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FOREWORD

The Goldsmiths Review of Law, Politics and Social Sciences aims to accessibly platform essays that highlight the spirit of Goldsmiths' long political tradition. Academia should always be pushing boundaries: relentlessly curious and thorough, but must never be lofty and unattainable.
With this first issue we want to celebrate students engaging with that core ideal, pushing forward knowledge and discussion in the unique, creative ways that Goldsmiths inspires.

The Goldsmiths Review team would like to thank our contributors, we have been so impressed by the perspective and standard you have brought to academic writing on such a wide range of topics and we look forwards to the future of this review.

We'd also like to thank Antony Vidler for setting up our website and general patience while we got on our feet.

All the best from Ellie, Kieran and Zac

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MILL'S ECCENTRICITY: A PROTO-CONCEPTUALISATION OF QUEERNESS?

Aleksandar Bozickovic Hall

Mill's seminal piece *On Liberty,* renowned for its advocacy for the individual and freedom, manages to find a surprising place among contemporary queer theory and preempts a host of topics now hotly debated. His discussion of the eccentric is, for me, a proto-conceptualisation of the queer individual and so through a framework influenced heavily by the ideas of Jack Halberstam and Jose Muñoz, we aim to unveil the latent potential in his work, understanding its potential radicality while acknowledging the reality of Mill's as neither a queer theorist or advocate.

Mill's upbringing was characterised by his intensive education. His father, aided by Jeremy Bentham, believed that this would help cultivate a mind with the intellectual vigour and integrity to lead utilitarianism's implementation. Alas, such a burden proved overwhelming for Mill, and he fell into depression. It's during this breaking point for Mill that we witness an ideological metamorphosis and the emergence of a potentially queer framework for *On Liberty*. It was through joy that Mill found from poetry that he recovered, and it was his recovery that prompted his investigation into happiness. He came to perceive all the pleasures he had felt thus far as not truly his own, feeling they lacked real intrinsic value. He summarises this realisation in his autobiography, "Analytic habits … fearfully undermine all desires, and all pleasures, which are the effects of association" (Mill, 1873).

It's at this realisation that he understands the importance of cultivating individual pleasure. He defined himself as something other than the product of his father's education, as greater than a simple thinking machine and capable of genuine feeling and sentiment. It's this resistance to conformity that begins to highlight his potentiality as a queer figure. Later in his life, he met Harriet Taylor, a married woman with whom he began an affair. The taboo nature of their relationship is one that challenged the sexual and social standards of the Victorian period. The relationship between Taylor and Mill signalled an affront to the temporality and hierarchy of her marriage. She was not meant to engage with men outside her marriage, but instead perpetuate its existence through the rearing of her children with similar desires for marriage. Conversely, the relationship between Mill and Taylor engages in an experiment-of-living and encapsulates his belief that human nature is required "to grow and develop… according to the tendency of the inward forces" (J.S Mill, 1859), we're to be capable of cultivating pleasure outside of the normative "customs and traditions" such as marriage, and it's within this praxis that their relationship becomes queered by their

resistance to victorian normalcy. By describing Mill's life I aim to display how Mill's work in On Liberty is very much a product of the queering effects he experienced as a result of his failure to conform. But it's also important to recognise that while the applications are radical, Mill is still a product of his times and is far from a queer theorist. He was an advocate for despotic rule in the colonised territories, and his views on liberty and individuality did not extend to the barbarous, so it's doubtful they'd be extended to the perverse.

Now we understand the direction of his philosophy, I think it's important to identify and analyse a key concept that Mill makes in *On Liberty*, and its possible application through a queer lens. Central to my interest in Mill's potential for proto-queer theory is his idea of "experiments-in-living", he states that "While mankind is imperfect there should be different opinions, so it's that there should be different experiments-of-living…and that the worth of different modes of life should be proved practically." (J.S Mill, 1859). The concept attempts to define the conditions necessary for the prognosis developed in the psychology of his depression and human sentiment at large, can be applied. He believed most pleasures were the result of two things: pleasures which are innate and physical, and pleasures we're taught to desire. He came to understand that pleasures of this nature can come to lose their value due to a lack of intrinsicness. Within the rational mind, one's analytical faculties eventually fail to recognise the pleasures as genuine, instead realising its inauthenticity due to its formation as a result of childhood association. Mill understood his desires, such as the realisation of utilitarianism not as innate to his being, but instead as the product of childhood conditioning. But as he discovered from his recovery, there's a third higher form of pleasure, one that's not purely innate and physical, nor one that we have been taught to enjoy. Instead, it's something that we find for ourselves, we grow and develop it, and allow for its fruition into a source of boundless joy that even one's own mind cannot reduce to fraudulency. Through the intentional cultivation of non-physical and non-hedonic pleasure, the mind is rendered unable to undermine the innate value of pleasure, and so persists as genuine, and in Mill's mind, as a higher sentiment (Anderson,1991). This somewhat creates an exclusionary view of pleasure relying on his personal experience of higher pleasure as non-hedonistic and non-physical. But that's not what necessarily makes them a higher pleasure. Instead, it's its detachment from associativity during childhood and alternate production from persona; cultivation in their own experiments-in-living. So we're encouraged to organise and cultivate pleasure and happiness, whether that be individually, communally or however seen fit. In doing so one can be complete in their understanding and capacity of human feeling, but also to demonstrate to others non-normative and unique ways of living. This is why they're referred to as higher, not because they're better or more pleasurable, but because of the potential they have to push as higher and further as individuals and as a society. This constant experiment allows for an influx of pleasures which better us, rather than leaving us in static modes of existence which are no longer pleasurable or applicable. Mill recognised just how his feelings for

utilitarianism were a result of association, many of society's virtues, customs and traditions were likewise the result of association bound to endlessly perpetuate themselves. By pursuing these radical experiments-of-living we allow the individual to cultivate their own pleasure and joy, sentiments unique to resist the degradation of society into monocultural totality. This advocacy is for a freedom of pleasure, for how can an individual ever be free if the things they have been taught to desire are not truly their own but instead the result of their upbringing?

It's here that we're able to understand its intersection with queerness. Both in its political and philosophical understanding but also in what it means to be a queer person in the world. The pleasures we have been taught to desire are pleasures which operate under the presumption of heteronormativity, queer people become alienated from these pleasures due to their inherent incompatibility with them. The queer conscience can rationalise these pleasures not as their own but simply as a result of gendered and heteronormative canalisation. This is why queer people should not try to emulate the heteronormative behaviours and processes. Due to our difference, we're unable to genuinely enjoy the pleasures we have been taught to desire within the framework we're raised in, as such we're forced into experiments-of-living and it's there that we're capable of alternate experiences, cultivating and sharing pleasures of a radical nature with one another. What is critical is that this is a call for a necessarily disruptive and resistive radicalisation of living. I emphasise the necessity of its disruption and resistance, as any divergence from a hegemonic entity invokes conforming reactions from the body it possesses, that body being the tyranny of the majority that Mill describes. Hegemonic power is powerless without the ideas it manifests itself as and the ability for those ideas to compel bodies to fulfil its hegemonizing actions. Mill recognised the subtlety and omnipresence of such social power, illustrating it as "penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself" (J.S Mill, 1859). This enslavement helps us understand the importance of eccentricity, to those possessed by hegemony there are few avenues for escape. But for those under the boot of that order, we experience a transformative dissonance that allows alternate modes of being. This process exists as a positive feedback loop, hegemonic attacks against the queer individual, inadvertently push them further into radicality. Perhaps that's why we see a subtler method of homogenisation in contemporary society, through methods of appeasement and assimilationism such as the permittance of same-sex marriage, which does nothing to further queer liberation but instead is an attempt by hegemonic powers to trade radical potentiality for a mimicry of heterosexual life. Mill's ideas, as demonstrated, have radical applications. His belief in experiments-in-living serves as a key testament to his work as proto-queer theory, and its continuance into contemporary thought is self-evident.

This is where I now want to parallel Mill's thought with contemporary queer theory and to empathise with how much Mill's arguments against the "customs and traditions", which he highlighted as an immense threat to individual and societal growth, are consistent with the theoretical negation of normativity which is central to queer theory as a body of thought. The intellectual concurrence demonstrates the shared reality which queer theory and Mill's both attempt to address. Mill on its own is a piece of work with latent potential, but when expounded on with queer theory, it reveals the true tensions that Mill attempts to address, the battle between queerness and normativity is pervasive, and Mill translated that through concepts of conformity, customs and traditions in opposition to the eccentric individual. We recognise this as the queer figure and as such recognise how Mill advocates their emancipation. As described, Mill's experiments-in-living provide the space for individuals to cultivate and discover their pleasure, the existence of such spaces of experimentation are necessitated by a dissonance and alienation from mainstream and hetereonormative culture and its structures.

Such disconnect and its radical potential are heavily explored by Jack Halberstam, who highlights the binary contrast between straight failure and queer success. For Halberstam, "The desire to be taken seriously is precisely what compels people to follow the tried and true paths of knowledge production" (Halberstam, 2011). The world is not made for everyone, and its structures and institutions make that abundantly clear. Halberstam recognises this divergence in temporality, that queer people are unable to attain the hetereonormative markers of success, and as such advocates for queer people to make our world, one that's relationally (to the normative) one of failure. Mill came to understand this difference through terms such as eccentricity and genius, but remarks advocating "the mere example of nonconformity, the mere refusal to bend the knee to custom" (Mill, 1859), signal a congruence in thought and a likewise recognition in the necessity for alternative living and the radicality in eccentricity and failure. As demonstrated, there's transformative potential in our marginalisation and so, within experiments of queerness, disruptive and innovative forces of change can flourish. Queerness and experiments-in-living are to be understood as interchangeable, Muñoz describes queerness as a "structuring and educated mode of desiring that allows us to see beyond the quagmire of the present" (Jose Muñoz, 2009), this reflects Mill's ideas in the sense that queerness and experiments-in-living provide a framework for progressive and transformative forms desire. The disruptive nature of queer desire that flourishes under such modes of existence works to push society towards a necessarily queer horizon. This process isn't to be understood through the capitalistic desire for attainability or linear progress, but instead as an organic process of natural evolution. Muñoz recognises how the comfort of custom and tradition stifles the change required, and rejects attempts to assimilate with heteronormative culture, instead insisting on the latent power in radical queer hope. Queerness isn't a destination to get off at and stop but instead the locomotive we use to perpetually move towards queerness. This conceptualisation acts like a hyperstition. It works as an ideality,

not in existence, but through its embodiment, we're compelled to continually invoke its possibility, by which we are transformed, capable of shedding the institutions and traditions that Mill feared would stagnate us. This passage highlights that despite the historical limitations of when he was writing, he complements the work we're seeing now with his concept of eccentricity and nonconformity aligning with both Halberstam's and Muñoz's beliefs on failure and futurity.

Mill's dissonance from the world allowed for a moment of coherence where he embodied queerness, peered into the horizon and understood its axiomatic opposition to the normative systems that had and would continually attempt to govern his life. He lacked the vocabulary to describe what we now call queer theory but his work is closely emblematic of it. His thought is preemptive of and congruent with ideas generations ahead of his time. It covers desire, individuality and conformity; it is as queer as it is disruptive and radical.

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ANTIGONE: A SERMON IN ETHICS AND THE STATE

Elizabeth March

"The overwhelming experience of tragedy is a disorientation expressed in one bewildered and frequently repeated question: what shall I do?" (Critchley, 2019, p.11) In applying this question to the very modern problem of living a personally ethical life within the state apparatus, one ancient play has much to offer.

Sophocles' Antigone is a play built around the conflict between a king (Creon) and his orphan niece (Antigone) who hold resolutely different stringent beliefs on the essence of moral duty. Whilst Creon believes ethical duty is to the state, Antigone opposes this with a duty towards the family. The broad divide between the two permeates themes of religion, loyalty, justice and power, asking the reader to consider both points of view for their flaws and righteousness.

The question of whether ethical duty should be public or private is central, as it is the consequences of a moral standoff between the diametrically opposed, yet equally stubborn, Creon and Antigone that drive the descent into madness and death with which the denouement of the play confronts us. Following a fight for the throne between Antigone's two brothers, Polyneices and Eteocles, in which both die, Polynices is deemed an enemy of the state. Creon decrees that "no one in this town may give (Polynices) burial or mourn for him. Leave him unburied, leave his corpse disgraced" (Sophocles et al, 2013, 203), Antigone's protection of his burial rite propels the two into ethical confrontation.

Interpretations of the message of Antigone differ greatly. In Phenomenology of Spirit, Hegel understands the conflict between public and private duty not as two diametrically opposed stances on ethics, where one must be wrong if the other is right, but instead as views begot of the same 'substance' (the spirit) which "fissures into a differentiated ethical essence, into a human and divine law" (Hegel, 1807, p. 256). This conception leads Hegel to view the characters' downfall as "mutual destruction" (p.256), unavoidable not because of their immorality but because of their moral parity. Here Hegel's analogy of the blossom is most apt. The family and the state act as a bud and a blossom, whereby "the bud disappears in the bursting forth of the blossom, and one might say that the former is refuted by the latter … yet at the same time their fluid nature makes them moments of an organic unity in which they only do not conflict, but in which each is as necessary as the other" (p.2). Hegel finds his tragedy then, not in immorality but in the incompatibility of two types of moral actions.

Aristotle was a great commentator on tragedy and the work of Sophocles, exploring Sophocles' earlier work of Oedipus Rex in his Poetics (Aristotle et al, 1996). Aristotle's philosophy can also be applied to provide an interesting interpretation of Antigone. In his system of virtue ethics, morality is achieved through a perfect balance of one's character - the 'golden mean' (Aristotle, 1889). As a result, both Creon and Antigone would fall short of Aristotle's requirements for ethical action. Antigone's courage would be

admirable, if her indignation were more 'righteous'. Similarly, Creon's drive for justice could be morally good if he possessed a greater 'high-mindedness'.

In more recent interpretations the subject of feminism has been greatly considered within Antigone, bringing to light a new display of ethics from the play than had been previously identified. Antigone has traditionally been considered as a purely moral actor (Hegel, 1807) or an irrational one (Lacan et al, 1992) but rarely as a political player. Bonnie Honig's lecture Antigone, Interrupted, (2010) develops the idea of Dietz (1985) that Antigone branches far further into the political sphere of the state (which had been largely reserved for Creon) than previously acknowledged. Honig utilises contextual clues from the time of Sophocles, such as Pericles' Funeral Oration, alongside the modern ideas on the means of political action for those alienated by the state, in order to defend Antigone's actions as a meaningful and powerful appropriation of the traditionally female role of mourning to challenge the immorality of government. When Antigone fights for the burial of her brother despite his actions, she "voices the egalitarian ethos" (Honig, 2010) of Humanist thought.

These three very different interpretations present clashing opinions on the lessons of Antigone on how to live an ethical life as a citizen of a state. It becomes difficult then to decide who has got it right. Does Antigone, as Hegel pertains, teach us to analyse the conflict between moral duties? Perhaps Sophocles pre-empted Aristotle's teachings of moderation, or does Antigone cry for clever rebellion? In order to reach a conclusion, the ethics of Creon and Antigone must be explored both through how we understand them now, and in the way they are presented within the play.

One could describe Creon as a champion of egalitarianism in justice, especially when he states that "a man who deals in fairness with his own, he can make manifest justice in the state." (Sophocles et al, 2013, 661) and when he states that "he who counts another greater friend than his own fatherland, I put him nowhere" (178), thus prioritising the state (i.e., the masses) over all else. However, as the play continues his actions seem to be founded less in fairness and more in stubbornness and ego, dismissing Antigone's demand that her brother should be buried, with the reasoning that "no woman rules me while I live" (525), despite Antigone's invoking of egalitarian justification when she declares that "death yearns for equal law for all the dead" (519). It seems that Creon would benefit from the Aristotelian virtue of 'high-mindedness', as is implied by the oracle Teiresias when he teaches that "all men may err, but error

once committed, he's no fool nor unsuccessful, who can change his mind and cure the trouble he has fallen in. Stubbornness and stupidity are twins" (1024).

Creon's ethical downfall then is that he cannot hold true to his ethical stance. The need for power, alongside the need for justice, consumes him. It seems that Creon himself holds a 'greater friend than his fatherland' and that friend is his pride.

Creon's flaws are extensive, and this raises the question as to whether Sophocles meant to indicate Antigone as the more ethical of the two. After all, she is the underdog and the selfless being in this conflict – an orphan versus a king, fighting for her deceased brother against a tyrannical rule created by a misogynistic uncle. However, to view Antigone as wholly ethical would be a mistake. She is our protagonist, yes, but she lives within a tragedy, where the 'hero' must be a tragic one. The qualities we so admire are destined to be her downfall.

Antigone's ethics are best represented by her rebellious burial of Polynices, which is nothing more than "thirsty dust strewn on the flesh" (Sophocles et al, 2013, 245). By sprinkling dirt over the corpse, rather than burying it properly, Antigone makes her motivations clear; they are not to protect the corpse from vultures or prevent its open decay, but simply to rectify Creon's disobedience towards the Will of the Gods. Here, Antigone's system of thought is highly comparable to that of Kant's in his defence of Deontology. She believes in duty towards a set of normative rules, rather than prioritising consequence, sharing in the belief of Immanuel Kant that a good will is good "only because of its volition … if with its greatest efforts it should yet achieve nothing … like a jewel it would shine by itself" (Kant et al, 1998, p.8).

However, a weakness in Antigone's ethics emerges during the play, leading to a breakdown in the justification of her actions. Kant's deontology is respected largely due to the thorough justification provided by his categorical imperative ("can you also will that your maxim become a universal law? If not, then it is to be repudiated" (Kant et al, 1998, p.16)). Antigone's moral laws, however, do not possess the same defence. When she first addresses Creon over her disagreement with his order, it is the Gods she uses as justification, explaining that "Nor did I think your orders were so strong that you, a mortal man, could overrun the gods' unwritten and unfailing laws" (Sophocles et al, 2013, 450). However, as the play progresses and Antigone becomes more emotional in the face of the consequences of her actions, she admits that "Were I a mother, with children or husband dead, I'd let them molder" but not for her brother, because "no brother for me, ever, could be born" (905).

Behind a façade of duty ultimately lies actions motivated by emotion and introspectiveness. Whilst Kant's categorical imperative is sure to include egalitarianism into his system of deontology, for Antigone no one else is considered (except perhaps Polynices). Ultimately therefore, the 'Will of the Gods' becomes a synonym for 'the will of Antigone', and what at first appeared an unselfish act becomes the antithesis.

Honig holds an altogether different interpretation of this speech, proposing that the change in Antigone's reasoning was not meant to display weakness in her justification but a cunning exercise in political action. Honig uses context from the time of Sophocles to defend her point, referencing Pericles' Funeral Oration after the Peloponnesian War which advises that bereaved parents who are "at an age at which they may hope to have other children" should do so, in order to "bear their sorrow better" (Thucydides et al, 1831). Honig suggests a scenario in which Antigone was recalling this reasoning to strengthen her point against Creon. Furthermore, Honig justifies Antigone's erratic behaviour within the speech as the strongest method of dissent available to her, by drawing on the theory of Rancière (2006) that those who are rejected by a state's policies must "work the intervals between them" (Honig, 2010). This is Antigone's aim as she "parodies, mimics, lampoons and cites" (Honig, 2010) the status quo in her final speech. It would be impossible, Honig proposes, for Antigone to make sense in this dialogue because she aims to move beyond what the state dictates to be sensible, thus attacking it from outside its constraints.

Perhaps the most interesting point in Honig's work, however, is the proposal of 'agonistic humanism' which ties together the egalitarian nature of humanism and the act of embracing conflict, as is represented by Antigone. It must be said here that Honig is cautious and reserved in her praise of Antigone, but nevertheless she does in instances praise her, and not for her fulfilment of a women's role in mourning or willingness to die for her cause as Hegel would, but instead for her rebellious spirit and aptitude.

Modern takes such as Honig's differ greatly from those within classical and early 19th century philosophy. The change in outlook between times can be largely attributed to the work of Nietzsche. His famous statement within the Parable of the Madman that "God is dead … and we have killed Him" (Nietzsche et al 1974) points to the need within the modern age for a new guide in ethical decision making after the absolute values epitomised by God lost respect and relevancy. For Nietzsche, this guide was to be found within us, as displayed in his novel Thus Spoke Zarathustra (1974) where God is replaced by the 'Übermensch' or 'Superman' – a person whose ethics are solely grounded in the human ideal. Since its conception, the idea of moral justification being found from within has infatuated itself with moral philosophy to an extent where even in our day to day lives, we find champions of its reasoning.

Take for instance modern literacy on the topic of rebellion against the state. Orwell's 1984 (1949) and Huxley's Brave New World (1932) are two such works. Initially, many comparisons can be made between these stories and that of Antigone. In all three, an individual finds fault within the state and sets out to explore and rectify it. However, the differences are far greater than the similarities. In 1984 and Brave New World the protagonist is the sole ethical actor, and the mere fact that they should find the system they live in to be unethical proves justification enough to dismantle it. We as readers are left no room for doubt that

it is their intuition against the state that should be admired, not the state's retaliation. Conversely, in Antigone, the access to Creon's reasoning allows for an ethical debate by presenting to us both sides of the argument. In this way, Sophocles at times champions the state's position. Creon is not always wrong, in fact the Chorus supports Creon in his decision to treat Antigone the same as any other citizen, granting him that "what you say is sensible and right" (Sophocles et al,2013, 682).

In Antigone, God is not dead. Sophocles' Gods however are not an embodiment of absolute morals such as the one Nietzsche claims we destroyed, instead they are representative of the "natural forces of the universe" (Woodard, 2022). Whilst not necessarily being moral guides, the Gods are of great importance within the play, wielding great power as is recognised in the chorus with the statement that "those whose house is shaken by the Gods escape no kind of doom" (Sophocles et al, 2013, 585). By presenting them as the hand of Fate and the deliverers of consequence, Sophocles links understanding of the divine to an ability to reason. Both characters lack this ability somewhat, seemingly assuming that they can overcome the power of the Gods and succeed in their efforts unhindered.

When Creon threatens capital punishment, Antigone initially claims not to care if she dies, declaring "I chose death" (",555). However, when the time comes, she laments her execution and appears to feel betrayed by the gods, asking "What divine justice have I disobeyed? Why, in my misery, look to the Gods for help? Can I call any of them my ally?" (",921), thus suggesting that she expected the Gods to be her allies, and so did not believe this consequence would arise. Creon too underestimates the Gods by refusing to heed the warnings of the prophet Teiresias that "the gods accept no offering from us" because of his decision to "keep up here that which belongs below, a corpse unburied and unholy" (",1015, 1069).

It seems, therefore, that for Sophocles, life is karmic; if one does not consider their actions properly, and so chooses the wrong path, they will suffer greatly through the consequences of their misdeeds. This inevitability is echoed by the Chorus, who tell Creon in his despair that he has "learned justice, though it comes too late" (",1270).

The specific justice that Creon and Antigone each face also delivers a strong lesson in respect, but here it is respect for both state and family that Sophocles urges. Both characters received justice from the body they respected less; Antigone's punishment is delivered by the state as she is sentenced to death, and Creon's is administered by his family, through the suicides of his son and wife, "the kin he killed" (",1264). Antigone is able to overcome the State's punishment to some degree, when she dies "hanging by the neck, caught in a noose of her own linen veiling" (",1120). However, it is her continued disrespect for the state that means Antigone cannot escape her death. If she had not held such disdain for the state that she would

kill herself rather than be killed by it, neither her lover Haemon's rescue, nor Creon's pardon would have come too late to save her life.

In depicting the conflict between the duty to one's state, and the duty to one's family, Sophocles is uninterested in advocating for one way of living an ethical life. Instead, his aim is to warn of the catastrophe of extremes, the easy misconstruction of moral laws, and the importance of respecting both our fellow man, and the world in which we live. As Hegel (1807) recognises, it is not the concepts of family or state which are unethical. Instead, it is the human condition we must consider; how easily inclined we are to the vices of selfishness, strongmindedness, prejudice and pride which, if embraced, will ultimately destroy all hopes of living an ethical life.

Furthermore, a lesson does not have to be intended to be given. Honig is right to recognise the lessons Antigone grants us on the experience of women and minorities; both how challenging it can be for one to lead an ethical life in a society pitted against them and their ideals, and that the very difference that is used to subjugate them can prove to be the most effective of weapons.

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REDUCING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE; MAKING KEIR STARMERS 50% PLEDGE POSSIBLE

Ellie-Marie Lancaster

Within this short essay, I will discuss the limitations of the UK's current legislation (as of December 2024) in addressing violence against women and girls from marginalised communities.

In March 2023, Keir Starmer pledged to halve violence against women and girls, mainly through police reform and increased provisions to support victims of abuse. In the same breath, he also publicised his intention to prevent off-road biking in rural areas, which is infuriatingly dismissive of real victims as it equates dangerous systemic issues to minor nuisances (Seddon, 2023). This is unsurprising, there is no shortage of rhetoric about addressing domestic violence (DV), but the follow-through frequently falls short. The current legislation which addresses DV is the Domestic Abuse Act (2021) which is a step in the right direction, but it is not without it's drawbacks. A common issue with legislation is that it can be based on outdated assumptions about society, so it doesn't always reflect the general population's views. Figures such as Jess Phillips are doing important work in addressing and tackling the issue of violence against women and girls, but the figures remain high regardless. Within this essay, I will address some of the areas left untouched by the DAA, and the effect this will have on the overall prevention (or lack thereof) of DV. Namely, I will mention the age requirement for an act to be classed as domestic violence, the ignorance to protecting migrant women, and the lack of attention to the structural issue of misogyny which contributes to domestic violence rates significantly.

The DAA expands the definition of DV to include more than just physical abuse and recognises that children can be victims of DV too (Criminal Injuries Helpline, 2023), but it does not address the possibility that children can be in abusive relationships themselves. The act states that

behaviour can only be considered domestic abuse if both parties are aged 16 or over, which is problematic. Abusive behaviour towards those under sixteen is considered child abuse as opposed to DV, but child-on-child abuse can include acts such as cyberbullying (Devon County Council 2024). While cyberbullying is an issue in its own right, it is objectively quite different to domestic abuse, and it is not beneficial to hold two vastly different issues under the same umbrella. The legal age for domestic abuse came under fire following the murder of Holly Newton, a 15-year-old who undeniably suffered from domestic abuse (PA News Agency 2024). The law indicates an assumption that those under 16 cannot possibly suffer abuse at the hands of a partner, but this is naive and based on the idea that young people cannot be abusive. The reduction of the age limit from 18 to 16 was made in 2012 to recognise that young people can experience abuse in relationships, but the reality is that one in three thirteen-year-olds have had a romantic relationship (ACT for Youth). While the majority of these will be naive and free from abuse, there will inevitably be relationships which are abusive regardless of age, particularly from children who have witnessed domestic abuse between their parents. The system owes a duty to the public to ensure protection, but refusing to classify those under sixteen as victims of domestic violence both invalidates the experiences of young people and means that many young victims will not be able to access protection in the same way that other DV survivors can. In order to remedy this, the act must be reformed to account for the younger victims of domestic violence. it would also be beneficial to raise awareness about the possibility of young people displaying abusive behaviour and preventing it when it occurs.

Another issue with the Domestic Abuse Act is that there is no provision for migrant women, a group which experiences DV at a disproportionate rate to other women. Many DV victims who lack legal documentation will refuse to report their abuser out of fear of deportation, which means the abuse only continues (King's College London, 2019). As such, there is a whole group of women who cannot gain justice due to the current legal rules, this is something that no amount of police reform will fix, legal reform is required. The fear that their immigration status may be disclosed to the Home Office acts as a barrier to support for migrant women, but safety is not a

luxury, it is a human right which should be provided regardless of immigration status (Right To Remain, n.d.). Furthermore, women who are dependent on their spouse for their visa (spouse or partner visa) are extremely unlikely to report their abuser, as this would likely mean that they must return to their home country, which is not an option for many. The marginalised position of migrant women also exacerbates the difficulty in obtaining justice for abuse (UN Women), there is a higher chance of isolation and many are aware of the stigmatisation of immigration (McIlwaine & Evans, 2022). In order to remedy this gap in the law, there must be a specific provision aimed at supporting and protecting migrant women specifically. While the domestic abuse act 2021 does not outwardly discriminate against migrant women, it also does not consider their reality and therefore does not adequately protect women as a whole.

While the provision of specialist domestic abuse workers in police control rooms (as promised by Starmer) will likely help to support victims, this doesn't stop abuse from occurring to begin with. Statistics show that on average, it takes women 7 attempts to leave their abusers for good, and that only includes the women who report their abusers, so it would be beneficial to focus resources on preventing DV before it starts (Refuge 2024). Abusive behaviour within romantic relationships can be difficult to detect, particularly for younger people or those who have grown up witnessing abuse. As such, nationwide education about the warning signs of domestic violence and avenues for help will act as an important preventative measure. A cultural shift is necessary in order to protect women from gender based violence truly (Tower Hamlets, n.d.). The current Western culture allows figures such as Andrew Tate to proudly publicise his misogynistic views and face little to no repercussions for his perpetration of violence against women (Das, 2022). Furthermore, it speaks volumes that the current president of the United States as of 2024 is a confirmed sex abuser and rampant misogynist (Neumeister, Peltz and Sisak, 2023), the safety of women globally is disregarded as a non-issue. This is not to say that legislation on domestic violence is fruitless in reducing violence against women, but that policy alone is not sufficient.

To conclude, the Domestic Abuse Act is a helpful and necessary piece of legislation, but it is not

a fix-all for domestic violence. Similarly, Keir Starmer's pledge to halve violence against women and girls is a welcomed endeavour, but more is necessary to truly meet this goal. Women's rights are neglected frequently, and with the rise of incel culture, it is unlikely that DV rates will decline significantly without sufficient action in the changing of cultural attitudes. Also, it can be deduced that the current legislation does not adequately protect women due to the exclusion of under 16s and migrant women, both of which can be remedied. Both the conservative and labour parties have previously committed to ending violence against women and girls, but neither have genuinely made a substantial impact thus far (The Femicide Census, 2024). In order for the pledge to be impactful, there must be a better understanding of the realistic experiences of thousands of women and girls throughout the UK, and a stronger commitment to the protection of women.

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EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TERROR AND SPECTACLE

Kieran Green

"I want my enemies to see a rainbow of destruction engulfing the world. I'm not above using spectacle to create a little terror!" as emphatically declared by Volumnia Gaul, the powerful villain in the movie "The Hunger Games: The Ballad of Songbirds & Snakes", is a phrase that encapsulates the essence of modern terrorism (The Hunger Games: The Ballad of Songbirds & Snakes, 2023). In this paper, I present the argument that terror and spectacle are linked through the complex interplay of media, which serves to commodify trauma and traumatic events, disastrous psychological consequences, and the transformation of political landscapes, both nationally and internationally.

To evaluate the relationship between terror and spectacle I will assess the psychological impacts of spectacularized terror, the use of media by both terrorist groups and responding governments, and the global political implications of spectacularized terror. Each of these themes will be addressed in sections focused on the various forms of terror: aviation terror, cyber terror, and cults.

I have elected to explore the intricate interplay between terror and spectacle through the lens of three distinct categories of terrorism. This choice stems from the conviction that these categories—aviation representing international terror, cults encapsulating domestic terror, and cyber spanning both realms—offer a comprehensive framework. By delving into the psychological, media, and global political dimensions, each terrorism category operates within its unique sphere of influence. This approach aims to discern and elucidate the nuanced dynamics at play, recognising that these diverse manifestations of terrorism shape and are shaped by the complex interplay of human psychology, media narratives, and global political landscapes.

To proficiently evaluate these key elements of terrorism and spectacles it is important to consider that the definition of the term "terror" itself is contested by various groups due to vested interests in the use of this term. Hence, in this essay I will discuss the etymology of "terror," throughout time and across the globe.

The political story of Terror begins in 1793 in France during a period of breakdown in the social order, through the use of organised intimidation by political clubs to enforce their favoured policies (Maccabe, 2018). Here, significantly, "terror" is a term used by the terrorists themselves, enshrined in their laws to empower their own movement. Additionally, "terror" here is associated with a European political ruling class causing radical disruption domestically.

The second period of Terror, which transformed the uses of the word terror and perceptions surrounding it, can be dated from September 11th, 2001. In the aftermath of suicide attacks on the US, President George Bush declared a "War on Terror (Maccabe, 2018)." Here, "terror" is a term used against radical foreign disruptors by European and Western powers. Notably, the phrase "War on Terror" applies a serious declaration to a mere noun (Crichton, 2007). This creates an abstraction of the Western worlds' perceived enemies, in turn creating a broad sphere for the research into the presence of terror itself in the political sphere. Already, the transformation in defining "terror" implicates a similar transformation in the values of society overall, regarding foreign agents, class, and who controls the political narrative.

For example, politicians often use the term "terror" to create an enemy in the psyche of their followers or constituents, to advance their own political goals. This is exemplified through the selective nature of what is referred to as terrorism and what is not. To illustrate, during his presidency, Donald Trump advocated for a "Muslim ban" to prevent "people blowing up (American) shopping centres" (an imagined act of terror) (Watson, 2023). Simultaneously, Trump responded to the 2017 Charlottesville white supremacist car-attack (a real act of terror) in a vague manner- "We condemn in the strongest possible terms this egregious display of hatred, bigotry and violence, on many sides." (Merica, 2017) This denigration of terror onto Muslims and away from proven supremacists shows the subjective interpretations of the meaning of "terror", demonstrated via its adaptation onto rhetoric surrounding immigration and nationalism.

Whilst often associated with art and religion, spectacles are also influential in politics, specifically radical politics. In The Society of The Spectacle, the French Marxist theorist Guy Debord describes spectacles as being the "acme of ideology, for in its full flower it exposes and manifests the essence of all ideological systems: the impoverishment, enslavement and negation of real life (Debord, 1992)." Hence, when applied to the political realm, it can be inferred that spectacles serve the purpose of inflating or accelerating (to bring greater "exposure" to) a movement. Consequently, spectacles are conceived through the desperation of political movements, perceived as necessary and reasonable responses to the accumulations of "negation" (of life and lifestyles) by their propagators. Contrastingly, spectacle-creation

can also be observed in the responses to terrorism, by media outlets or governments, to control political narratives and cultural status quos following terroristic events, as demonstrated through the sections of this essay. Henceforth, this essay aims to delve into several examples of political spectacles to fully evaluate their role in both acts of terrorism and the responses to terrorism. Now that the terms "terror" and "spectacle" have been defined in their various forms I will analyse the relationship between them in the subsequent sections of this essay.

Like most newer forms of terrorism, Aviation Terror has been made possible by technology. In one aspect, technology has transformed the physical nature of aviation terror, transporting the realm of terror to the skies through the use of aeroplanes. In a second aspect, technology has transformed the psychological nature of aviation terror, through the use of new media in broadcasting acts of aviation terror to the world. This latter aspect is outlined by the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk in the book Terror from the Air: "We are condemned to being-in, even if the containers and atmospheres in which we are forced to surround ourselves can no longer be taken for granted as being good in nature (Sloterdijk, 2007)."

The phrase "being-in" can be inferred to be referring to the psychological restrictiveness experienced by those impacted by Terror. This is uniquely exacerbated in aviation terror as, alongside the hijacking of technology and transportation (aeroplanes), the terrorists have hijacked the air around their victims. Unlike acts of terrorism from the ground, aviation terror creates a hostile environment that is virtually impossible to escape from without putting oneself in further calamity, and therefore has the effect of reducing the autonomy of the victim completely.

When broadcasted to the world, as incidents such as the September 11th attacks (9/11) have been, this atmosphere of complete hostility expands globally, or at least to the acclaimed secondary victims: the Western world. Herein, the role of "the spectacle" becomes paramount in not only how the terrorist broadcasts their act of aviation terror, and its intended ideological impact, but also "the spectacle" becomes essential to the response of the 'victimised' Western powers.

Hence, the hostile takeover of an airborne vehicle has implications for both the physical and psychological wellbeing of its victims. Furthermore, aviation terror also serves the purpose of targeting not only people but industries, namely the fossil fuel industry- an attack on aeroplanes is also an attack on "global consumer society, automobile tourism, (and the) world market for meat and fashion (Sloterdijk, 2007)." This implicates an anti-capitalist ideological angle to aviation terror that creates a lasting impact. The response this evokes is one that relies on media to combat the virtually overwhelming image promoted by an accordingly distinct anti-capitalist air attack. Western media has been shown to capitalise

on creating spectacles from incidents of aviation terror. For example, Hollywood, following 9/11, created visual content that simplified traumatic global political events to simple black and white terms, characterising the Western viewer as the "unbroken" spirit and the foreigner as the terroristic "other" (Riegler, 2014).

Hollywood underwent a transformation post-9/11, releasing media that reflected a shift in the worlds' geopolitical landscape, to meet the transformed collective values of their audience. This transformation served to commodify the spectacles created by terrorism. In this, the West became desensitised to a growing culture of violence, and terrorist groups were reduced to caricatures or cartoons in the West's mediated narrative. This would serve to trivialise the serious social and political issues that incentivised the creation of terrorist organisations, commodifying rather than breaking a global culture of division and violence. This reflects a broader societal challenge faced today, wherein there is a prioritization of consuming harsh yet easily comprehensible spectacles over addressing the intricate political causes behind them. The consequence is widespread desensitization facilitated by media exposure.

Moreover, the reaction of Western media, such as Hollywood studios, underscores the incentivised necessity to counteract the aforementioned psychological impact inflicted by terrorists. Specifically In relation to aviation terror, this psychological warfare takes the shape of serious collective anxieties, which can, in turn, shift passenger behaviour for the worst. These behavioural changes, in a domino effect, have substantial implications for the financial performance and security of airlines companies. To mitigate these adverse effects, adjustments in airline security measures are instigated. A tangible example of this dynamic is evident in the $10 billion aid package granted to the aviation industry in the wake of 9/11 (Makinen, 2002). This illustration highlights the intricate link between the creation of spectacles by the media, the complex psychological consequences, and the economic implications thereafter. It depicts a complex domino effect stemming from aviation terrorism.

In conclusion, aviation terror, through technology, profoundly alters both the physical and psychological dimensions of terrorism. Additionally, the commodification of this trauma by Western media underscores a shared focus on creating spectacles by both terrorists and their responders. The targeting of industries through aviation terror is uniquely anti-capitalist, having significant implications for the global political landscape.

The internet, much like the Library of Alexandria, is a nexus for trading and consuming knowledge. Despite their shared importance, neither have proven invulnerable to attack (McNeely, 2008). Cyber Terror is characterised by the threats it faces from Cyber Terrorists pursuing the creation of spectacles.

Both platforms of knowledge share a dramatic similarity, their susceptibility to being consumed by spectacles.

To provide an honest and unbiased analysis of the relationship between terror and spectacle, it is essential to note within this section that whilst terror and the "war" upon it can be perceived as two sides of an ongoing battle, technology has always, and continues to be, a neutral, albeit devastating when utilised, tool of both sides. As demonstrated in Beyond the Spectacle of Terrorism by American Canadian cultural critic Henry Giroux, "a visual culture of shock and awe has emerged, made ubiquitous by the Internet and 24-hour cable news shows devoted to representations of the horrific violence associated with terrorism, ranging from aestheticized images of nighttime bombing raids on Iraqi cities to the countervailing imagery of grotesque killings of hostages by Iraqi fundamentalists (Giroux, 2016)." What Giroux also demonstrates here is that Cyber Terror has elevated terrorism and the War on Terror from being one of two sides; the rise of the Internet has empowered every individual to see, produce and form their own opinions on terrorism. From this acknowledgement, this essay section delves into the complexity of cyber terror, a weapon of terrorists and their enemies alike, in the modern epoch.

In creating a liminal non-physical battlefield, cyber terrorists have the ability to create spectacles that are limitless, combining technology and underlying fears regarding physical terrorism to present terrors that would be, otherwise, unimaginable. Herein, spectacles play an immense role in acts of Cyber Terror. For example, in Central Africa in 2018, a deepfake of Gabon's long-unseen president Ali Bongo, who was believed to be in poor health or dead, was cited as the trigger for an unsuccessful coup by the Gabonese military (Westerlund, 2019). This demonstrates how cyber terrorists inflate a false reality, such as one created by the underlying anxieties of a nation, to influence actual reality- having serious impacts on international geopolitics and the global economy, such as inspiring physical violence.

Cyber terrorism, operating in the virtual realm, reflects tangible global challenges related to technology access disparities among countries and socioeconomic classes. An illustrative example is the concentration of connected devices in the US and European countries (Matherly, 2014). This distinctiveness in cyber terrorism lies in its association with a particular demographic – notably, those in First World nations with substantial access to cyber resources. Consequently, cyber terrorism promotes terror and spectacles aligned not with the revolutionary ideals of underprivileged Third World individuals but rather with the interests of a newly privileged class.

Because of its influences from a privileged class, combined with the capacity for Internet-users to evade accountability through anonymity, Cyber Terror enables individualism. Whilst other forms of terrorism are associated with the goals of collectives, such as the Aviation Terror 9/11 attacks being associated with the extremist group al-Qaeda, acts of Cyber Terror often appear to be motivated by the ambitions of individual actors.

In conclusion, spectacles play a pivotal and practically limitless role in moulding the psychology of the targets of cyber terrorists and promoting the ideologies foundered within cyber terror circles. These spectacles have proven to have serious ramifications across the globe in the physical political world. It can even be argued that cyber terror is the inception of a new and dangerous form of media.

In the words of the British poet Oscar Wilde, "For everything to be true, it must become religion (Wilde, 2000)." This statement highlights the fundamental connection between the religious beliefs inherent in cults and spectacles. In both religion and terror, the emphasis is not solely on physical commitment but, crucially, on emotional investment, for their reality to take place.

Due to their pseudo-religious implications, it is imperative not to address the role of cults in the creation of spectacularized terror. Within cultism, terror takes a distinctive form that is characterised by the attribution of divine qualities to human individuals, thus giving rise to what can be described as embodied spectacles (Campbell, 1978). To illustrate, Jim Jones, the founder of the personality cult Peoples Temple, asserted himself as the reincarnation of various revered figures; Jesus, Akhenaten, the Buddha and Father Divine (Galanter, 1999). Jones used this image to manipulate his fanatical followers to the extent of orchestrating a mass murder-suicide (Reiterman, 1982). Consequently, cult leaders leverage such charismatic self-images, reminiscent of religious deities, not only to instil fear in adversaries but also to evoke unwavering devotion from their followers, thereby creating a spectacle within the realm of religion itself.

Another recurring motif in Cult Terror involves the intentional use of spectacles by cult leaders, a tactic strategy not only to instil fear in adversaries but also to prolong allegiance from their followers. This tactic is particularly evident in doomsday cults, perpetually predicting an impending apocalypse. As aptly noted by Debord, they consistently project the End Times into the future, maintaining a perpetual state of imminent catastrophe for thousands of years (Debord, 1992). This illustrates the deployment of spectacles, even those existing solely within the psyche of the cults' targets, to cultivate an atmosphere of terror. This environment is characterized by liminality, as it eludes concrete disproof, thus mirroring a potential reality. Therein, the "imagined Spectacle" prevails as a core tool employed by cult terrorist groups to propagate fear, not unlike the aforementioned inflation of reality observed in Cyber Terror.

Since the decline of hidden cults into the 21st century, popular media has fetishised what was once a genuine global fear, exemplified in productions such as Waco, Wild Wild Country, and Q: Into the Storm, that feature sympathetic and sensationalised cult leaders, to "eye-catch" and "attention-grab" (Hill, 2001). This media fascination reflects a transformation of social anxieties surrounding cults, especially as they stand out in the world of terrorism as categorically domestic acts of terror, amid a global focus on international terrorism. The domesticity of cult terror significantly impacts those within the cults' nation, as the perceived threat emanates from within. Cults can instil the idea that a cult member might be one's neighbour or that a cult could be infiltrating a community from within. In this context, the media can be argued to have subverted these societal fears about domestic terrorism by reshaping them into spectacles.

In conclusion, the manipulative interpersonal dynamics within domestic terrorism, as seen in cults, give rise to spectacles within the psyche of their targets. Popular media then transforms these internal spectacles to elicit reactions, perpetuating a cycle of sensationalized terror through psychological coercion from both domestic terrorists and the media that profits from their actions.

As found in this essay, terror is a vested term with a multifaceted history. Additionally, because of the digital age and globalisation, both people and objects are subject to becoming spectacles or potential spectacles. Consequently, there is a vast space for the exploration of the relationship between terrors and spectacles that has been used throughout this essay.

This relationship becomes particularly apparent in the study of aviation terror, where this essay finds that spectacles have been used to mould the physical and psychological facets of terrorism by air. Furthermore, the dissemination of information through the media, in the wake of acts of aviation terrorism, serves to commodify the collective trauma experienced by assumed targets of aviation terror attacks into spectacle forms. This media-driven simplification of political events through spectacle-creation serves to trivialise the motivating factors behind aviation terror attacks and desensitise its victims. The effects of these spectacle creations in aviation terrorism extends beyond psychological impacts and media influence, encompassing significant economic and political consequences. This is evident in the financial losses of both airlines and governments, and the promotion of anti-capitalist ideologies through and after aviation terror spectacles such as 9/11.

In account of cyber terror, spectacles have played the role of becoming weapons in influencing global political events, in a way that is more restricted in other forms of terrorism. This is achieved through the inflation of psychological vulnerabilities through a new battleground for the War on Terror: the Internet.

Herein, a new media is created, one that is characterised by the informality and the subversiveness of individuals ideals, in contrast to the formal traditional coverage of established mainstream media platforms. This, in of itself, becomes a new form of spectacle: the exaggeration of images and events, moulded primarily by cyber terrorists.

The third and final form of terrorism and spectacle use examined in this essay is a domestic form of terrorism: cults. The conceiving of spectacles through human canvases, such as terrorist group leaders, has proven most significant in cults. Similar to cyber terror, however, cults also use imagined spectacles, such as doomsday predictions, to prey on the exposed psychology of its victims. This technique is exacerbated by harmful spectacle-prioritising media coverage of cults, akin to such coverage experiences also in the wake of aviation terror. Whilst the political implications of spectacles created by cults are domestically limited, their impact has proven to be no less profound.

Overall, through the analysis of the relationship between spectacles and diverse forms of terrorism- aviation, cyber, and cults- it can be argued that the spectacles have been used both from and in response to terrorist groups. This manifests in the form of disastrous psychological consequences, the commodification of trauma and traumatic events by the media, and the transformation of political landscapes, both nationally and internationally.

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Going with(out) your gut: AI incompatibility with Human Rights logic

Zac Mukherjee

In this short article I would like to discuss the incompatibility of AI and a genuine grasp of Human Rights. Arguing that the way AI processes information lacks the ability to match the internal qualia of understanding a right, meaning it must not be relied upon due to its fundamental difference from human thought. I will urge extreme caution against a neo-liberal style drive for efficiency without adequate consideration of the impacts. To do so I will lay out some context involving AI usage in government, follow with discussion of Ben Luongo's emotional ontology of Human Rights and discuss Searle's Chinese room argument to bring AI's emotional limitation into this context**.**

Tony Blair and the Dowden hit squad

"AI could save the government £200 billion over five years" (Tony Blair Institute, 2024).

This quote forms the headline of a recent Tony Blair institute (TBI) press release, a paper arguing that to deal with the new government's dire financial situation 1 million civil servants could be cut and replaced with AI to save 40 billion pounds a year. At a conference in July 2024 Blair set out the vision, with the backing of high-profile MP's (e.g., Wes Streeting) and tech giants (such as Larry Ellison). He described a fast, efficient and cheap civil service supporting a modern UK with status as a tech powerhouse.

This represents a trend: Oliver Dowden in the last government aimed for a "Hit squad" to cull unnecessary civil service jobs, new tech secretary Peter Kyle wants to "rewire Whitehall" with AI (POLITICO, 2023). There is no doubt that AI will be able to reduce workloads and costs in a way that is useful, yet there are immediate concerns.

One proposed use for AI by the TBI is the processing of general benefit claims, with the Department of Work and Pensions already using AI to check for benefit fraud (Booth, 2024). A benefit claim is obviously economic and is therefore intertwined with a person's socio-economic rights when depended on. Widening the scope, we are seeing AI used in policing, predictive strategies and facial recognition technology, representing concerning trends in life threatening situations.

AI is being granted power over areas which impact Human Rights. I hope to establish why this cannot be allowed, that a fundamental difference in comprehension means AI cannot grasp the weight of a decision that denies a right. Arguing AI misses an internal and fundamentally human experience of emotion that must be prioritised.

Human rights as emotional

For this point I will lean on the work of Ben Luongo and his argument of "human rights, emotion and critical realism" (Luongo, 2019).

The paper discusses that the common understandings for the grounding of Human Rights fall to historical rationalist or empiricist arguments. He discusses the flaws found within these when attempting to generate a Human Rights concept that is 'real', both strands failing to provide a satisfactory grounding for rights due to a dependence on a logical fallacy. (The rationalists can't justify an external existence solely through an internal thought, the empiricists can't use observation alone to justify existence of principle without depending on hidden propositions that they omit).

Luongo provides an alternative conception, arguing Human Rights broadly as a concept developed as a natural process stemming from the weight of emotional connections in human society. He provides an emotional ontology, applying emotional weight to the "critical realist" methods of Roy Bhaskar.

Bhaskar provides a framework of society to study social phenomena, discussing how 'real' outcomes develop from social practice. To do this society is broken into three "domains": The Empirical, The Actual and The Real. The Empirical existing within the actual which in turn exists within the real.

The Empirical surrounds our personal experience and interactions, sat within the actual. The Actual consists of wider societal processes and interactions that we have the potential to encounter, sat within The Real. The Real is the unobservable developments being informed by yet constituting The Empirical and Actual, the developing culture and social world.

Outcomes are generated in The Real, intangible concepts (e.g., political concepts like sovereignty or social concepts like trends) find space to exist and feed back around.

Luongo applies this to what he calls his "emotional track". He argues that grounded in emotion human societies consistently generate, in some form, some degree of the idea of Human Rights. We create ways we are to be treated and things to be afforded, even if sometimes suppressed or not followed. Our emotions govern our interactions, this emotion informs our sense of obligation, society naturally creates this into some set of principles, the principle can be said to truly exist through this generative mechanism.

I do not believe it is insignificant that this has been argued through providing emotional groundings. Human Rights involve internal emotional weighting, an importance that we do not need to put words to to

understand. The feeling of liberty deprived is more intrinsic and raw than the sentence that could describe it. Human Rights (or something similar) are a natural consequence of how we feel, following us through history by virtue of the fact we cannot as emotional beings in society avoid them. To lack internal experience is to lack a comprehensive grasp of Human Rights.

I therefore believe that AI cannot be depended on in a Human Rights context and must be cautiously applied. I will now lay out the "Chinese room argument" from Searle to establish this point.

The Chinese room

John Searle describes a scenario of a room, containing a human fed piece of information from the outside. The information is written in Chinese, the human has access to perfect instructions of how to reply (yet does not actually speak any Chinese). Slips of Chinese are fed into the human's room where they are able to perfectly reply, without however comprehending a single word of what was said (Searle, 1980).

This thought experiment is analogous to the way AI models use information. AI frequently learns via neural network, a self-driving process allowing models to develop over time. Information is fed to AI with the aim of it achieving an outcome, the outcome the AI gives is tested against the truth, the AI slowly over time tweaks itself in the correct direction by the changing of parameters, the AI slowly develops to achieve the task more successfully.

The AI through huge amounts of data generates its guide to Chinese, it is not understanding but is following the path it created over time to the right outcome. The same logic applies to AI in a Human Rights context, AI would reply that it understands and upholds the highest Human Rights protection yet cannot access the grounding that makes them so important.

When this collides with systematically biased data sets, creating racist, sexist and classist results frequently, the problem becomes severe. We cannot allow Human Rights decisions to be guided by something that processes in a completely different way that humans do, using nothing but raw and possibly problematic data to navigate concepts dependent on emotion that AI does not have. We must not put Human Rights in the hands of something using non-human reasoning.

Conclusion

Humans can tell right from wrong with a feeling, the gravity of Human Rights filling a space in the gut that doesn't always need words to be explained. The framework set out by Luongo gives a compelling

argument that Human Rights logic is rooted in this feeling, that Human Rights in some iteration are a natural societal process. Searles argument shows us that AI cannot 'think' in the way that we do, demonstrating AI as more of a process than as actual thought and feeling.

My argument is that therefore AI cannot be depended on to make Human Rights decisions, as it cannot comprehend the logic to do so. AI working off of a data set, biased data sets at that, will not grasp the internal magnitude of how it feels to be denied a right and cannot therefore act truly accordingly. We must therefore not hurry into this tech boom, aiming for efficiency and 'progress' without a true understanding of what this means.

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PLAGIARISM AND KNOWLEDGE: AN OVERLAPPING PHENOMENON?

Tomanna Chukwueke

Plagiarism is an ethical and academic quandary. It transcends the mere unauthorized use of another's work. It embodies a complex interplay of philosophical underpinnings, societal values, and institutional responses. At its core, plagiarism involves the appropriation of ideas, language, or creative endeavours without due acknowledgment. This essay delves into the intricate relationship between plagiarism and knowledge formation, aiming to unravel the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon.

The significance of examining plagiarism extends beyond the boundaries of academia. It raises fundamental questions about the nature of creativity, individual agency, and the construction of knowledge in society. Plagiarism challenges our understanding of authorship, originality, and the ethical boundaries that govern the exchange of ideas. Its implications are profound, permeating through various facets of human interaction, from academia to the broader spectrum of professional and creative endeavours.

As we embark on this exploration, several key questions emerge. How do different cultural, institutional, and disciplinary contexts shape the definitions of plagiarism, and who holds the power to define it? What nuances exist in the tolerance of plagiarism within academic institutions, and how does this tolerance reflect broader shifts in educational values? The essay will critically examine the complexities of referencing and citation practices, investigating their role in shaping scholarly discourse and addressing issues of originality.

Furthermore, we delve into the moral dimensions surrounding plagiarism, exploring societal attitudes towards those accused of such transgressions. How does the perception of guilt influence the treatment of individuals facing plagiarism allegations, and how are these judgments intertwined

with broader moral considerations? The exploration extends to the career implications of plagiarism, questioning why this act is often considered a "fatal" offense in professional realms.

This essay does not merely seek to condemn plagiarism but to question the very foundations upon which our concepts of knowledge and originality are built. By delving into these questions, we aim to unravel the intricacies of plagiarism, understanding it not only as a transgression but as a reflection of the evolving dynamics of knowledge formation and societal values.

Plagiarism, a concept seemingly straightforward, unravels into a tapestry of varied definitions and intricate power dynamics when subjected to academic scrutiny. The act itself involves the unauthorized use of another's work, encompassing ideas, language, or creative outputs, without proper attribution. However, the definition of plagiarism is far from universal, revealing the inherent power dynamics within academic, cultural, and institutional spheres.

In academia, the definition of plagiarism is not a static, universally agreed-upon concept and it is often influenced by the power dynamics embedded within the academic community. Different disciplines, for instance, may emphasize different aspects of plagiarism, reflecting the power dynamics inherent in the formation and preservation of disciplinary boundaries (Smith, 2019). Moreover, within academic institutions, faculty members, and administrators wield the authority to shape institutional policies, thereby influencing how plagiarism is defined and addressed.

Cultural variations further contribute to the complexity of defining plagiarism. What may be considered plagiarism in one cultural context might be viewed as a collaborative effort in another (Pecorari, 2003). This divergence in perspectives underscores the power dynamics embedded in the cultural construction of knowledge and originality. Cultural expectations and norms play a pivotal role in shaping how plagiarism is perceived, acknowledged, or dismissed within a given society.

Jacques Derrida's deconstructionist lens provides invaluable insights into the power dynamics involved in defining plagiarism. For Derrida, the act of writing is always already a form of intertextuality, a weaving of various discourses into a new fabric of meaning (Derrida, 1981). Plagiarism, then, challenges the very notion of a stable, original text, revealing the inherent instability and interdependence of language and ideas. Derrida's perspective encourages us to question the power structures that seek to delineate clear boundaries between original and derivative works.

Foucault's archaeological approach further illuminates the power dynamics within the definition of plagiarism. The discourse surrounding plagiarism is not merely an objective reflection of truth but a product of power relations within society (Foucault, 1972). Institutions, through their discourse, exercise power over individuals, shaping their perceptions of what constitutes plagiarism. Foucault's ideas prompt us to scrutinize how institutional authorities deploy discourse to regulate and control knowledge creation within academic spaces.

The definition of plagiarism is thus a dynamic and context-dependent construct influenced by power dynamics within academic, cultural, and institutional contexts. By integrating perspectives from Derrida

and Foucault, we gain a deeper understanding of how power operates in shaping the

discourse around plagiarism, revealing the intricate connections between knowledge, authority, and originality.

In the complex ecosystem of academia, the tolerance of plagiarism reveals itself through nuanced responses within academic institutions. The degree to which plagiarism is tolerated is contingent upon various factors, including institutional culture, academic discipline, and prevailing educational values.

Within academic institutions, responses to plagiarism often navigate a fine line between punitive measures and educational interventions. While some institutions adopt a strict, zero-tolerance stance, others may lean towards rehabilitation and education as a means of addressing plagiarism (Bretag et al., 2019). The nuances in these responses underscore the diverse approaches taken by different institutions, reflecting the intricate balance between maintaining academic integrity and fostering a culture of learning.

Evolving standards and educational values contribute significantly to the tolerance of plagiarism within academic contexts. As educational landscapes transform, so too do expectations surrounding originality and collaboration. With the advent of online learning platforms and the increasing emphasis on collaborative projects, the boundaries between individual and collective work become blurred, influencing the tolerance levels for plagiarism (Lancaster & Clarke, 2019). Educational values are thus instrumental in shaping institutional responses to plagiarism.

Applying Pierre Bourdieu's sociological perspectives provides a lens through which to understand the tolerance of plagiarism as embedded in the social structures of academia. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital is particularly relevant. Academic institutions, as social spaces, are imbued with cultural capital, and the tolerance of plagiarism becomes a reflection of the power dynamics within this space (Bourdieu, 1979). The unwritten rules and expectations surrounding plagiarism are part of the academic habitus, shaping individuals' behaviours and institutions' responses. Bourdieu's notion of academic habitus underscores that tolerance for plagiarism is not merely a policy decision but a reflection of the collective dispositions and inclinations within academic communities. The cultural capital within academia influences how plagiarism is perceived, sanctioned, or even dismissed. Institutions with a strong emphasis on traditional academic values may have lower tolerance for plagiarism, while those embracing newer educational paradigms might exhibit higher tolerance.

The tolerance of plagiarism within academic institutions is a dynamic phenomenon shaped by nuanced responses, evolving standards, and sociological perspectives. The interplay between institutional culture, educational values, and Bourdieu's sociological concepts provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how plagiarism is tolerated within the academic ecosystem.

Referencing and citation, fundamental to scholarly communication, are not mere technicalities; they encapsulate complex dynamics that shape the discourse around intellectual contributions. Delving into the complexities of referencing and citations reveals intricate layers of power, authorship, and the evolving nature of academic integrity.

The act of referencing is not a neutral process but one embedded in power relations. As scholars cite others, they engage in a conversation with the existing discourse, contributing to it while acknowledging intellectual debts. However, challenges arise when the act of citation is politicized or influenced by biases. The under-citation of certain authors, known as citation bias, can perpetuate existing power imbalances and marginalize certain voices within academic conversations (Merton, 1988). The power dynamics within the scholarly community are, therefore, reflected in citation practices, influencing the recognition and legitimacy granted to different intellectual contributions.

Controversies surrounding citation extend beyond biases to encompass issues such as self-citation, coercive citation, and even the manipulation of citation metrics. Scholars may engage in self-citation to enhance their visibility and impact, raising questions about the ethical boundaries of self promotion within academia (Jha, 2019). Coercive citation, on the other hand, involves pressuring authors to include certain references, introducing a coercive element into the scholarly exchange (Teixeira da Silva & Bornemann- Cimenti, 2018). Moreover, the reliance on citation metrics for academic evaluation has sparked debates about the potential distortion of scholarly priorities, as researchers may prioritize citation count over the quality and societal relevance of their work (Ioannidis, 2019).

Susan Sontag's insights on interpretation and cultural phenomena offer a lens through which to examine the complexities of citation. Sontag challenges the traditional role of interpretation, emphasizing the need to move beyond mere citation for validation. She contends that interpretation should not be a substitute for experiencing the raw, unmediated reality of a work (Sontag, 1966). Applying this perspective to citation practices prompts a critical examination of whether scholars are engaging deeply with the cited works or merely using them as instruments of validation.

Walter Benjamin's ideas on the aura of the original work of art also contribute to the discourse on citation. Benjamin posits that the authenticity and uniqueness of an original work contribute to its aura, an intangible quality that is lost in reproductions (Benjamin, 1936). In the context of citation, this concept invites reflection on whether the act of citation captures the essence of the original work or diminishes its aura by reducing it to a mere reference point.

We see that referencing and citation, while seemingly technical aspects of academic writing, unfold as intricate expressions of power dynamics, ethical considerations, and debates on scholarly priorities. By incorporating insights from Sontag and Benjamin, we gain a nuanced understanding of the challenges and controversies inherent in citation practices, prompting a critical revaluation of the role and impact of referencing in knowledge formation.

The ethical dimensions surrounding plagiarism extend beyond the academic realm, intertwining with societal views and moral considerations. The act of plagiarism is often perceived as a breach of trust and integrity, raising questions about the individual's character and ethical standing within both academic and broader societal contexts.

From a moral standpoint, plagiarism is commonly condemned as an act of intellectual dishonesty. The societal construct of morality plays a pivotal role in shaping the perception of plagiarism, framing it not only as an academic transgression but as a breach of ethical principles. The act of claiming someone else's work as one's own is seen as violating a fundamental trust within the academic and intellectual community (Purdy, 2009). This moral dimension extends beyond the individual and influences how society views the accused, often resulting in significant consequences.

The impact on individuals accused of plagiarism extends beyond academic repercussions to the moral realm. Accusations of plagiarism can lead to tarnished reputations, damaged relationships, and personal shame. The stigma attached to being labelled a plagiarist can have profound psychological effects, impacting not only the accused individual's self-esteem but also their sense of moral identity within society (Buranen & Roy, 1999). The moral judgment imposed upon the accused extends beyond the specific act of plagiarism, shaping societal perceptions of their overall character and integrity.

Drawing on Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialist philosophy offers a lens through which to analyse the moral dimensions of plagiarism and the perceptions of guilt attached to it. Sartre contends that individuals are condemned to be free, meaning they bear the burden of responsibility for their actions and choices (Sartre, 1946). In the context of plagiarism, Sartre's philosophy prompts an exploration of the accused

individual's responsibility for their actions. The existentialist perspective emphasizes personal agency and the weight of individual decisions, urging us to consider how the accused navigates their moral responsibility in the aftermath of plagiarism allegations.

Sartre's concept of "bad faith" becomes particularly relevant when examining the moral implications of plagiarism. Bad faith, in Sartrean terms, refers to the act of self-deception, wherein individuals deny their freedom and responsibility by attributing their actions to external factors (Sartre, 1946). In the context of plagiarism, individuals may engage in bad faith by downplaying the severity of their actions, shifting blame, or avoiding accountability. Exploring plagiarism through Sartre's lens encourages a deeper understanding of the moral agency involved and the complexities of guilt within the accused individual's subjective experience.

The moral dimensions of plagiarism intersect with societal views and impact the accused individual on a profound level. Understanding plagiarism from a moral perspective entails recognizing the breach of trust within the intellectual community and the lasting consequences for the accused. Drawing on Sartre's existentialist philosophy adds depth to the analysis, prompting reflection on personal agency, responsibility, and the intricate interplay of guilt within the context of plagiarism.

Plagiarism, beyond its academic repercussions, carries significant career-damaging implications tarnishing professional reputations and compromising future opportunities. In the professional sphere, integrity and originality are highly valued, and instances of plagiarism can have lasting and severe consequences.

The act of plagiarism erodes trust in an individual's professional competence and ethical standing. Employers and colleagues expect a level of intellectual honesty and the ability to generate original ideas. When these expectations are violated through plagiarism, the damage to one's professional credibility can be profound. Colleagues may question the individual's integrity, and superiors may question their ability to contribute authentically to the organization's success.

Real-world cases underscore the tangible career consequences of plagiarism. Instances of high profile individuals facing plagiarism allegations, such as journalists, authors, or public figures, often experience a decline in public trust and credibility. For example, allegations of plagiarism against journalists or authors can lead to damaged relationships with publishers and diminished readership (Knox, 2015). In the realm of academia, scholars facing plagiarism accusations may encounter challenges in securing research funding, publishing opportunities, and academic positions (Smith, 2019).

Harold Bloom's concept of the "anxiety of influence" provides a theoretical framework to understand why plagiarism is career-damaging. According to Bloom, writers experience anxiety about influence, fearing that their work will be overshadowed by the achievements of predecessors (Bloom, 1973). Plagiarism intensifies this anxiety by raising questions about an individual's originality and creativity. When one's work is perceived as derivative, the anxiety of influence becomes a reality, potentially stifling career progression and casting a shadow over professional accomplishments.

In essence, the professional world demands a commitment to authenticity and intellectual independence. Plagiarism violates this commitment, generating scepticism about an individual's capacity for original thought and ethical conduct. The career implications extend beyond the immediate consequences of academic sanctions, impacting an individual's trajectory, reputation, and opportunities for advancement.

The intellectualization of referencing, while an essential aspect of scholarly communication, introduces complexities that extend beyond the mere citation of sources. As referencing practices become institutionalized, they contribute to a system that, paradoxically, may impact the very essence of original thought.

Referencing serves as a means to acknowledge intellectual debts, validate arguments, and position one's work within the broader scholarly conversation. However, as the conventions of referencing evolve, there is a risk of the intellectualization process overshadowing the creative and innovative aspects of original thought.

The act of referencing can, at times, shift from a genuine engagement with cited works to a ritualistic practice driven by the need to conform to established norms. This ritualization, as identified by Roland Barthes in his exploration of the death of the author, raises questions about the impact of referencing on the author's voice and originality (Barthes, 1967). The intellectualization of referencing, when reduced to a formulaic exercise, has the potential to stifle the spontaneity and individuality of thought, turning it into a prescribed set of gestures rather than a genuine dialogue with the intellectual landscape.

Referencing, when overemphasized, may lead to a focus on the form rather than the substance of scholarly work. The pressure to adhere to citation styles and the fear of accusations of plagiarism may inadvertently encourage scholars to prioritize conformity over intellectual risk-taking and exploration. This phenomenon, known as citation cartels, where scholars excessively cite each other to boost their

citation metrics, exemplifies the potential pitfalls of an overly intellectualized referencing culture (Larivière et al., 2016).

Barthes' concept of the death of the author invites reflection on whether the intellectualization of referencing contributes to a detachment of the author from their work. As referencing norms become more rigid, there is a risk of reducing authorship to a mere conduit for pre-existing ideas rather than a dynamic and creative contributor to knowledge formation.

In conclusion, while referencing is a fundamental component of scholarly discourse, the intellectualization of this practice warrants careful consideration. Striking a balance between acknowledging intellectual debts and preserving the vitality of original thought is crucial. Barthes' insights prompt scholars to critically engage with referencing practices, ensuring they serve as tools for intellectual enrichment rather than constraints on creative expression.

The concept of originality, deeply ingrained in intellectual pursuits, undergoes critical examination when subjected to scrutiny. Far from being an objective reality, the notion of originality is a construct that warrants careful analysis, as it significantly influences how creativity is perceived and fostered within various domains.

Originality, in its conventional sense, posits the creation of something entirely new and unprecedented. However, this notion is challenged when one considers the intricate web of influences and intertextuality that shape every creative act. The idea of a singular, entirely independent creation becomes increasingly elusive as one recognizes the myriad ways in which creators are influenced by their predecessors, cultural contexts, and existing ideas.

Critically analysing the concept of originality necessitates acknowledging the inherent subjectivity in defining what is genuinely new. Jacques Derrida's deconstructionist approach is pertinent here, suggesting that every act of creation involves a process of borrowing, adapting, and transforming existing elements (Derrida, 1988). The deconstruction of the myth of originality invites a shift in perspective, recognizing that creativity is an ongoing dialogue with the past rather than a rupture from it.

The impact of the myth of originality on creativity is profound. The pressure to produce something entirely unprecedented can stifle innovative thinking and discourage risk-taking. Creativity flourishes when individuals feel liberated to engage with existing ideas, building upon them, rather than constantly seeking an unattainable standard of absolute novelty. This perspective aligns with the idea of the "remix

culture," where creativity is viewed as a continuous process of reinterpreting and remixing existing cultural artifacts (Lessig, 2008).

Richard A. Posner's legal perspectives contribute to the discussion by highlighting the intersection of originality and intellectual property. Posner contends that the legal system's emphasis on protecting intellectual property rights assumes a level of originality that may not align with the reality of creative processes (Posner, 2003). The legal framework, by necessitating a threshold of originality for protection, inadvertently reinforces the myth of originality. Posner's insights prompt us to question whether legal definitions of originality align with the fluid and collaborative nature of creative endeavours.

In the realm of intellectual property law, the myth of originality influences decisions about patentability, copyright, and trademark protection. The legal system, with its requirements for novelty and non-obviousness, creates boundaries that may hinder rather than foster innovation. This raises questions about the broader societal implications of a legal framework that reinforces a narrow understanding of originality. When critically analysed, the myth of originality reveals itself as a construct with far-reaching implications for creativity and intellectual property. Derrida's deconstructionist perspective and Posner's legal insights compel us to reconsider the criteria by which we assess and protect creativity. By embracing a more nuanced understanding of originality, we may foster a creative landscape that values the transformative and iterative nature of human expression.

In navigating the intricate landscape of plagiarism, this exploration has unearthed multifaceted dimensions, revealing its symbiotic relationship with philosophical, cultural, and societal frameworks. The investigation into the definition of plagiarism elucidates its contextual nature, shaped by power dynamics within academic disciplines (Smith, 2019). Tolerance of plagiarism within academic institutions emerges as a nuanced phenomenon, reflecting evolving standards and sociological perspectives, notably those of Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1979). Examining issues of reference and citation unveils the complexities inherent in scholarly communication, drawing on the insights of Sontag and Benjamin to scrutinize the ethical and creative implications (Sontag, 1966; Benjamin, 1936). The exploration of morality and perceptions of guilt underscore the far-reaching consequences of plagiarism, delving into the societal and existential dimensions, as illuminated by Sartre (Sartre, 1946).

The myth of originality, a construct underpinning creativity, is demystified through deconstructionist lenses and legal perspectives, challenging the traditional narratives that surround intellectual innovation

(Derrida, 1988; Posner, 2003). The intellectualization of referencing reveals potential pitfalls, urging a reconsideration of scholarly practices and their impact on genuine original thought (Barthes, 1967).

As we conclude, the interconnectedness of plagiarism and societal values becomes apparent. Plagiarism, far from a mere transgression, reflects the evolving contours of knowledge formation, ethics, and creativity within society. Its ongoing relevance persists in an era where information flows rapidly, demanding a revaluation of how we define, tolerate, and navigate the complex terrain of intellectual integrity.

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SECURITISATION THEORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF GLOBAL SECURITY NARRATIVES

Aurora Flatner

The construction of security and insecurity has become a crucial component

of world politics in today's interconnected and fast changing globe,

profoundly influencing social, political, and cultural relations. A major topic that drives this conversation is how much security and insecurity are constructed, and what effects does this have on people as individuals, groups,

and societies? This paper explores the complex process of security construction, using the theoretical framework of securitization as a lens to examine how some problems get raised to the status of security concerns. Securitization theory presents a radical viewpoint on security studies by stressing the influence of language and discourse on the construction of

security narratives, hence questioning conventional state-centric approaches. Speech actions and political processes present issues like conflict, victimhood nationalism, identity, and culture as existential problems that call for drastic measures and policy response. Securitization could come together and mobilize governmental resources, but it is not without its critics and

setbacks.

Critics argue that the process of securitization may result in the weakening of civil liberties, the strengthening of the executive branch, and the decreasing of democratic debate and dialogue. Furthermore, depending more on political considerations than on objective threat examinations, the selective application of securitization may lead to unequal responses to different risks. Using victim narratives as a means of advancing political objectives and providing justification for acts, this essay goes on to examine the function victimhood nationalism plays in the development of security. Case studies in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and Russia´s talk about its actions in Ukraine provide us with insights into how victimhood nationalism affects international politics and security concerns. In addition, the essay explores the relationship between identity, culture, and security development, applying academic analysis to clarify how cultural distinctions are securitized, which causes some groups to be marginalized and conflict and instability to persist. The primary objective of this essay is to clarify the complex relationship that exists between security and insecurity in the modern, globalized world and to ask scholars and policymakers to consider

the effects that security construction had on social unity, and international stability.

Understanding securitization theory is crucial when addressing the question of how insecurities and securities are constructed and their implications, as it provides a framework for analyzing how certain issues are elevated to the level of security threats through speech acts and political processes. It all started with the Copenhagen School back in 1990. Ole Weaver´s influential chapter Securitization and Desecuritization in his book On Security expounds on and elaborates on securitization theory, which offers a radical framework for comprehending the process by which concerns become questions of security. The idea was developed as a reaction to the traditional state-centric and militarized focus of security studies and was first included in the Copenhagen School's approach to international relations. Weaver, in collaboration with academics such as Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde, sought to broaden the definition of security beyond military risks. They argued that a wide range of issues could be considered security risks if they are framed as existential dangers requiring quick response.

Securitization theory is still relevant today because it may explain why and how specific political, social, environmental, or economic issues become urgently important in public and policy debates. Understanding the process of securitization is essential for politicians, academics, and activists hoping to influence public agendas and responses in an era marked by complex global issues, from pandemics and technology disruptions to climate change and migration.

In practice, securitization may result in the rapid mobilization of governmental resources, the passing of emergency legislation, or modifications to public policy that give the securitized issue priority over other concerns. For instance, after 9/11, the securitization of terrorism resulted in major changes to both domestic and international security policy, such as the passing of the USA PATRIOT Act in 2001, and the start of the worldwide "War on Terror." Similarly, national, and international policies aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions have been impacted by the portrayal of climate change as a security concern.

However, securitization is not without its critics and potential downsides. Critics argue that it can legitimize the erosion of civil liberties, increase the authority of the executive branch, and suppress democratic discourse, particularly in cases where the securitization decision is not thoroughly examined or challenged. Moreover, the selective use of securitization may result in uneven approaches to various dangers, thereby downplaying certain crucial concerns and exaggerating others in accordance with political considerations rather than actual threat levels.

Securitization is primarily a discursive process involving the construction of a security issue through speech acts, with a prime example of former U.S. president Bush after the attacks on 9/11 2001. Weaver argues that in order for
a problem to be securitized, it needs to be presented as an existential threat to
a relevant object, anything that is deemed important enough to be protected,

such cultural identity, national sovereignty, or public health, and this speech act is typically performed by a "securitizing actor", which might be any powerful organization, the government, or a political leader. For securitization to be successful, the audience, whether it is the general public, legislators, or another relevant group, must accept this framing. It legitimizes the deployment of exceptional measures that might otherwise be viewed as unacceptable under regular circumstances, provided that the audience agrees to frame the issue as a security concern.

Following the ideas outlined in the securitization theory, the former president of the United States George W. Bush's response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, is a classic example of securitization in action. Following the tragic attacks, Bush used speech acts to portray the incidents as existential threats to the U.S. and the global community, in addition to criminal activities. This narrative had an important impact in mobilizing support both domestically and internationally for the following "War on Terror". "Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve." Said former president Bush in his speech to the nation on the evening of September 11th 2001. Here, Bush was deliberately establishing a narrative of existential risk and resistance, one that is crucial to the securitization process, instead of just informing the public about the attacks. A few days later, during his speech to a joint session of Congress on September 20th, Bush emphasized the securitized nature of terrorism when he stated, "Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated." This speech

effectively positioned terrorism as a direct threat to international security and called for an extraordinary global response, thereby justifying actions that would normally be considered outside the realm of peacetime politics.To get an even better understanding of securitization, we can dig deeper into the idea of victimhood nationalism and its significant role in the creation of (in)securities by building on the understanding of securitization theory and a fundamental framework for analyzing the rising of certain situations to the level of security threats. A. B. Lerner discusses this construct in The Uses

and Abuses of Victimhood nationalism in International Politics from 2020. In his work, he argues that victimhood nationalism is a construct in which countries take on a self-perception or narrative of being oppressed by injustices, either past or present. This story is frequently used to further political objectives, gather support at home and make claims abroad. While this might strengthen a group´s identity and unity, Lerner notes that it also has the ability to intensify disputes, influence public opinion, and prevent peacemaking.

The aftermath of the September 11 attacks is a vivid example of the securitization of national concerns. President George W. Bush´s narrative portrayed the US as both a victim of terrorism and a champion of freedom around the world that was under danger. The way the U.S. responded was framed as a security need, which served as justification for the war of Afghanistan and Iraq. Bush's speech invoked a strong victim-centered and patriotic vocabulary by forcefully characterizing the events as attacks not just on physical targets but also American principles and liberties. Significant changes in American and international security policies, more military spending, and the Patriot Act´s restriction of civil freedoms were all results of this securitization process.

Currently, Russia´s discourse about its activities in Ukraine also reflects the victimhood nationalism narrative. Russian officials have used victimhood narratives to defend their aggressive action in Ukraine by portraying Russia as being threatened and trapped by NATO expansion. By appealing to Russian identity and historical tales of being surrounded by hostile countries, this not only enhances domestic support but also attempts to legitimize their activities on the international front. In exploring the construction of security and insecurity, we will draw on Oded Eran´s analysis in his book from 2015 Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" in Europe: From Controversial Theory to Grim Reality to examine how these dynamics are deeply intertwined with issues of identity and culture. In his book Huntington's Clash of Civilizations in Europe: From Controversial Theory to Grim Reality, Oded Eran explores the ways in which securitization theory´s discussion of identity and culture contributes to the construction of states´ fears and securities. Eran investigates how the framing of identity and cultural difference as security concerns might result in the securitization of some groups or communities while simultaneously supporting the security of others, drawing on the work of securitization theorists such as Ole Weaver, as mentioned earlier in this essay. Eran contends that the theory of the clash of civilizations, first put forth by Samuel Huntington, has been used to support actions and policies that discriminate against particular ethnic or religious groups, escalating tensions and fears within European societies.

According to him, "The concept of the "clash of civilizations" became a useful tool for political leaders

and opinion makers alike in Europe for understanding global events and shaping public opinion" (Eran, 2015, p. 1). The security and vulnerability of the government have been significantly impacted by this securitization of cultural differences. On one hand, it has made it possible for some identities to be securitized, thus legitimizing discriminatory laws and practices that marginalize and banish particular groups from society. However, it has also strengthened the safety of prevailing cultural identities, sustaining power disparities and injustices in European communities.

Thus, the polarization of communities, the breakdown of social cooperation, and the escalation of intergroup confrontations have all been exacerbated by the framing of identity and culture as security concerns. Furthermore, it has impeded attempts to resolve fundamental issues and systemic injustices, resulting in the continuation of conflict and instability cycles. Eran´s analysis concludes by highlighting the significance of comprehending the construction of identity and culture within the context of securitization theory and the implications for social cohesion and state security. Policymakers and academics are encouraged to create more inclusive and equitable approaches to security that address the underlying causes of insecurity and foster peace and stability in different communities by critically evaluating the securitization of cultural differences.

There are a wide range of implications arising from the arguments presented earlier in this text, all of which demand careful consideration. First off, the power dynamics that are presented in the creation of security narratives are highlighted by the use of securitization theory. Securitizing actors might legitimize unprecedented measures, including military operations or the degradation of civil freedoms, under the pretext of defending national interests by presenting particular topics as existential threats through speech acts. Still, there are certain disadvantages to this procedure. As critics correctly point out, securitization has the potential to erode basic democratic values by limiting free speech and consolidating power in the hands of the executive branch. Furthermore, if securitization is used selectively, it could lead to unequal reactions to various risks, giving some worries more weight than others to political factors rather than impartial threat evaluations.

Furthermore, victimhood nationalism adds another level of complexity to the conversation by emphasizing the critical roles that identity and culture play in the securitization process. Political leaders can mobilize local support and make demands internationally by portraying nations as victims of past or present injustices. This story, nevertheless, also carries the risk of intensifying disputes, influencing public opinion, and limiting attempts at reconciliation. Russia´s activities in Ukraine provide as an example of how victimhood nationalism can be used to excuse brutal behavior and actions that the international

world may consider to be illegitimate. And in addition to this, it can also contribute to further alienation of migrants, particularly if they are perceived as threats to the nations' identity or security. According to A. B. Lerner (2019), victimhood nationalism creates stories about past or present injustices and frequently uses migrants as scapegoats for social issues or as dangers to national security. The narrative not only explains discriminatory policies and practices that stigmatize and marginalize migrant communities but also supports an exclusive attitude towards migrants. Furthermore, it may result in the representation of immigrants as possible security threats, thereby legitimizing surveillance measures, border controls, and immigration restrictions. This may make immigrant groups even more alienated and marginalized, escalating social unrest and impeding assimilation efforts.

The implications of this alienation of migrants for global security are significant. Firstly, it undermines efforts to address root causes of migration, such as poverty, conflict, and climate change, by framing migrants as security threats rather than individuals in need of assistance. This perpetuates cycles of insecurity and instability in regions of origin, contributing to ongoing conflicts and humanitarian crises. Secondly, the marginalization of migrant communities can fuel resentment and radicalization, potentially leading to social unrest and violent extremism both domestically and internationally. Moreover, the securitization of migration and the militarization of borders can result in human rights abuses, including the violation of asylum seekers´ rights and the use of excessive force against vulnerable populations.

In conclusion, studying the construction of security and insecurity, particularly through the lens of securitization theory, provides important new perspectives on modern global dynamics and how they affect human rights and international security. The Copenhagen School established securitization theory, which offers a framework for comprehending how problems are raised to the status of security threats through speech and language. Since the introduction in the 1990s, this theory has been useful in explaining why and how specific topics become important security issues in discussion of public policy. Through an examination of the securitization process, we can gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which governments and other influential entities gain support and justify extraordinary actions in reaction to alleged threats.

Securitization theory is used to show how speech acts and narratives can influence public perceptions and policy reactions in real-world examples, such as the reaction to the 9/11 attack and Russia's actions in Ukraine. Political leaders can quickly mobilize resources and shift policy objectives by framing challenges as existential danger through securitization. Securitization is not without its problems, though. When choices are made quickly or without sufficient consideration, it can legitimize the loss of civil liberties and limit discussion about democracy.

Furthermore, the idea of victimization nationalism highlights the significance of identity and culture in shaping security narratives, adding still another level to the securitization process. Political leaders can mobilize support from both local and foreign constituencies by portraying nations as victims of injustice, either historical or contemporary. As mentioned earlier in this essay, Adam B. Lerner, in his article "The uses and abuses of victimhood nationalism in International Politics", uses Russia's actions in Ukraine as an example of this. As he argues, Russia´s story about its activities in Ukraine shows victimhood nationalism also runs the risk of escalating tensions and hindering efforts at reconciliation.

The points made in this essay have a wide range of consequences and implications that should be carefully considered by both academics and policymakers. The way that security and instability are constructed affects state behaviors, social unity, and human rights profoundly. We may work to develop more inclusive and equitable approaches to security that address the root causes of insecurity and promote peace and stability in diverse communities by critically analyzing the securitization of various concerns. In order to manage today's security concerns, governments must place a higher priority on communication, collaboration, and respect for human rights than they do on dividing and excluding narratives that could worsen tensions and provoke conflicts that potentially could be avoided. We can only hope to create a more secure and equal world for everybody by working together to identify and solve underlying causes of insecurity.

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RHINO POACHING: SUPPLY AND DEMAND DYNAMICS

Leo Smith

This essay shall aim to analyse the current controls over the supply and demand of Rhino horns. Through doing so, possible solutions such as allowing some legitimate Rhino horn transactions and the idealistic solution of synthetic Rhino horns can be discussed and evaluated. Alongside this, the supply and demand model shall be employed to assist in explaining arguments, as well as deducing the current state of affairs. This discussion will enable a conclusion as to why control over the supply and demand of Rhino horns has not worked over recent decades. Hence, this essay will aim to conclude that allowing for some Rhino horn trade is morally and economically wrong and unrealistic, and that synthetic horns are a superfluous venture.

Supply refers to a market's ability to produce a good/service, whilst demand refers to a market's desire to purchase the said good/service. In the context of the market for Rhino horns, the supply would be Rhino horns, and the demand comes from South East Asian (SEA) countries' desire for the product. This use comes in multiple forms, such as use in antiques and as an ingredient in traditional Chinese medicine.

Legitimate market transactions refer to the legal transactions which occur in a market, which has restricted substances whose trade is heavily controlled or banned. The international commercial trade of Rhino horns has been outlawed since 1975 under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (Traffic, no date), yet illegal poaching and selling of horns has continued, leading to Rhinos becoming an endangered species.

Pooling equilibrium refers to a situation where differing economic players choose the same course of action. In relation to the question, this would refer to a situation in which both synthetic horns and real horns are sold together by different competitors, with the intention that synthetic horns will eventually naturally drive out real horns, as illustrated by Gresham's law.

To the issue of Rhino poaching, there are three visible solutions. Firstly, employing pooling equilibrium using synthetic horns, with the intention of phasing out real Rhino horns and changing the pre-existing market dispositions, as outlined by Gresham's law (Begg, D. 2020, p.97). Secondly, some Rhino poaching is allowed, but it is heavily limited and all monitored by the government in order to strictly control supply, and lastly, there is simply a complete ban on Rhino horns altogether, and poaching is severely punished by local authorities in order to serve as a deterrent. The benefits and drawbacks of these solutions shall be discussed, and a conclusion will be made which puts the environment at the forefront.

The idea of employing pooling equilibrium in order to phase out the desire for real horns is a perfectly unrealistic idea. The International Rhino Foundation (IRF, 2016) wrote a statement after companies in the US proposed the idea of synthetic Rhino horns. The idea behind this was that synthetic horns would enter the market alongside real horns, and eventually drive out real horns, thus protecting wild Rhinos. Gresham's Law (Begg, D. 2020, p.97) was used to support this argument, as the increasing supply of bad (synthetic) horns would eventually drive out the good (real) Rhino horns. However, this argument fails to account for two things: firstly, the importance of Rhino horns in SEA countries and the practicalities which would be necessary to enable this to work. The latter was addressed heavily in the IRF (2016) statement, most noticeably by the joint statement from the SRI and IRF, stating that there is no real evidence this approach would reduce the demand for real Rhino horns – there is merely the word of these companies who are out to make a profit. Alongside this, it would create issues for law enforcement, as poachers could use the defence of carrying a synthetic horn, which runs the danger of normalising the collection of Rhino horns, actually worsening the problems currently facing Rhinos. Additionally, there is the issue of the stigma surrounding poaching being removed due to the introduction of synthetic horns. Rhino poaching is already an issue in the mainstream media's peripheral vision, so introducing synthetic horns would push it further away from their focus, as the issue would be seen as 'solved'. Normalisation and replacement are both not needed in this situation, and the solution to the supply and demand of horns should help resolve this issue. Gresham's Law also comes under scrutiny in the IRF (2016) statement, as illegal and legal markets do not necessarily behave the same way, as the breakeven line for real Rhinos may be much lower than that of the synthetic horn. Within the statement, there is the given example of manufacturing synthetic bear pile, which failed to solve the issue of natural bear pile in the wild. The synthetic production of bear bile has not reduced the levels of bear farming, and medical practitioners are reluctant to prescribe alternatives. This evidence all points towards the idea of creating synthetic horns to fix the supply and demand of the market working in theory, but in practice it would create more new issues rather than fix the old ones.

There is a further detrimental issue with the aforementioned suggestion of market pooling, and that is it does not consider culture and grassroot desire for rhino horns. Rhino horns are a key part of traditional Chinese medicine, which is a system that has been used for over twenty-three centuries (Britannica, 2022). Therefore, it is unreasonable to expect its use to be completely ruled out, and certainly instantly cutting it out or replacing it is an insensitive and incorrect way to go about it. A more appropriate way to tackle this issue in SEA countries is not to merely tell people that there is 'no scientific evidence' for the horns

beneficial use, or that its benefits are an 'urban myth' (Traffic, no date), but it is to instead accept its value and usage in traditional medicine, whilst educating people on the harm Rhino poaching has on the environment. The aim of this method would be to create a cultural shift throughout the generations, where there is a move away from using ingredients with a high carbon footprint in traditional medicine. It is not reasonable to just stop imports without taking some sort of countermeasures, as it is a part of many people's lives and careers. A more gradual approach must be taken, and it must be acknowledged that change cannot occur overnight, and can even take a few generations for this shift to happen. It must be noted that if Rhino horns were a part of Western culture, action taken would be considerably different.

The second proposed solution was to allow some legitimate market transactions in Rhino horns. Economically, this is the most competent path forward, as it allows for a controlled rate of Rhinos to be poached, thus satisfying the demand, whilst creating jobs to supply horns safely. As long as the rate of poaching is kept below existing levels, of three per day (Traffic, no date), at a number which allows the population to increase from its current total of 26,261 (Save The Rhino), then it should be viable. However, this suggestion disregards ethics completely and rolls over for the poachers who exploit nature for profit, which is a completely immoral venture that should not be allowed. Firstly, allowing for any sort of poaching is immoral, as it is hunting animals and cruelly harming them. This is not a situation a human would be put in, and it is unfathomable to most that this would ever be considered, so there is no justifiable reason for us to do this to an animal. If humans were to begin harvesting other human eyes, we would be suggesting allowing for an open, legal market to be created to decrease illegal sourcing, so therefore there is no reason to be doing this for Rhino horns. Secondly, this move would benefit poachers immensely. It would create a legal market in which they could operate, and with it a whole new series of loopholes. This is a situation in which poachers must be cracked down upon, rather than be given a job. From this it can be concluded that allowing legitimate market transactions in Rhino horns would create more of an issue than it would solve, so more stringent measures must be taken in order to combat this.

The final suggestion is that of eradicating Rhino poaching entirely. This is the most ethical and environmentally friendly approach. This does, however, require international cooperation and stringent government measures to protect Rhinos from poaching. Whilst it is the best solution, it is not the most economically beneficial, as it restricts a market completely by closing it off. Alongside this, it does not completely rule out the illegal market, as there will always be some demand from some wealthy individual who wishes for a coveted item such as a Rhino horn.

Protecting Rhinos must come first, no matter what the solution is, as the environment must be placed above all else in order to preserve nature as we know it, especially with the accelerating issue of climate change. With that being said, the use of pooling equilibrium is the most intuitive as it attempts to expand the market by increasing supply where there is huge demand, as well as protecting Rhinos. However, the host of problems this creates makes this unviable in practice, especially where it concerns the issue of poachers and legal defence. Therefore, it is a good idea in theory it cannot work practically in the real world.

To conclude, the suggestion to allow some legitimate market transactions in Rhino horns is unethical and unrealistic, but is the most economically sensible one to maintain a steady supply and demand. However, it creates a whole other host of problems, as previously outlined, so is not a suitable solution. Moreover, the secondary suggestion of demand-reduction would be ineffective and would create more issues than it would solve, as it runs the risk of removing the stigma surrounding Rhino poaching, as well as creating unnecessary obstacles for law enforcement. Therefore, the ideal solution to the supply and demand of Rhino horns is to outlaw it completely, with countermeasures such as greater education and harsher punishment for poaching to be introduced.

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