of District 12. If Veblen was poking fun at the leisure class then Collins' caricature of the elite serves the same purpose. A comparison between the frivolous Effie and the practical Katniss clearly shows a Veblenian differentiation of women's status-role sets and the social backgrounds from which Effie and Katniss hail.

Katniss is a good hunter because her father trained her as an archer and a tracker. She is bold and determined because the hunt takes her onto government property for which she would be prosecuted as a trespasser and a poacher. She is also the primary provider of food for her family after her mother became listless and emotionally inept upon the death of her husband when he and fellow workers were vaporized in a coal mine explosion. Katniss' mother plies her skills at folk medicine, but depends much on Katniss' success, emotional stability, and rationality.

Primrose is young, inexperienced, lacking predatory and survival tenacity, and would be instant fodder on the games' killing fields. She is eligible for selection at her first Reaping and is chosen, prompting her older sister to volunteer to replace her. Katniss' valor was immediately hailed by those who only watch the Hunger Games, while silently honored by people of the Seam. She feels much anguish as she is forced to transfer her hunting skills from wild game to human targets.

Techgnosticism

The games occur in artificial arenas that vary each year, and all are embedded with technological gadgets. Such devices include hidden cameras and microphones so the Tributes' actions can be watched and overheard. Artificially created or genetically altered animals inhabit the arenas. Environmental conditions are manipulated by Gamemakers and technicians. The games are broadcast to the Capitol and to the Districts on large viewing screens, and the Tributes are notified of their competitors' progress via images projected in the sky. The children are injected with electronic tracking devices that also signal their deaths and locations for body removal. Panem's leisure class loved its power, privileges, and electronic toys all at the expense of the underprivileged Districts.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

Social classes are nominal categories of lifestyle differences that are made ordinal with evaluation and rating criteria. Making them interval categories is more difficult because there are no universal means to quantify and separate them. A crude measurement tool could be income tax levels where a lower class exists beneath the poverty level, an upper class exists at the

highest tax rate for earnings, and a middle class is comprised of all others. The sizes and compositions of these categories vary, however, by way of means-testing, tax codes, and economic fluctuations. Veblen may have been aware of these objective difficulties via his ethnologies using instead qualitative variables to identify some of the habits of the leisure class as stylized impression management.

Even so, entry into the leisure class to make overt and unobtrusive observations of their lifestyles would have been difficult for the most ardent intruder. If Veblen's contributions are based more on impressions than actual knowledge, his conclusions would be suspect, allowing the casual student of sociology to question its methods, findings, and honorifics accorded to him. Rosenberg noted his informal classroom manner and his students would have noticed such demeanor, belying the expectation of energetic and competent instruction that would inspire further curiosity. When criteria for social-class membership and lifestyles, for example, are discussed as being squishy with imprecision, students might ask "Why bother?" and walk away perplexed instead of being inspired.

If absolute findings about social classes are hard to find, then where can students find their lessons? There are three places where they can look. The first is their home communities because all will have families that are locally wealthy, families that are locally needy, and other families between the extremes. A second place to look is the college that the students attend. Admission to many schools is competitive, so a quantified meritocracy is present and obvious. The very titles of freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, and graduate students indicate academic success and progress, just as instructors and administrators are ranked and promoted. Seniors have seminars and independent study sections with full professors whereas freshmen have lecture halls with adjunct instructors; and, such scholastic labels as "honor student" and "dean's list" are markers of good habits, but "academic probation" and "final pro" are

opposing indices. The third place to look is in literature, as is shown here and elsewhere.

Veblen may have been rebuking the leisure class. If so, he seems to have friends in Wells, in Collins, and perhaps in Parma, directing us to classical and modern literature as sources for finding sociology outside journals, textbooks, and lecture halls. Novels can be read with a new dedication providing an alternative way to understand and appreciate sociology's paradigms, findings, and purposes. Since novelists often use sociology to support their mediated realities for entertainment, sociologists can use those very creations to support their mediated realities for education.

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MINNESOTA DAKOTA DIASPORA

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ABSTRACT

In the early Nineteenth Century, the Sioux had divided into three sub-divisions– the Dakota, the Nakota, and the Lakota. The Dakota occupied most of the territory now known as the state of Minnesota. During that century, through a variety of legal and illegal means, the Dakota lost the overwhelming majority of their land and were legally banished from Minnesota by federal law. This manuscript describes the process by which they lost not only their land but their right to live in Minnesota.

INTRODUCTION

The abandonment of Minnesota by the Dakota was the direct result of a little known war fought between the Dakota Sioux and the U.S. Army. By the time of the war, the Sioux, a loose alliance of tribes in the upper Great Plains, had divided into three sub-divisions. The Dakota (also known as Isanti) were to the east in what is now Minnesota, the Nakota (or the Yankton-Yanktonai) were in the middle in what would eventually be eastern South Dakota, and the Lakota (also known as Titunwan or Teton) were in western South Dakota (Gibbon 2003; Marshall 2004).

The war has a variety of names. It has been called among others the Great Dakota Conflict, The Great Sioux Uprising, Little Crow's War, and the War of 1862.

It was a short war lasting only about five weeks, but many on both sides were killed. During the brief war hundreds of white settlers and soldiers lost their lives. The consensus seems to be that at least five hundred white men, women, and children were killed (Coleman and Camp 1988:14; Eastern Dakota Timeline: 1660-1869 2004:8; The Dakota Conflict of 1862 2012).

The war was even more devastating for the Dakota. It resulted in the deaths of thousands (both directly and indirectly) of Dakota, the loss of almost all of the land they still owned in Minnesota, the virtual depopulation of Dakota from the state of Minnesota, and the largest one-day mass execution in the history of the United States (Anderson 1986:165; Coleman and Camp 1988:14; Eastern Dakota Timeline: 1660-1869 2004:8; The Dakota Conflict of 1862 2012). While there are still a few Dakota in Minnesota since not all Dakota fled and since some drifted back to their homeland, most Dakota never returned to Minnesota (Coleman and Camp 1988; Gibbon 2003).

THE LEGAL AND LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT OF THE DAKOTA SIOUX DIASPORA

The loss of their land in Minnesota by the Dakota Sioux represents one story in a darker side of American history. A First American society was, over the course of less than a century, deprived of virtually all of its land through the strategies of fraud, intimidation, manipulation, persuasion, and even naked force employed by white Americans.

The fate of this one society is not exceptional in the history of the United States. There are many instances in which First American nations lost their land to the virtually insatiable desire of white Americans for land. Other well-known examples are the forced removal of the Cherokee from north Georgia (Golden Ink 1996/1997; Sturgis 2006), the forced removal of the Seminoles from Florida (Hysup 2004), and the illegal confiscation of the Black Hills of South Dakota (Ostler 2010). If First American societies can be considered independent nations, then one way of describing the interactions among them and the United States is from the perspective of World System Theory (Wallerstein 1974; 1980;

1989; 2011). This theory suggests there are powerful nations, called core countries, that become wealthy by exploiting the resources of weak nations, called peripheral countries (Chirot 1977; Kerbo 2012; Shannon 1989). It can be argued there is no greater resource of a nation than its land base and no more extreme form of exploitation than the confiscation of that land base. The United States, a core country, has used ethnocentric religious beliefs, discriminatory legislation, and illegal activities to deprive First Americans nations, the peripheral countries, of most of their land in the North American continent.

The ultimate legal basis of this history of exploitation, at least from the standpoint of the United States, is a European-invented legal theory called the discovery doctrine (Utter 2001:10-12). This doctrine was created during the European age of discovery to try to limit conflict among exploring nations. It asserted that the European nation that discovered new lands owned those newly discovered lands. Natives in those lands had only the rights of occupancy, not ownership, and could be deprived of those rights through compensation or even violence. The United States accepted this theory early in the Nineteenth Century. "The United States officially embraced the discovery doctrine in 1823 through the Supreme Court case of *Johnson v. McIntosh*." (Utter 2001:11).

A religious component was added to this history of land confiscation with the creation of the term "Manifest Destiny," first used in 1845 by newspaper editor John O'Sullivan (Utter 2001:125-127). The term was used to assert that all lands westward from the Mississippi River to the Pacific were divinely ordained to belong to white America. Thus all lands taken from First Americans represented the fulfillment of a divinely ordained destiny.

Federal legislation, both legal and illegal, also played an important part in this history of the taking of First American land. In May 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed into law the Indian Removal Act which granted the federal government the right to exchange unsettled land west of the Mississippi for Indian lands within states east of the Mississippi (Primary Documents in American History). The Cherokee challenged the law to the U.S. Supreme Court arguing they were a sovereign nation with recognized treaty rights. In the 1832 *Worcester v. Georgia* case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in their favor declaring that not only were they a distinct political community, but they had territorial boundaries guaranteed by the United States (Community Television of Southern California 2006). President Jackson ignored the decision and ordered the illegal forced removal of numerous First American nations, principally from southern states. Perhaps the most famous, or infamous, forced removal was the 1838-1839 "Trail of Tears" removal of the Cherokee from Georgia in which an estimated 4000 men, women, and children died on the march (Golden Ink 1996/1997; Primary Documents in American History; Sturgis 2006).

In 1887, the U.S. Congress passed what is arguably the law most hated by First Americans– the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act. It established a formula by which First American Indian land was to be allocated to First American individuals and families[1] (Dawes Act, The, 2001; Utter 2001:395; Wilkins 1997). A critical aspect of this law was that any land not distributed during the allotment process was declared as surplus by the Federal government and made available for homesteading. It is estimated that First Americans lost ownership of at least 50% of all of their land; some suggested the loss was as much as two-thirds (Native American Documents Project 2011; Burns 1996). It is important to note the First American ownership of the land that the Federal government declared as surplus had been recognized in treaties it had signed.

Finally, as surprising as it might seem, the desire of white Americas for the land of First American nations has not ended. In 1877, in response to the embarrassing defeat in 1876 of the American Army at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the U.S. Congress declared as a law an agreement its representatives claimed to have negotiated with the Sioux

nation. The law confiscated 7.7 million acres of the Black Hills of South Dakota. For over a century, the Sioux tried to challenge the legitimacy of that law. Despite their efforts, the Black Hills remained in the hands of white America. That status changed in 1980. "On June 30, the Supreme Court, in an 8-1 decision, affirmed the lower court's decision that the federal government in exercising the powers of eminent domain, had indeed unconstitutionally taken the Black Hills from the Lakota people in violation of the Fifth Amendment and had not paid adequate compensation for the land." (Wilkins, 1997:225-226; see also Findlaw: Cases and Codes). The Sioux have refused all efforts at compensation for their illegally confiscated land. In other words, according to the 1980 Supreme Court decision *The United States v. the Sioux Nation of Indians*, the United States is continuing to occupy illegally confiscated First American land. At present, the case is unresolved (Stover 2011).

THE GREAT DAKOTA CONFLICT

The ultimate cause of the war that drove the Dakota from Minnesota was the desire of white Americans for Dakota land. In the 1600s and 1700s, the Dakota occupied much of the land in what is now known as Minnesota, but they were not alone. There are stories of missionaries and traders moving in and out of this territory. There is some evidence of contact and even conflict with other First American societies. Apparently, during the 1700s, the Ojibwa coming west was able to force the Dakota southward toward the Mississippi and Minnesota River valleys (Eastern Dakota Timeline: 1660-1869 2004).

But before the war which drove the Dakota from Minnesota, they had lost virtually all of their land. The ultimately successful seizure of Dakota land by white Americans began in earnest in the early 1800s. In 1805, the Dakota were persuaded to make their first land concession; they sold 100,000 acres at the mouths of the St. Croix and Minnesota Rivers (Coleman and Camp 1988; Gibbon 2003:81). In 1837, they were convinced to

sign the Treaty with the Sioux, a treaty giving up all of their land east of the Mississippi (First People: Treaties and Agreements 2010; Gibbon 2003:5). In 1851, the first governor of the territory of Minnesota Alexander Ramsey embarked on an effort to persuade the Dakota to give up their land in the southern part of the state to satisfy the land demands of white Americans who had flooded into Minnesota when it became a territory in 1849. Through a combination of political intimidation and ultimately military violence, Governor Ramsey forced the Dakota to sign the 1851 Treaty of Traverse de Sioux, a treaty giving up 20,000,000 acres of Southern Minnesota in exchange for a reservation consisting of narrow strips of land on both sides of the upper Minnesota River (Coleman and Camp 1988; Eastern Dakota Timeline 1660-1869 2004; Gibbon 2003:5; Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, Inc. 2010).

The reservation was about 150 miles long and extended 10 miles on either side of the Minnesota River (Anderson 1986:120). However, the Treaty contained provisions of which the Dakota were unaware. They were given control of the reservation for only five years, after which they lost that control (Anderson 1988; Berg 1993). When told they had been deceived and owned no land, they were understandably upset. They were then offered full ownership of half of the reservation they had been promised. They reluctantly agreed to the reduction; they had little choice (Anderson 1988; Berg 1993; Coleman and Camp 1988).

They were thus exiled from their native Minnesota woodlands and consequently limited in their ability to hunt and gather to augment their farming lifestyle. However, as part of the agreement, the Dakota were supposed to be compensated for their loss. According to the terms of the treaty, substantial sums of money were to be provided by the government to pay for the costs of moving the Indians to the new reservation, educating them, establishing agencies and providing supplies and annual cash payments. Unfortunately for the Dakota, through fraud and mismanagement most of the supplies and money were siphoned off

before getting to the Dakota and they received few of the promised resources (Anderson 1986; Berg 1993; Coleman and Camp 1988; Swain 2004).

A decade later, in 1862, many of the Minnesota Dakota faced starvation on their reservation. Crops had failed the year before. The winter had been long and harsh. And the annual disbursement of supplies and money had been delayed by bureaucratic red tape. Thousands of Dakota gathered at the two reservation agencies –the Upper Sioux Agency near the Yellow Medicine River and the Lower Sioux Agency near the Minnesota River– seeking the food to which they were entitled. They were told no supplies would be released until authorization was provided (Coleman and Camp 1988; Eastern Dakota Timeline 1660-1869 2004).

In August, Dakota at the Upper Sioux Agency demanded the food and supplies due them in June. When they were again rebuffed, they stormed the agency warehouse and took 100 sacks of flour. A military detachment quelled the incident (Coleman and Camp 1988).

Little Crow, perhaps the most prominent Dakota leader and one of the leaders who had signed the 1851 treaty, rushed to the Agency to try to mediate the crisis. At a meeting of the Dakota and the white traders at the agency, Little Crow suggested the Dakota be given the supplies they sought, to be paid for when the authorization was given and the reimbursement arrived. A compromise was worked out and the crisis was apparently resolved. However, during the negotiations, one trader, Andrew J. Myrick, is alleged to have issued what is perhaps the most infamous statement of the war– "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass" (Anderson 1986:128; Anderson 1982-1983:198; Coleman and Camp 1988:9). When Myrick's remark was translated, the Dakota exploded with indignation. They went back to their villages to consider war.[2]

Several days later at the very beginning of the war, Myrick's dead body was found filled with arrows and his mouth was filled with grass. The Dakota had taken their revenge on him for his comment.

August 17th, 1862 was a Sunday. Four young Dakota males were returning from an unsuccessful hunt. They neared the farm of Robinson Jones and asked for water. Jones and his family had no reason to fear the young men since Dakota had been seen in the area before. The young men turned their guns on the whites and within seconds had killed Jones, his wife, their son, an adopted daughter, and a neighbor who had just arrived from Wisconsin (Coleman and Camp 1988). The Great Dakota Conflict had begun.

The four Dakota warriors sought refuge at the Shakopee village near the Lower Sioux Agency on the Minnesota River and recounted what they had done. Little Crow and the other senior Dakota knew there would be a white American response. After a night of discussion and debate, Dakota decided to launch a war against the white Americans. Little Crow warned the other Dakota that the white Americans were too powerful to be defeated and cautioned against the war. Out voted, he agreed to lead them in a last-ditch effort to restore the Dakota homeland (Anderson, 1986; Coleman and Camp 1988).

Over the next several weeks, the Great Dakota Conflict played out in the Minnesota River Valley.[3] It is estimated that at least 500 white Minnesotans –men, women, and children– were killed. (Coleman and Camp 1988:14; Dakota Timeline: 1660-1869 2004:8; The Dakota Conflict of 1862 2012). An unknown number of Dakota were killed; some estimates put the number at about 60 (Eastern Dakota Timeline 1660-1869 2004:8; The Dakota Conflict of 1862 2012:1).

By the end of September, the war was over. After suffering a decisive defeat at the hands of the U.S. Army on September 23, Little Crow and some of his followers began fleeing the state. Many other Dakota warriors were captured.

Trials quickly began for the captured Dakota warriors accused of participating in the conflict. The trials, heard by a five-man military commission, concluded on November 5. More than 300 Dakota were sentenced to

death. President Lincoln, hearing of the sentencing, intervened in the trials. He ultimately approved of the hanging of 39 Dakota. One was subsequently pardoned. On December 26, 1862, in Mankato, Minnesota 38 Dakota men were hung simultaneously. It was the largest one-day mass execution in the history of the United States (Anderson, 1986; Coleman and Camp 1988; East Dakota Timeline 1660-1869 2005; Hudetz 2006).

There immediately followed a mass exodus of Dakota from Minnesota and the state was virtually depopulated of Dakota. Fearful of being the victims of white American violence, Dakota fled to present day South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, and Canada.

In 1863, the U.S. Congress punished the Dakota by nullifying all treaties, revoking all financial agreements, and enacting a law mandating the expulsion of the four subgroups of the Dakota –the Sisseton, Wahpeton, Mdewakanton, and Wahpekute– from Minnesota (Berg 1993; Eastern Dakota Timeline: 1660-1869 2004). Although the law, entitled an Act for the Removal of the Sisseton, Wahpeton, Mdeawakanton, and Wahpakoota Bands of Sioux or Dacotah Indians, is no longer enforced, the law has not been repealed (Busch 2009).[4]

Over the following years, a few Dakota drifted back into the state. Little Crow did. In 1863, he and his son were discovered raiding a farmer's garden. The farmer shot and killed Little Crow. His son hid the body. However, it was quickly discovered and dismembered (Anderson, 1986).

Eventually, Little Crow's remains were recovered and given to the Minnesota Historical Society where they were displayed for many years. They were finally buried at Flandreau, South Dakota 108 years after his death (Gibbon 2003).

In July 2007, the War of 1862 reappeared as a current issue in a federal court (Hudetz 2006). The case, entitled Wolfchild v. the United States, involves the descendants of the Mdewakanton tribe of the Dakota Sioux. The Mdewakanton did not attack the white Americans and in some cases actually saved some white Minnesotans from Dakota warriors. In 1886, the federal government documented the actions 208 of them and in appreciation bought three tracts of land for their benefit and that of their descendants. Casinos have now been built on those three tracks of land by the Shakopee, Prairie Island, and Lower Sioux Mdewakanton bands. Sioux who can document their descendancy from the original 208 of Dakota are suing for a share of the profits from the casinos.

CONCLUSION

The experience of the Dakota Sioux represents a dark chapter in the history of inter-ethnic relations in the United States. It is a story of the forced removal of the people a nation from the state of Minnesota. It starts at the beginning of the 19th Century when that nation occupied virtually the entire state of Minnesota. But white Americans coveted their land and by a variety of legal and illegal means deprived the Dakota of the overwhelming majority of that land. By 1862, the Dakota land holdings had been reduced to a very small reservation on the west side of the Minnesota River. In the summer of 1862, pushed to act by perceptions of maltreatment by the federal government and by the traders in the Indian agencies, and by the threat of starvation, the Dakota went to war with the United States. They were quickly defeated. Many Dakota warriors were captured. Thirty-eight Dakota men were hung in Mankato, Minnesota in the largest one day mass execution in the history of the United States. Many captured warriors were shipped out of Minnesota. The remaining Dakota fled the state, going to Canada, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota. The U.S. Government then enacted legislation banning the Dakota from Minnesota.

END NOTES

[1] Title to their land was not immediately given to the First Americans. It was held in trust for twenty-five years, at which time the owners of the land would obtain full title to their land.

[2] Anderson presents an analysis very skeptical of this account, calling it a myth (1982-1983). He accepts that Myrick was reluctant to allocate the food to the Dakota and that he probably did utter the insensitive phrase. However, he questions whether the insult played much of a part in the initiation of the war since it was uttered several days before the War began and since the farming Dakota assembled at the Lower Sioux Agency – where the first assault in the war occurred– had just harvested a good crop and were not hungry. The Dakota who were desperate for food were the buffalo hunters of the Upper Sioux Agency.

[3] In his 1986 biography of Little Crow, Anderson provides a thorough well documented description of the war, of its causes, and aftermath. See pages 89-179.

[4] In April 2009, Minnesota's House and Senate began consideration of bills urging the repeal of the 1863 federal legislation ordering the removal of the Dakota from Minnesota (Busch 2009).

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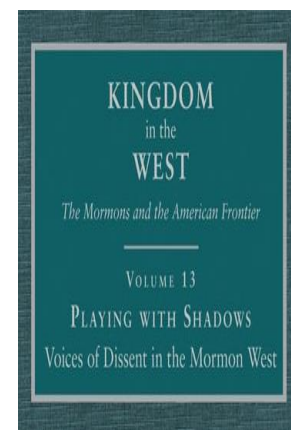Wilkins, D.E. 1997. *American Indian Sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Playing with Shadows: Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West
Edited by Polly Aird, Jeff Nichols, and Will Bagley
ISBN 978-0870623806

This collection of narratives by four individuals who abandoned Mormonism provides an overview of dissent from the beginning of the religion to the early twentieth century and presents a wide range of disaffection with the faith or its leaders.

Newspaper articles, personal letters, journals, and sermons provide context for the testaments collected here—those of George Armstrong Hicks, Charles Derry, Ann Gordge, and Brigham Young Hampton.. Young warned one dissenting group that they were "not playing with shadows," but with "the voice and the hand of the Almighty"; accordingly, many dissenters feared for their livelihoods, and some, for their lives.

Historians will value the range of beliefs, opinions, complaints, hopes, and fears expressed in these carefully annotated life histories. An antidote to anti-Mormon sensationalism, these detailed chronicles of deeply personal journeys add subtlety and a human dimension to our understanding of the Mormon past.

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PLAYING WITH SHADOWS
Voices of Dissent in the Mormon West

THE TUCSON MASSACRE: DECONSTRUCTING COMPETING CLAIMS

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ABSTRACT

What are the underlying causes of the 2011 Tucson shooting that killed six people–including a federal judge and a nine-year-old girl, critically wounded Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, and injured 12 others? In the aftermath of the shooting, three competing claims emerged: (1) Hate rhetoric from the right-wing; (2) The mental illness of the shooter; and (3) lax gun laws. From a critical constructionist model, this article deconstructs each claim, providing a coherent account of this tragic event, and other key players such as the NRA, Brady Bill, 1994 Ban on Assault Weapons, and British gun reform after the mass shooting that claimed the lives of sixteen five-year-old and six-year-old students and their teacher who died shielding them from the disturbed killer.

"You tried to create a world as dark and evil as your own. Remember this: You failed."
--Mark Kelly, husband of former U.S. representative Gabrielle Giffords,
to Jared Loughner at the latter's federal sentencing hearing, November 9, 2012.

INTRODUCTION

Social problems may be defined objectively, subjectively (constructionist) or as a hybrid of the two. Manis (1976:25) defines social problems objectively: "social conditions identified by scientific inquiry and values as detrimental to human well-being." Thus, there are threatening or harmful conditions in the empirical world that exist independently of public awareness or social concern about these conditions. In contrast, Spector and Kitsuse (1977:75) define social problems subjectively, using social constructionism: "the activities of individuals or groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some punitive conditions." In essence, social problems are claim-making activities –speeches, news coverage, protest or other social activities– that defines punitive conditions as threats or crises. Accordingly, conditions do not necessarily have to be empirically real to be defined as social problems. In short, social problems research should focus on the claims of politicians, journalists, lobbyists, and others instead of studying supposedly harmful conditions.

Henslin (2008:6) uses a mixed definition, defining a social problem both objectively and subjectively:

> "some aspect of society that people are concerned about and would like changed. Social problems have two key components. The first is an *objective condition*, some aspect of society that can be measured or experienced… The second key element of a social problem is subjective concern, the concern that a significant number of people (or a number of significant people) have about the objective condition."

A hybrid definition has problems. Objectivists (e.g., Manis 1976) would argue that the definition of a condition as a social problem should rest on solid scientific evidence rather than on public belief. In contrast, social constructionists (e.g., Spector and Kitsuse 1975) indicate people sometimes develop concern about a problem in cases where the alleged condition is not objectively real– for example, witches in colonial Salem, Massachusetts. Moreover, the phrase *subjective concern* is misleading because

organized claims-making activities and collective definitions of social problems are shared social pursuits rather than individualistic subjective phenomena.

Why do some problems become matters of public concern while others do not? How do protestors and other actors construct narratives to capture public attention and encourage change? How do powerful actors with different resources, launch claims that promote their special interest? This article addresses these questions by analyzing the process of reconstructing the social problem of gun violence through the Tucson shooting –the mass murders and attempted assassination of U.S. Congresswoman Gabriel Giffords– on January 8, 2011. In particular, there is focus on the process through which competing claims are put forward and mediated. Of special interest are the cultural dynamics and media practices that contribute to the credibility of claims.

What are the patterns that emerge from examining claims in both historical and contemporary contexts made about the causes of the Tucson massacre? How does one deconstruct the three plausible yet competing claims used to explain the event? These are the main questions this article addresses.

GUN VIOLENCE: A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Advocates of objective or hybrid definitions of social problems would use the following to document gun violence as a social problem (Mayors Against Illegal Guns 2012):

1. There are approximately 30,000 firearm-related homicides and suicides a year.
2. An estimated 6.6 million guns are transferred every year without a federal background check.
3. Twenty-two percent of 14- to 17-year-olds has witnessed a shooting in their lifetime.
4. Fifteen of the 25 worst mass shootings in the last 50 years took place in the United States.
5. Most polling shows the majority of Americans support an assault weapons ban.
6. Eighty-seven percent of gun owners and 74 percent of NRA members support requiring background checks for every gun sale.

Gun violence as a social problem falls within the legal purview of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF), a federal law enforcement organization within the United States Department of Justice. Its mission: to protect "our communities from violent criminals, criminal organizations, the illegal use and trafficking of firearms, the illegal use and storage of explosives, acts of arson and bombings, acts of terrorism, and the illegal diversion of alcohol and tobacco products" (ATF 2012).

The position of ATF director has been vacant since 2006– the same time that a new policy took effect requiring Senate confirmation of those nominated for the position by the president. The Senate has never confirmed anyone as director, leaving the agency to the responsibility of acting directors for six consecutive years at the time of this writing (November 2012). The NRA strongly opposes President Obama's nominee, Andrew Traver, who has favored gun control and anti-gun activities (Skiba 2011). The ATF director has virtual exclusive oversight and jurisdiction over the firearms industry, its retailers and those who would like to purchase guns. Clearly, the lack of a permanent director, over such a long period, prevents the agency and the Department of Justice from taking positive steps to alleviate the problem of gun violence.

There is, of course, the *objectiv*e side of social problems– the facts of the case. On January 8, 2011, United States Representative Gabrielle Giffords and eighteen other people were shot during a public meeting held in a supermarket parking lot in Casas Adobes, near Tucson, Arizona. Six of those were fatally shot, including Arizona District Court Chief Judge John Roll,

one of Representative Giffords' staffers, and a nine-year-old child, Christina Taylor-Green. One additional person was injured in the immediate aftermath of the shooting– an elderly man who hurt his arm while hitting the shooter, Jared Loughner, on the head with a folding chair while he was attempting to reload his weapon.

Federal prosecutors filed charges against the twenty-two-year-old Loughner, including the attempted assassination of a member of Congress and the assassination of a federal judge (*Chicago Sun Times* 2011; Lacey 2011; *The New York Times* 2011). Giffords, the first Jewish person elected to Congress from Arizona, was holding a *Congress on your Corner* session in front of a Safeway store. (There had been speculation that Loughner might be anti-Semitic despite a lack of evidence that the shooting was inspired by anti-Semitism.) Loughner shot Giffords, who represented Arizona's 8th congressional district, in the forehead at point blank range critically wounding her. He subsequently turned around and began firing on other people in the audience.

Public outrage over the shooting quickly ensued. Of course, there was unity in Congress condemning the shooting and in strong support of Giffords. However, there was also polarization of the Democrat and Republican parties and its subsequent effect on the public. In addition, abundant attention was placed on the harsh political climate and violent tinged rhetoric across the nation. Some pundits blamed members of the political right-wing for the shooting; in particular, Sarah Palin was implicated because of gun-related metaphors in her speeches and her political action committee's website which "targeted" the districts of Giffords and other Democratic members of Congress with images of crosshairs on an electoral map. Some defended Palin by observing that Loughner was an anarchist who despised all politicians regardless of their affiliation (Cohen 2011; Przybyla 2011).

Almost immediately three competing claims emerged: (1) gun control v. Second Amendment right to bear arms; (2) the mental illness of the shooter, and (3) the

violent tone of right-wing attacks on the federal government. Because the nature of claims-making is essentially *subjective*, the three competing claims indicate a lack of consensus on the underlying causes of the shooting. Newsweek magazine exploited and sensationalized the Tucson Massacre on its cover with an illustration of a handgun shooter wrapped in an American flag and the bold font: *American Assassins*. It was extremely misleading and opportunistic to display the shooter with patriotic motives.

After the shooting, Loughner was diagnosed with schizophrenia and forced to undergo psychotropic drug treatments. Eventually, a federal judge claimed Loughner understood the charges brought against him (Billeaud 2012). Loughner subsequently (August 2012) plead guilty in the Arizona shooting (January 2011), was sentenced to seven consecutive life terms in prison (November 2012) –most likely in a federal prison psychiatric ward– and an additional 140 years without the possibility of parole (Keefer and Holstege 2012). At the sentencing hearing, a large group of victims and family members confronted Loughner, including Mark Kelly (Giffords' husband); Ron Barber, a former Giffords' staffer who was shot in the cheek and thigh during the attack and later won election to Giffords' seat when she stepped down; and Mavy Stoddard, whose husband died shielding her from bullets. Pima County prosecutors retained discretion to seek the death penalty against Loughner if the state files charges against him.

CLAIMS-MAKING ABOUT THE TUCSON SHOOTING

This section considers the three claims that competed in the media over the Tucson massacre: 1) gun control v. the right to carry guns; 2) political ideology; and 3) the mental illness of the shooter.

Gun Control v. The Right to Carry Guns

Almost immediately, gun control advocates began placing the blame on the relaxed laws allowing easy accessibility of

firearms. Gun control activists began pushing for increased restrictions on the sale of firearms and ammunition, especially high-capacity ammunition magazines. They argue that such ammunition is designed specifically for killing multiple victims and that the law-abiding public does not have need for such ammo, and consequently, that ammunition should be restricted. Even so, in states with the most strict gun laws (e.g., California) hand guns are permitted for self defense in homes and businesses.

Second Amendment supporters fired back that people –not guns– kill other people. It was widely reported after the shooting that Loughner had legally obtained the handgun used in the shooting. He bought the Glock 9 millimeter gun from Sportsman's Warehouse on November 30th, 2010 (Doar 2011). However, since he lied on the form, technically he did not purchase it legally. By lying, he committed a felony. This store is a federally licensed firearm dealer (FFL). As such, it is required to obtain an ATF form 4473 for every firearm sold. The form secures personal data about each buyer. Then the data is used to execute a NICS (National Instant Criminal System) background check.

Question 11.e on the current ATF Form 4473 states as follows: "Are you an unlawful user of, or addicted to, marijuana or any depressant, stimulant, or narcotic drug, or any other controlled substance?" If the potential purchaser answers "yes" to any of the sub-questions (i.e., A-L) on Question 11, he or she is not legally permitted to buy a firearm. Loughner must have answered "no" to this question; his background was checked without raising any red flags. Later it was revealed that Loughner smoked marijuana on a regular basis (Belleville 2011). Furthermore, he was refused admission into the U.S. Army because of this admitted addiction (Thompson 2012).

ATF Form 4473 continues: "I certify that my answers to Section A are true, correct, and complete… I understand that answering "yes" to question 11.a. if I am not the actual buyer, it is a crime punishable as a felony under Federal law and may also violate State and/or Local law. I understand that a person who answers "yes" to any of the questions 11.b through 11.k is prohibited from purchasing or receiving a firearm unless the person also answers "yes" to question 12. I also understand that making any false oral or written statement or exhibiting any false or misrepresented identification with respect to this transaction is a crime punishable as a felony under Federal laws, and may also violate State and/or local laws. I further understand that the repetitive purchase of firearms for the purpose of resale for livelihood and profit without a Federal firearms license is a violation of law" (United States Department of Justice. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives 2012).

Sportsman's Warehouse completed their obligation as required by law; they accepted the application as sworn statements and ran the background check (NICS) in good faith (Doar 2011). A week after six people were killed and fourteen wounded, Tucson, ironically, hosted a gun show at the Pima County Fairgrounds. The Crossroads of the West Gun Shows of Arizona was advertised as fun for the whole family, with M-16s, AK47s and funnel cakes. It attracted thousands of firearm enthusiasts and entice more people than any other gun shows in America. One can bring his or her guns and buy, sell and trade at hundreds of displays to satisfy the demands of everyone who attends. No loaded firearms and no loaded magazines are permitted in any Crossroads Gun Show.

Gun advocates argue that criminals will not be honest in their gun purchases. Consequently, more or stricter gun laws will not alleviate gun violence since criminals will not obey the law. Accordingly, there is no way to stop deadly shootings. Gun advocates seem to imply or explicitly state that the occasional shooting is the price we pay for Second Amendment freedom.

Political Ideology

Others felt that the root of the heinous crime was political ideology. Gabriel Giffords is a Democrat, the political party the target of

hate speech by right-wing Republicans, Tea Party supporters, and ultra-conservative talk show personalities. This included, but was not limited to, Glenn Beck, Rush Limbaugh and Ann Coulter. Thus the shooter was inspired by violence-laden speech to commit mass violence.

Sarah Palin placed a map of the United States on the website of her Political Action Committee showing the whereabouts of twenty Democratic politicians who needed to be replaced, including Gabrielle Giffords. When Palin used, in her own words, "bullseye icons" (that is, gun sights) –the argument continues– she essentially committed an act of criminal incitement (Democratic Underground 2011).

The map stated: "Don't Retreat, Reload." Palin supporters became indignant over the accusations, accusing the political left of using the massacre for political reasons. The NRA and right-wing pundits blamed liberals and gun-control advocates of tapping this tragedy to promote the political agenda of restricting gun sales and consequently violating the Second Amendment– the right to bear arms. After all, where were the left wing calls for gun control considering the huge number of people killed *individually* in schools or drive-by shootings? Just because such types of gun violence are much more common than mass shooting, Palin's staff claimed that the targeted list of Democratic politicians did not imply guns and to suggest otherwise is appalling and obscene.

Pseudo academics have also joined in the toxic political right-wing rhetoric. For example, conservative author Michelle Malkin (2009) wrote the *Culture of Corruption: Obama and His Team of Tax Cheats, Crooks, and Cronies.* This volume claims that the Obama administration has had dozens of instances of corruption (Today Books 2009). The title refers to a political slogan (i.e., culture of corruption) used by Democrats to refer to events that happened during the presidency of George W. Bush.

The *Culture of Corruption* was published by Regnery Publishing. They specialize in conservative books characterized on its website as "contrary to those of 'mainstream'

publishers in New York" (Regnery 2012). Regnery has become notable for the well-known authors of its books– in addition to columnist Michelle Malkin, former Republican Party chairman Haley Barbour, Ann Coulter, former Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and 2012 Republican presidential candidate Newt Gingrich, commentator Robert Spencer, pundit David Horowitz and Barbara Olson. The conservative publishing firm has also become striking because of its penchant for political controversy with a high profile on the national stage.

Progressive voices have responded to this type of right-wing rhetoric. Two examples follow: (1) *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman and (2) journalist John Wright (2012).

Paul Krugman stated:

"I remembered the upsurge in political hatred after… Clinton's election in 1992– an upsurge that culminated in the Oklahoma City bombing… you could see… by watching the crowds at McCain-Palin rallies… it was ready to happen again.… it's the saturation of our political discourse–… especially our airwaves– with… rhetoric that lies behind the rising… violence. Where's that… rhetoric coming from? ...the right. It's hard to imagine a Democratic member of Congress urging constituents to be "armed and dangerous" without being ostracized; but Representative Michele Bachmann, who did just that, is a rising star in the GOP… there's a huge contrast in… media. Listen to Rachel Maddow or Keith Olbermann… caustic remarks and mockery aimed at Republicans. But you won't hear jokes about shooting government officials or beheading a journalist at *The Washington Post*. Listen to Glenn Beck or Bill O'Reilly, and you will. The purveyors of hate have been treated with respect, even deference, by the GOP establishment."

John Wright's *The Obama Haters* indicated:

> "Though Obama's election showed progress, the McCain-Palin campaign used smear tactics. Their operators pulled out all the stops in an attempt to win and spread falsehoods about Obama that have… multiplied after the election. *The Obama Haters* seeks to answer the following questions: Who are these Obama haters? Why do they despise him? Why do various news organizations, commentators, and political entities treat the same facts differently? Why are these pundits so powerful? Wright… lays out the democratic principles and civility toward which Americans should strive… he investigates the persistent expressions of hatred for… Obama, connecting historic antecedents of political mudslinging along with the background of… right-wing smear tactics... he shines a… spotlight on the haters and fear mongers... While Americans have the right to criticize their political leadership, their reasons… should be based on facts. Those who invent and repeat lies to hurt the reputation of leaders weaken the democratic ideal. This book is for anyone who wishes to learn how to cut through the… propaganda to make informed decisions based on truth."

Cortese (2011) offers praise for *The Obama Haters* (Wright 2011): The value of this volume is calling out hate mongers before they encourage more political violence such as the January 2011 tragedy in Tucson. In effectively countering vicious lies about President Obama, John Wright makes a strong case for recognizing and marginalizing potentially dangerous hate speech thinly veiled as free speech. The words we choose to use color our world and perceptions and influence our behavior. Even when there is an absence of incitement to violence, there are those whose inner psyches are stimulated to ethno-violence by such rhetoric.

The Mental Illness of the Shooter

The third competing narrative is the mental illness of the shooter. "This is genocide in America," proclaimed Loughner, as he walked through his community college campus videotaping one evening. He appeared to ramble and not make much sense in the home video. When he first appeared in a packed courtroom, Loughner was shackled and in khaki prison garb; he appeared to smirk as he stood before the judge. Mental illness was apparent in his expression and demeanor. Loughner had been the focus of a series of legal squabbling for nearly two years since the mass shooting. He originally plead not guilty to 49 charges filed by federal prosecutors. Loughner, then a twenty-two-year-old fixated on Giffords (Allen 2012), has a history of drug possession charges. He had also been suspended by his community college for disruptive behavior. Court filings include notes allegedly handwritten by Loughner indicating his plans to kill Giffords (*Chicago Sun Times* 2011).

Although the motive for the shooting still remains unclear, Bryce Tierney, a close and long-time friend shed some light on the subject (Baumann 2011). Tierney, who attended high school and college with Loughner, claimed that Loughner held a long-standing resentment for Giffords, repeatedly disparaging her as "fake." Loughner's grudge against Giffords deepened when he appeared at a campaign event and she did not, in his opinion, adequately respond to a question he asked.

Loughner was also obsessed with "lucid dreaming"– the notion that conscious dreams are an alternative reality in which a person can live and control (Baumann 2011). Loughner appeared to replace reality with this dream-like awareness, did not cooperate with authorities and appealed to his right to remain silent (CNN Staff 2011). Based on two independent psychiatric evaluations that diagnosed Loughner as schizophrenic, a judge ruled Loughner incompetent to stand trial (CNN 2011). Despite protests by his defense team, Loughner was forcibly

medicated to control his mental illness and render him fit for trial.

The Brady Bill

The Brady Bill (Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act), signed into law by President Clinton on November 23, 1993, also needs to be revisited. The Bill was named in honor of Press Secretary, James Brady, who, during an assassination attempt on President Reagan, was shot by John Hinckley and permanently paralyzed. It requires a five-day waiting period to do a background check before a gun could be purchased. The five-day waiting period stipulated by the Act has now expired with the NICS permitting instant background checks. The five-day waiting period needs to be reinstated since 25 percent of those banned from owning firearms are not in the centralized electronic system and must be search for manually. It would not be unusual to run out of time before locating files indicating a person not legally permitted to buy a gun. Moreover, there should be multiple independent assessments of mental health as a check for examining whether a person is mentally and emotionally stable enough to purchase, possess, carry a concealed weapon and fire a firearm.

Another major loophole that would have to be closed for effective gun control reform is that only dealers who had been licensed by the Treasury Department to sell arms to private individuals were required to carry out this check. Successful reform requires background checks for all firearms sales. There are also hurdles of unconstitutionality imposed by the Supreme Court that block gun reform.

The Supreme Court has stopped key elements of gun reform:
1. Ruling hand gun ownership constitutional– exemplary of *arms* within the context of the of *Secord Amendment* (right to keep and bear *arms*);
2. Striking down Washington D.C.'s gun reform act as unconstitutional.
3. Revoking the argument that guns must be unloaded. This proposal required all firearms (hand guns, shot guns, rifles) be stored "unloaded or disassembled or bound by a trigger lock."

These problematic issues must be overcome in new legislation.

The School Shooting in Dunblane, Scotland

Perhaps we can take a cue on gun reform from the United Kingdom. The awful mass murder of a group of young children and their teacher was one of Britain's most tragic gun violence events (Cusick 1996). The massacre shocked the country– perhaps even the world. Then the country took steps to prevent a repeat calamity happening again.

On March 13, 1996, between 9:20 and 9:25 A.M., a forty-three-year-old former Scout leader, carrying four automatic handguns, passed through the gates of a primary school in the Scottish town of Dunblane (Cusick 1996). At 9:30, Thomas Hamilton put on ear protectors used to mute gun fire, rushed into the gymnasium and chased students, shooting at them until they fell. Hamilton shot and killed 15 children, five-to-six-year-olds, in a shower of bullets. One died later in the hospital. Their teacher, Gwen Mayor, a forty-four-year-old mother of two, was killed in the attack trying to save her students. Two other teachers were also seriously injured as they attempted to shield children. With a self-inflicted gunshot, Hamilton then mortally wounded himself.

Some students knew him. One recalled Hamilton as a fellow passenger in his mother's car. The narrative described Hamilton as a loner obsessed with guns and young boys, sleazy, and alienated from society (Cusick 1996). It is claimed that he held a grudge against scouting and the community after police interrogated him regarding inappropriate behavior to boys in his care. Nevertheless, Hamilton had a permit to own handguns, including the ones with which he used to kill at the school.

The massacre, presumably the worst case of gun violence in Great Britain, had a

considerable impact on Scotland, as well as the rest of the UK and around the world. Stunned Dunblane residents and grieving family members demanded to know how a person like Hamilton could be sanctioned to own a gun. In the months preceding the shooting, an anti-gun petition signed by nearly three-quarters of a million people was submitted to the government that, in turn, established an investigation of gun laws and protection of the public.

In 1987, another lone gunman killed another 16 people in the Hungerford massacre. Britain subsequently introduced legislation –the Firearms (Amendment) Act 1988– requiring registration for shotgun ownership and and the banishment of semi-automatic and pump-action weapons. Within a year-and-a-half of the Dunblane massacre, lawmakers had passed a ban on the private ownership of all handguns in mainland Britain– perhaps the toughest anti-gun legislation in the world (Cusick 1996). Firearm amnesties throughout the country resulted in the voluntary forfeiture of thousands of firearms and rounds of ammunition.

There were about 200,000 legally registered handguns in Britain before the ban, most owned by sports shooters. Refiles used for target shooting were banned as well as .22 caliber handguns. Penalties for possession of illegal firearms range from heavy fines to a ten-year prison term. It is evident that gun reform emerged because of the two tragic mass shootings in consecutive years. The public generally supported the ban and saw no need for guns. This reveals a huge disparity between the British disconnect with guns and U.S. *gun culture*. Nevertheless, libertarians stated that the ban deprived legitimate sports shooters of their avocation, and demonized and scapegoated them. A limited ban will never solve a complicated problem. Accordingly, handgun crime will continue and probably grow.

The ban initially appeared to have little effect; the number of crimes involving guns in England and Wales rose heavily during the late 1990s to peak at 24,094 offenses in 2003/04. Since then the number has fallen in each year. In 2010/2011 there were 11,227 offenses, 53 percent below the peak number. Crimes involving handguns also declined 44 percent from 5,549 in 2002-2003 to 3,105 in 2010/11.

Despite data showing declining crime rates, the efficacy of Britain's gun laws has been called into question. The most prominent mass shooting occurred in northern England in 2010 (Cusick 1996). A lone gunman killed 12 people in a four-hour shooting spree in rural Cumbria. After a vast dragnet, the body of 52-year-old taxi driver Derrick Byrd was found alongside two powerful rifles, one equipped with a telescopic sight. Data reveal a slight but significant decline in the use of firearms since Dunblane. The murder rate has decreased and signs are heading down the right path. The decline in gun crime reflects new legislation combined with improved law enforcement techniques against gangs. Gun control is not a panacea for mass shootings. The quagmire of gun use remains and while tighter gun control alleviates risk on an incremental basis, a substantial amount of weapons persists in Britain.

CONCLUSION

There is little to suggest that Loughner was influenced by the rhetoric of conservative talk show hosts such as Russ Limbaugh or extreme right-wing conservatives and Tea Party politicians such as Sarah Palin. We do not know whether he watched those types of programs or read such types of literature. Loughner appears to be an anarchist who is deeply disturbed and mentally ill with schizophrenia. He was out of touch with reality at the time of the shooting and living in a dream-like trance through lucid dreaming. The narration of the late night video he made as he walked through the campus of his community college shows the strain in his voice and how deeply disturbed he was at that time. He proclaimed, "This is genocide in America," reflecting a persecution complex.

Loughner showed his disdain for authority through the smirk on his face when standing

in front of the judge while receiving the five charges against him and in his video where he sarcastically remarks to an instructor: "Thanks for giving me a B." He was a burning fuse in the midst of hate rhetoric toward President Obama, his administration and Congress. Loughner resided in Tucson, the same city as Giffords, the closest and most convenient target on Palin's congressional map. The target just happened to be someone that he believed insulted him in public by not sufficiently responding to his question. In his view, this caused Loughner to lose face– causing public shame and humiliation. Although right-wing rhetoric may not intend to instigate violence, it may serve to incite a psychologically disturbed individual to go over the edge.

Loughner followed procedure in purchasing the gun used in the shooting. Technically, he committed a felony by lying that he did not use illicit drugs (marijuana, in this case). Smoking marijuana, however, may not have caused him to commit mass murder. Gun laws are far too lax. They can be improved by having a significant waiting period, thorough screening using multiple psychological assessments, and limiting clips to six bullets. Federally-licensed firearms dealers should not accept the ATF Form 4473 as a sworn statement. It is insufficiently binding. Firearms dealers must be allowed to use discretion and common sense. High-capacity ammunition magazines should be banned as they are not generally used for hunting or self-defense. They are, however, more readily used for mass murder. Another restriction is banning firearm sales through Internet or postal mail sources and closing the loopholes on gun show sales and enhancing background checks. The denial of sale can always be appealed.

Without strong leadership and legal "teeth", the ATF lacks the power to live up to its mission of protecting citizens from gun violence. In fact, there is no federal agency to adequately address violent crime within a public health agenda. The mass shooting in Tucson did not provide the fulcrum to change gun policy. Members of Congress felt safe even after the shooting. The NRA counts on

collective amnesia after such tragic mass shootings– that people will soon forget. The rhetoric is repeated: gun control not the answer. The issue of gun control gets diffused. For example, in the aftermath of the Tucson shooting, claims for greater gun control were dispersed in a discussion of competing claims, including political hate rhetoric and the mental illness of the shooter.

Congress, especially the Senate, is under the influence of NRA lobbyists and will not pass any legislation that may limit Second Amendment rights. This begs the question: What will it take to reform gun control? Perhaps it will occur in the advent of a more tragic, deadlier massacre than the Tuscson one.

President Obama could issue a series of Executive Orders aimed at protecting private citizens from gun violence. However, if he does, he will be criticized as anti-Democratic and dictatorial by a Republican controlled House of Representatives, a NRA controlled Senate and a host of conservative right-wing pundits. It is important to note that even Gabriel Giffords and her husband, Mark Kelly, prior to the Tucson shooting, were gun advocates, promoting responsible gun usage. Right-wing conservatives insist that claims for gun control are nothing more than using a massacre to push a political agenda that attempts to restrict Second Amendment rights. The NRA fails to recognize that people in communities are affected by gun violence, even if they are not victims or family members of victims. In the Norway mass shooting and bombing in July 2011 that killed 77 people and wounded over 300 others, one out of every four Norwegian citizens knew a victim of the massacre (Skjeseth 2013).

Within the NRA, there is also a huge disconnect between the upper echelon leadership and rank-and-file membership (Mayors Against Illegal Guns 2012). The latter is aligned with the majority of Americans favoring background checks on all gun sales and banning high magazine assault weapons. Many lawmakers, politicians and the public have called for stricter gun control laws at the federal level, including a revisit and reinstatement of and

improvement on the 1994 Feinstein assault weapons ban that expired in 2004. By improvement, I mean a ban on the sale, transfer, importation, and possession of assault weapons defined as firearms with magazines that hold more than 10 bullets.[1] The bill should not be retroactive, but rather prospective. It would be problematic to outlaw firearms that were legally purchased. Any gun legislation should be introduced and eventually passed in both venues– Senate and the House. The disproportionately high number of mass shootings in the United States is an indication that our laws are excessive on individual freedom but short on individual responsibility and social welfare.

The tipping point or fulcrum to reform gun laws in the United States has decidedly come through the Tucson massacre. It has undoubtedly taken this atrocity to once again spark the serious gun reform debate.

END NOTE

[1] The 1994 bill defined assault weapons as guns with clips that held more than 4 bullets– putting an end to the majority of semi-automatic pistols and revolvers that are typically used with magazine capacity of four to seven bullets. This excludes a bullet that can be placed in the chamber.

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**Stories of Old-Time Oklahoma**
By David Dary
ISBN 978-0806141817

Do you know how Oklahoma came to have a panhandle? Did you know that Washington Irving once visited what is now Oklahoma? Can you name the official state rock, or list the courses in the official state meal? The answers to these questions, and others you may not have thought to ask, can be found in this engaging collection of tales by renowned journalist-historian David Dary.

Most of the stories gathered here first appeared as newspaper articles during the state centennial in 2007. For this volume Dary has revised and expanded them– and added new ones. He begins with an overview of Oklahoma's rich and varied history and geography, describing the origins of its trails, rails, and waterways and recounting the many tales of buried treasure that are part of Oklahoma lore.

But the heart of any state is its people, and Dary introduces us to Oklahomans ranging from Indian leaders Quanah Parker and Satanta, to lawmen Bass Reeves and Bill Tilghman, to twentieth-century performing artists Woody Guthrie, Will Rogers, and Gene Autry. Dary also writes about forts and stagecoaches, cattle ranching and oil, outlaws and lawmen, inventors and politicians, and the names and pronunciation of Oklahoma towns. And he salutes such intellectual and artistic heroes as distinguished teacher and writer Angie Debo and artist and educator Oscar Jacobson, one of the first to focus world attention on Indian art.

Reading this book is like listening to a knowledgeable old-timer regale his audience with historical anecdotes, "so it was said" tall tales, and musings on what it all means. Whether you're a native of the Sooner State or a newcomer, you are sure to learn much from these accounts of the people, places, history, and folklore of Oklahoma.

Award-winning writer David Dary is retired as head of what is now the Gaylord College of Journalism at the University of Oklahoma. He has published numerous articles on the Old West and the plains region and authored eighteen previous books, including *Cowboy Culture*, *True Tales of the Prairies and Plains*, and *Frontier Medicine*.
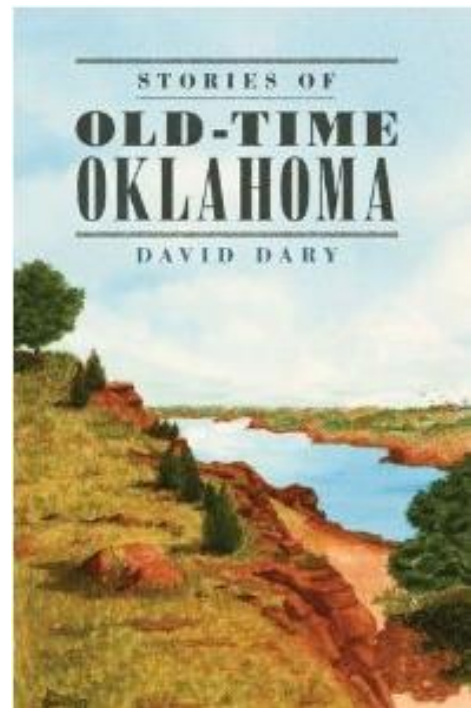
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☐ Begin each note with the superscript numeral to which it is keyed in the text. Notes can (a) explain or amplify text, or (b) cite materials of limited availability.

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A few examples follow. See recent journal issues for further examples:

Books

Bernard, Claude. [1865] 1957. *An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine.* Translated by H.C. Greene. NY: Dover.

Mason, Karen O. 1974. *Women's Labor Force Participation and Fertility.* Research Triangle Park, NC: National Institute of Health.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960. *Characteristics of Population.* Vol. 1. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Periodicals

Conger, Rand D. Forthcoming. "The Effects of Positive Feedback on Direction and Amount of Verbalization in a Social Setting." *Sociological Perspectives.*

Goodman, Leo A. 1947a. "The Analysis of Systems of Qualitative Variables When Some of the Variables Are Unobservable. Part I- A Modified Latent Structure Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 79:1179-1259.

------. 1947b. "Exploratory Latent Structure Analysis Using Both Identifiable and Unidentifiable Models.' *Biometrika* 61:215-31.

Collections

Clausen, John A. 1972. "The Life Course of Individuals." Pp. 457-514 in *Aging and Society,* vol. 3, *A Sociology of Age Stratification*, edited by M.W. Riley, M. Johnson, and A. Foner. New York: Russell Sage.

Elder, Glen H. 1975. "Age Differentiation and the Life Course." Pp. 165-90 in *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 1, edited by A. Inkeles, J. Coleman, and N. Smelser. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Dissertations

Charles, Maria. 1990. "Occupational Sex Segregation: A Log-Linear Analysis of Patterns in 25 Industrial Countries." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Machine Readable Data File

American Institute of Public Opinion. 1976. *Gallup Public Opinion Poll* #965 [MRDF]. Princeton, NJ: American Institute of Public Opinion [producer]. New Haven, CT: Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Yale University [distributor].

Foreign Language Books, Journals and Articles

Kardelj, Edvard. 1960. *Razvoj Slovenackog Nacionalnog Pitanja* (Development of the Slovenian national question). Beograd, Yugoslavia: Kultura.

BIOGRAPHY

☐ Include a short biography (five or six lines) for each author. Each biography should include the author's name, title, department, institution, and a brief description of current research interests, publications, or awards.

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Include appendices, figures, and tables only when they are critical to the reader's understanding. As an alternative, consider inserting a statement in the text stating that the information is available from the author.

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