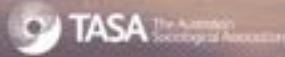


2019 TASA CONFERENCE

Diversity & Urban Growth

NOVEMBER 25 - 28



Western Sydney University
Parramatta City and South Campuses

Conference Proceedings

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Western Sydney University, Parramatta City and South Campuses

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TASA The Australian
Sociological Association



Understanding our world, making a difference

Welcome to TASA 2019 Conference

It is our pleasure to welcome you to TASA 2019. This year's conference is being hosted by Western Sydney University, the School of Social Sciences and Psychology and the Institute of Culture and Society. The venues are on the traditional land of the Darug People of the Darug Nation Western's Parramatta City and Parramatta South Campus. What many consider to be Sydney's second city, certainly materialises the theme of Diversity & Urban Growth. The urban landscape of Greater Western Sydney is a bustling hub of economic, social and civic activity - one that is home to one of the fastest growing populations, and the third largest economy in Australia.

Invoking Henri Lefebvre's declarations of a 'right to the city' (le droit à la ville), our conference will theoretically, conceptually and empirically speak to the successes, challenges and complex relationships between diversity and growth as they play out in cityscapes. We hope that the discussions and debates that will take place during the course of the conference are an opportunity for our discipline to shape, evolve and create new approaches to the work that we do in a variety of settings.

We are delighted to have Maggie Walter, Rob Stones, and Deborah Stevenson as our keynotes. These distinguished scholars will each be addressing complementary facets of this year's conference theme.

Professor Maggie Walter, the Pro Vice-Chancellor of Aboriginal Research and Leadership at the University of Tasmania, will provide the contemporary Indigenous response to the data/policy nexus which activates processes that consistently reinforce the status quo of Indigenous impoverishment and marginalisation. She will present how this Indigenous policy complex of failure, operates in past and present policy settings.

Professor Deborah Stevenson of the Institute for Culture and Society of Western Sydney University will present to delegates the tensions, objectives and discourses of the planning agenda of urban spaces, one, she will argue, fosters serial monotony rather than socio-cultural diversity.

Professor Rob Stones of Western Sydney University presents delegates with an argument that as sociologists we typically lack the intellectual and conceptual grounding in moral and political philosophy that would allow us to carefully identify, justify and defend the value positions we take up.

Another highlight of this year's conference is sure to be the "Doing Sociology with Diverse Publics" event, convened by David Rowe (Emeritus Professor FASSA, FAHA, Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University). A panel of experts, invited guests and audience members will discuss how sociologists and fellow social scientists can 'do' sociology in environments that not only include classrooms, research publications and the media, but importantly the broader community in ways that nurture informed citizenship.

This conference continues with family and carer friendly initiatives. With the introduction of the TASA Carer's bursary, this year's conference provides a range of supports to assist delegate attendees who are pregnant, breastfeeding and/or caretaking.

We have a number of social events in an around Parramatta where delegates will have an opportunity to connect and catch up outside of conference sessions and meetings. Our Welcome Reception is located at our Parramatta city campus offering views of Sydney city from the Western Sydney lens. Queer Drinks, the Conference Dinner and the Public Event will all be held at different locations within Parramatta city and our Womens' Breakfast will be at our Parramatta South campus.

The main conference sessions will take place in the heart of Parramatta City within Western Sydney University's Peter Shergold building, with keynotes taking place in the large auditorium on the Parramatta South campus. The campuses are well serviced by a shuttle bus and walking bus (led by TASA volunteers) between campuses.

On behalf of the local organising committee and the TASA Executive we wish to thank all delegates for contributing to what is sure to be a lively and productive few days. Happy Conferencing!

Conference convenor - Alpha Possamai-Inesedy

Conference Convener

Alphia Possamai-Inesedy

Local Organising Committee Members

David Rowe

Selda Dagistanli

Ryan Storr

Deborah Stevenson

John McGuire

Amie Matthews

Adam Possamai

Alan Nixon

Karen Soldatic

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Alex Normant

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TASA is the professional association of Sociologists in Australia. Each year TASA hosts its annual conference in different locations across capital cities and regional towns. The aim of each Conference is to further progress the Sociological agenda to local communities and students who might not have the funds to travel.

The Conference Abstracts have been compiled by ICMSA and Roger Wilkinson.

Sally Daly

Executive Officer, TASA

admin@tasa.org.au

Roger Wilkinson

TASA Digital Publications Editor

digitalpe@tasa.org.au

ICMS Australasia has successfully managed award-winning national and international conferences for associations, government and corporate clients. These include some of the largest and most complex conferences ever held in Australia. ICMSA presents a level of professionalism, dedication and creativity that only 52 years industry experience can provide.

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Event Manager

Shanel Narayan, Shaneln@icmsaust.com.au

Conference Service Coordinator

Kristina Liska, Kristinal@icmsaust.com.au

Event Coordinator

Ainslie Bishop, AinslieB@icmsaust.com.au

Reservation Manager

Adriane Pinto, AdrianeP@icmsaust.com.au

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The organising hole in a working class heartland

Dr Helen Masterman-smith

Charles Sturt University

Introduction

Though there are signs of renewed interest in the sociology of class in Australia, the field has yet to give close attention to the lived experiences of working class politics today. This paper focusses on recent political organising efforts in a rural working class neighbourhood. The analysis draws on autoethnographic journal entries produced during the author's intensive three-year involvement with the organisation in multiple capacities as university researcher, local resident, volunteer and trade unionist (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011:275-6). It considers some possibilities and limitations of developing organising knowledge and skills among today's working classes.

Notes on the political sociology of class

The salience of a class paradigm in sociology remains a controversial question. Proponents of the 'death of class' thesis dispute the usefulness of class analysis for explaining post-industrial society (Pakulski 2001). They often point to evidence of a de-alignment between classes and party or ideological affiliations in quantitative electoral studies and to the decline of traditional working class organisations like trade unions and leftist parties.

Nonetheless, deepening class inequalities and conflicts over the past decade, particularly in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis have sparked renewed interest in the sociology of class (Nussbaum 2018; Picketty 2014; Yates 2018). Destabilisation of the global political economy has triggered many class-laden social developments including austerity programs, the Arab Spring, Brexit and the Yellow Vests movement, among others (Allinson 2015). At the same time, political parties across the spectrum are renewing their efforts to appeal to class-based constituencies, including the Trump, Sanders and Corbyn camps (Rehmann 2016). Following this trend, the Australian Labor Party's 2019 federal election bid explicitly attempted to articulate the conflicting interests of working and middle class Australians versus the 'top end of town'.

Prompted by these empirical developments, the sociology of class is experiencing a revival. This includes Bourdieusian studies of class composition in the UK and Australia (Sheppard & Biddle 2017). Political sociology is also re-engaging with the issues of working class political de-alignment and disorganisation. For example, new analysis of the Australian Election Study has examined the relationship between electoral behaviour and class using asset ownership and cul-

tural capital measures, rather than the conventional occupational variables (McAllister & Makkai 2018). A strong relationship was found to exist between these measures of class and political alignment. Taking a broader approach to political practice, Cainzos and Voces' (2010) study of twenty European countries, found strong class-based patterns of various kinds of participation such as petition signing, boycotts and demonstrations. It concluded that 'in the field of political participation, class still matters' (Caínzos & Voces 2010:16). The study rejected class decomposition propositions, contending instead that working class respondents face structural barriers that continue to define the political terrain and instruments available to them. The authors called for further research to identify 'the social mechanisms underlying the causal relationship between class and participation' (Caínzos & Voces 2010:18). Sociological understanding of the wider political agency of the contemporary Australian working class has received relatively little recent attention. This paper offers an initial glimpse into the lived experience and concrete realities of working class politics today.

Building a working class organisation in Albury-Wodonga

In 2016 a grassroots mutual support hub was established in working class neighbourhoods of the rural city of Albury-Wodonga, in south-eastern Australia (Authors 2018; Boyd 2018; Bunn 2016). The hub operates five days a week entirely through the self-organised unpaid labours of the local working class. The first three years of operation have attracted ongoing participation and self-funding from hundreds of socially diverse residents, thousands of visitors and a significant local profile. The bulk of participants include precarious workers, the unemployed and underemployed, age and disability pensioners, carers, refugees, and those with English as a second language. Very few are members of unions, political parties, community organisations or have previous political experience. The hub assists with people's material needs and links them to collective endeavours to tackle the structural causes of their hardships and disempowerment. The hub has become a space for local working class people to organise, educate and politically activate themselves collectively.

The material and the political are deeply interconnected in the hub's operations. For example, Albury-Wodonga is located in one of Australia's major food bowls, the Murray-Darling Basin, yet many working class residents struggle to put food on the table or amass household debts with high interest rates in order to pay for food, housing and utility bills (Gateway Community Health 2014). Rather than relying on sometimes paternalistic charities and services for food relief, participants experiencing hardship have organised themselves to collect and distribute food to each other on a needs basis, from the local foodshare agency. This has involved organising volunteer rosters, a fleet of old cars and vans and a donations system to help self-finance the hub. Working class participation in the mechanics of food rescue and re-distribution has been a powerful learning experience for many. It provides a tangible catalyst for understanding why the capitalist economy generates poverty alongside vast quantities of food waste, why the political system thwarts more efficient and sustainable means of provisioning society, and how cultural tropes conceal these structural failings by excluding and demonising people like themselves who struggle to access food, despite living in a very wealthy nation. As importantly, this impressive act of collective self-organisation has given participants the confidence to expand their political horizons and capabilities.

The hub has tapped into a working class hunger, not just for food, but also for collective self-education and agency. Once public and political issues became a normalised and safe topic of daily discussion, a weekly community assembly was organised. This was achieved with the help of local unionists who worked weekly shifts at the hub to help keep the doors open and to share their political knowledge, skills and experience. The assemblies quickly grew to involve over 100

people, with up to 20 participants in any given week. Assembly members prioritised topics like social inequality, the welfare system, workers' rights, job creation ideas, Australian culture, history, politics and trade unionism. These are topics about which Australian and overseas born working class people have negligible learning opportunities. Weak digital and English literacy among both groups is also extremely limiting. The assemblies quickly evolved into self-organised group excursions to the local university, CERES sustainability centre in Melbourne and attendance at community transport and housing forums. Petitions were also initiated to deal with cost of living issues. For many, these were the first political activities in which they had ever participated. The collective nature of these endeavours was vital to overcoming transport, cost, class prejudice and confidence issues that are often barriers to working class participation in public and political life.

These humble opportunities to become self-organised and self-educated gradually emboldened hub participants to publicly contest their exclusion and disempowerment. This included forging closer links with the labour movement. Modest one-off financial donations from the local trades and labour council and the National Tertiary Education Union were facilitated by unionists involved in the hub. Local income support recipients and unorganised workers reciprocated by pouring hundreds of hours of their time into the ACTU (2018) *Change the Rules* campaign. Through meetings, workshops, letterboxing, posterings, erecting highway overpass signs, demonstrating, market stall work and their social networks, hub participants helped build understanding and support for the labour movement in one of the most conservative electorates in the country. Those experiences have opened up further discussions around political economy, labour history, worker cooperatives and participatory democracy. This brief overview offers a few glimpses into how working class people are trying to rebuild their political power in an emergent post-industrial regional city.

As a unionist, feminist, community activist and educator of working class origins and current social milieu, a key reflection from my involvement with this endeavour concerns the vital importance of creating ways to self-organise 'beyond the fragments' of working class life (Rowbotham 1979). Linking material, political, social and cultural capitals together across the domains of work, home and community has been central to the hubs appeal to date because it is inclusive of all working class people, regardless of their current life circumstances. It also helps overcome the atomisation and alienation of the working class from each other and the society in which they live. Perhaps most importantly, it extends the possibility of imagining a different kind of society that emancipates working class people from their current hardships and stunted life chances.

The realisation of this potential rests heavily upon the resources and capabilities of the working class to self-organise. Yet, organising capabilities are often not innate and must be learnt. Recognising this, some trade unions and community organisations invest in developing the organising capabilities of their members. However, most members of the working class do not have access to such opportunities. The decline of trade unions, parties and organisations that once cultivated these literacies among the working class, in the workplace and beyond, raises questions about where the impetus for such developments might come from today.

Limitations and possibilities for working class organising

Organising is one 'social mechanism' that mediates the relationship between class and political participation. While the fields of political science, industrial relations and community development have a great deal to say about different forms of organising, sociology has been less engaged with the topic to date. Yet, it has much to contribute to some of the key limitations of organising approaches today as they affect the working classes; three examples of which are discussed here.

Firstly, political scientists have analysed the democracy building and social change potential of community organising (Speer & Han 2018). Yet after decades of community organising efforts to these ends, concerns about democratic deficits, political disempowerment of citizens and the corporate capture of democracies are growing stronger. Some attribute this lack of efficacy to increasingly technocratic, professionalised and even neoliberalised trends in community organising practice (Taylor & Wilson 2016). Dominant forms of community organising are thought to be losing sight of the collective relationship and social learning dimensions that were key to its original power. Recent approaches to organising tend to position communities as entities to be organised by detached outsiders, rather than seeing them as potential agents of change that need equipping in the art of self-organising. These scholars call for ‘social science activism, to support social justice practitioners’ (Speer & Han 2018:754). This is akin to Burawoy’s call for a public or activist sociology in which he champions ‘sociology’s particular investment in the defense of civil society, itself beleaguered by the encroachment of markets and states’ (2005:4). The contribution of sociologists, educators and unionists to the Albury-Wodonga experience was essential to its incubation and the building of working class capacity to self-organise the operations.

Secondly, industrial relations scholarship on trade union revitalisation also gives considerable attention to organising in workplaces and more recently through community unions. Like community organising, its meagre harvest in terms of union renewal has attracted wide-ranging criticisms (Cockfield et al. 2009; Gall and Holgate 2018; Heery 2018; Ibsen and Tapia 2017; Kelly 2018). One concern is that industrial organising methods are often reduced to a depoliticised toolkit of practices and tactics, without an overarching purpose beyond the immediate goal of building union density and power to win better wages and conditions (Simms & Holgate 2010). Larger questions about social movement unionism to win justice off the job, a decent welfare state, a habitable planet for workers, or a classless society rarely feature in industrial organising frameworks. The usually narrow focus of labour organising for immediate workplace improvements does not help working people challenge the fragmentation of their lives under capitalism. This was a key ingredient of success in the Albury-Wodonga effort to organise working class political participation and support for the labour movement.

A final concern often raised about much labour and community organising is its class blindness. From the beginnings of Alinsky-based organising, criticisms were made that it lacked a sociological analysis of class structures of oppression and how they infuse community power relations. These assertions have carried forward to the state-sponsored community organising program that formed part of the conservative ‘Big Society’ agenda in the United Kingdom (Taylor & Wilson 2016). Some forms of community organising have their origins in the conscious efforts of post-war working class communities to build their political voice and power. Yet, dominant forms of organising today tend towards class and ideological ‘neutrality’. Some might argue that this represents yet more evidence for the declining salience of class-based politics. While class may be avoided in many organising frameworks, it does nonetheless serve class interests in practice. For example, the stripping of class analysis from most organising frameworks has made it more amendable as a tool for middle and ruling class consolidation. This is illustrated in one of the most successful recent applications of Alinsky-style organising by the conservative Tea Party movement and its support of the Trump election campaign (Fisher & DeFilippis 2015).

Labour organising too has often been poorly attuned to broad working class interests. The professionalisation of industrial organising at the expense of developing rank and file organising capabilities is one dimension of this problem. These circumstances not only limit union members capacity for worker self-organisation on the job, but also the prospects of them deploying and sharing organising capabilities through their wider social and community networks. Cockfield et al., reminds us that ‘Unions are part of the community; members live and work in communities’

(2009:480). The narrowness of much labour organising today reduces the prospects of establishing working class organisations as civil society allies of the labour movement at a time when it is struggling to meet its industrial objectives without community support (Ibsen and Tapia 2017; Lichtenstein 2014, 55-6; Peetz 2015). There are echoes in the Albury-Wodonga experience to the workers centres that have arisen as an alternative to conventional union approaches the United States (Milkman 2013).

Conclusion

There is no dispute that the Australian working class today is deeply fragmented and disorganised. Traditional structures of working class solidarity and power – trade unions and political parties, mutual associations and cooperatives – have indeed disappeared or atrophied; sociologists are at odds about why this has happened. Labour studies demonstrate that working class organisations have emerged, retreated and re-emerged depending on the correlation of social forces that confronted them. One of the defining contributions of this field is that the state of working class organisation and power is context specific and changeable through class conscious collective organising (Deveaux 2018; Piven and Cloward, 1977; Thompson 1966). The Albury-Wodonga experience indicates that considerable latent capabilities may exist within working class ranks to collectively resource and revive community organisations. One of the most valuable resources that labour and other social movements can contribute to re-building working class power and allies are political literacy and organising knowledge, skills and experience.

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The Expression of Ageing through Modern Dance: A Review of the Literature

Christine Robertson

University of Tasmania

Abstract

Embodiment perspectives are imperative to understanding the experience of ageing. The ageing body is integral to the social life of all humans, and all older adults experience culturally constructed representations of ageing in and through their bodies. The dominant narratives of ageing permeate society with negative stereotypes of the older body as declining, homogenised and 'unwatchable'. These social constructions of ageing reinforce ageist attitudes, behaviours and policies that devalue and stigmatise older bodies. Despite the universality of the embodied ageing process and its associated implications, ageing embodiment remains understudied in sociology. A significant shortfall exists in subjective understandings of how older adults embody the social constructions of ageing. This review examines the current literature on embodiment and ageing - with a specific focus on older bodies and dance - to consider the embodied experiences and performances of older adults; and their perceived capacity for performing, renegotiating or circumventing the socially constructed norms and stereotypes of ageing through their dancing bodies.

Keywords: ageing, embodiment, dance, older adults, social myths

Introduction

Embodiment involves the ongoing construction of the embodied self through interaction, where the body is at once object and subject and embodied action is inseparable from sensory experience and perception (Featherstone and Hepworth 1991). Embodiment perspectives are vital to ageing studies because older adults experience ageing in and through their bodies (Gilleard and Higgs 2013; Gullette 2015). All who live long enough will experience, embody and perform socially constructed representations of ageing (Cook 2018; Wainright and Turner 2006). Individuals acquire, construct and embody cultural constructions of ageing throughout the lifespan. These culturally derived bodily inscriptions exert a powerful hold over all members of society and guide the older adult's experience and performance of ageing. Gullette (2015: 23) describes this phenomenon as being 'aged by culture'. Negative stereotypes of ageing reinforce ageist social attitudes, behaviours policies that can marginalise older adults and impact their embodied experience of ageing and identity (Featherstone and Wernick 1995). Despite the universality of

the embodied ageing process and its associated implications, only a handful of sociologists have examined the embodied experience of ageing (Coupland 2013; Gilleard and Higgs 2013: 2015; Humberstone and Cutler-Riddick 2015; Schwaiger 2005: 2012; Tulle 2007; Tulle and Krekula 2013). Shilling's (2005b) review of embodiment studies reveals a significant deficit in the subjective meaning of ageing. A significant shortfall remains in subjective understandings of how older adults' experience, perpetuate and challenge the social constructions of ageing through their body.

This review examines the current research findings, similarities, inconsistencies and debates relevant to embodied ageing. The discussion draws attention to the importance of capturing older adults' subjective perceptions of the ageing experience in and through their ageing body. It focuses on studies that use modern dance as a mechanism for exploring the older dancers' experiences of embodied ageing and their perceived capacities for confronting socially constructed stereotypes of ageing in and through their dancing body. The review is pertinent to a proposed qualitative research project by this author that will explore ageing embodiment from the perspective of older adults who take part in amateur modern dance. The proposed qualitative study will examine the perceptions, experiences and understandings of ten older adults (aged 65 and over) who dance their ageing bodies. The project will focus on the subjective meanings that older adults give to the ageing experience and the capacity of modern dance to shape, reflect and challenge older dancers' embodied experiences of social representations of ageing.

Ageing Embodiment and Social Constructions of Ageing

In Western consumer cultures, two dominant ageing narratives coexist and permeate society with opposing images of the ageing body as either decaying or youthful (Quénart and Charpentier 2012). Decline narratives represent ageing as a time of physiological decline and social withdrawal (Cook 2018). The young, lithe body is the yardstick against which the older body is measured and typecast as impaired, dependent, sedentary, standardised and 'unwatchable' (Coupland 2013: 3; Gullette 2015; Quénart and Charpentier 2012; Shilling 2005a; Tulle and Krekula 2013). These unflattering, imprecise and potentially damaging stereotypes persist across cultures and age groups and stem from in the cultural valorisation of youth and modern medicine's appropriation, or 'medicalisation', of ageing (Featherstone and Hepworth 1991; Shilling 2005a: 762; Tulle 2007: 332; Tulle-Winton 1999). In contrast, positive ageing narratives, such as 'successful ageing', 'active ageing', 'productive ageing', and 'healthy ageing', are neoliberal models that emphasise self-responsibility for active, independent and socially engaged ageing (Asquith 2009: 257-264; Mendes 2013: 178; Tulle-Winton 1999: 289). A portion of older adults undergo the biosocial declines associated with ageing while others adhere to positive ageing narratives (Jones and Higgs 2010).

Many older adults rate their health, happiness and ageing process as positive (Sneed and Whitbourne 2005). In Quénart and Charpentier's (2012) analysis of representations of old age, participants report distinct ageing experiences that do not adhere to social stereotypes. The study involved twenty-five in-depth interviews with a diverse sample of older women of different age groups (65-74, 75-84 and 85 and older), socioeconomic backgrounds (varying education and work experience) and family experience (single, married, children or childless). Some women reported age-related biosocial changes, but all actively rejected ageist prejudice and reported diverse, plural and positive ageing experiences. Importantly, these findings show that simplistic representations that reduce ageing to an imprecise, homogenised standard do not represent the experience of all older adults (Higgs 2013). The study provides only a small snapshot of an intergenerational cohort of women; but, other research has produced similar results (Asquith 2009; Cook 2018; Higgs 2013; Sneed and Whitbourne 2005).

Positive ageing narratives claim to refute ageing stereotypes. However, the youth-orientated ideals of positive ageing narratives paradoxically posit ageing as a deficit and bolster negative stereotypes of ageing (Aberdeen and Bye 2011; Cook 2018; Mendes 2013; Sneed and Whitbourne 2005; Tulle 2007). Each dominant ageing narrative positions the ageing body in either an avoidable or unavoidable state of biosocial decline, whilst reinforcing the stigmatism of older adults and promoting the mass consumption of anti-ageing information, products and procedures (Clarke and Griffin 2008; Cook 2018; DeMello 2014; Quéniart and Charpentier 2012). Neither narrative values the older body or offers the potential for changing ageist attitudes (Schwaiger 2012). A need exists for sociological research that pursues alternative narratives of ageing that transform the meaning of older age (Tulle and Krekula 2013).

Ageing stereotypes permeate ageing discourse and manifest as ageist attitudes, behaviours and policies (DeMello 2014). Ageism is rife in Western cultures that idealise youth and decry ageing (Schwaiger 2009, 2012). Gullette (2015) warns that ageism can be more brutal than other forms of oppression because it faces no organised opposition. Ageism can threaten older adults' experiences of ageing and lead to social marginalisation, disempowerment and disadvantage (Tulle 2007). Older adults may experience anxiety in attempting to maintain social inclusiveness by adhering to youth-focused ideals (Gullette 2015; Mendes 2013; Quéniart and Charpentier 2012). Ageism is unmistakable in the widespread social rejection of the ageing body (Mendes 2013). Clarke and Griffin's (2008) research into subjective experiences of ageism shows that expectations are placed on older adults to embody normative ageist cultural images of the older body, such as concealing their body beneath garments and disguising it as younger. Such concerns are consistent themes in ageing research. Problematically, the literature reveals a lack in research that explores how older adults experience, negotiate and challenge ageing narratives, ageism and cultural constructions of ageing in and through their bodies (Gilleard and Higgs 2013).

Ageing Embodiment and Dance

Dismissal of the ageing body is distinctive in the relative absence of older bodies in the arts (Asquith 2009; Mendes 2013). The disregard of older bodies is remarkably clear in the modern dance industry that reveres young, lithe bodily representations and omits older bodies (Coupland 2013; Schwaiger 2005). Culturally derived ageist assumptions and negative stereotyping of the ageing body go hand-in-hand with modern dance, rendering older dancers irrelevant (Coupland 2013). Schwaiger (2009; 2011) describes this neglect as the 'social invisibility' of the ageing body. However, growing numbers of older dancers are taking to the stage in defiance of contemporary culture's preoccupation with youth (York-Pryce 2016). Likewise, a handful of sociologists are disrupting sociology's prejudice toward younger dancers' bodies by examining the embodied experience of older adult modern dancers (Coupland 2013; Van Katwyk and Seko 2017; York-Pryce 2016). Other researchers have explored embodied ageing subjectivities in other forms of dance, such as classical ballet through the theoretical lens of Bourdieu and Foucault (Morris 2001; Wainright and Turner 2006; Whiteside and Kelly 2016). However, the controlled structure of highly choreographed dance limited the capacity for exploring meaning-making and agentic change (Coupland 2013; Schwaiger 2005). Contrastingly, the experiential and expressive nature of modern dance allows for the exploration, creation and conveyance of meaning through bodily movement, making the genre uniquely suited to capturing subjective accounts of embodied ageing and agentic capacity (Krekula et al. 2017; Schwaiger 2005).

Coupland's (2013) ethnographic research in modern dance and ageing explores the frictions between self-awareness, bodily display, the ideology of youth and the bodily representations of ageism. Her work interacts with Shilling's (1993) work on the significance of embodied social meanings. Coupland's (2013: 5) findings reveal that modern dance enables the 'watchability'

of the older body and enhance embodied awareness allows older modern dancers to challenge and reformulate age-related norms. Her research aligns with Schwaiger's (2005: 2012) argument that modern dance enhances body consciousness and older adults are well-suited to confronting ageing norms and representations through their dancing body. Schwaiger (2005: 2009: 2012) thoroughly scrutinises the experience of ageing embodiment through modern dance and explores themes such as body consciousness, self-transformation and ageing representations. Within various theoretical frameworks, Schwaiger (2012) examines how older modern dancers embody, construct and perform the self and how they grapple with dominant ageing discourses in confronting culturally normative ageing representations. Her research shows that older dancers can transcend bodily ageing through 'ekstasis' - moments of embodied sublimity that even the frailest of bodies can experience (Schwaiger 2012: 123).

Schwaiger (2005: 115: 2012) argues that rather than waiting for governing powers to enact a gradual cultural change of ageing representations, modern dancers can achieve rapid cultural transformation through executing unique bodily expressions and embodied 'resistance' to established techniques. Her argument for the agentic capacity of older modern dancers holds promise for individual dancers. However, it does not illuminate how older modern dancers might express their authentic embodied selves in a dance culture that is mostly devoid of mature dance performance and training opportunities. Tulle's (2007) analysis of the embodied experience of veteran runners may shed sociological light on this dilemma. Her findings specify that embodied actors can confront 'age habitus' if they have control over the organisation, permeability and discourse of 'the field' (Tulle 2007: 342). Modern dance lacks the organisational structure and opportunities that exist for veteran runners. Tulle's (2007) research lends the suggestion that the formation of a 'field' for mature age modern dance could allow for the agentic embodied transformation that Schwaiger (2005: 2012) argues older modern dancers can achieve. Studies such as Schwaiger's (2005: 2012) and Tulle's (2007) that seek understandings of the individual's embodied capacity for engendering social change are vital in ageist societies. More study into the constraints and potential of embodied agency are fundamental to seeking the broader transformation of normative cultural constructions of ageing.

Few other sociologists examine how older adults perceive, experience and understand their body and ageing through modern dance (Van Katwyk and Seko 2017; York-Pryce 2016). In her examination of embodiment, dance vocabulary and performance longevity, York-Pryce (2016) collects video 'dance motifs' to complement comprehensive questionnaires. Her findings establish that older modern dancers embody a history of dance vocabulary, 'speak' with their bodies and defy the stigma of ageism by performing on stage (York-Pryce 2016). Her study highlights a need for more dialogue on the value, validation and visibility of mature-aged modern dancers. Researchers are yet to address the embodied experience of amateur older modern dancers. This gap in the literature could reveal differing accounts, as the experiences of amateur modern dancers are likely to vary from those of professional modern dance artists whose identities and careers may enmesh with their performing bodies (Rubin and Rubin 2005; Shilling 2005b).

The proposed research study by this author will address this omission by examining the subjective perceptions, experiences and understandings of ten older (aged 65 and over) amateur modern dancers. using semi-structured interviewing and thematic analysis. An exploratory approach will capture comprehensive subjective accounts that address research deficits by revealing the meaning older adults attribute to ageing in an ageing body. The research will build on the work of Coup-land (2013) and Schwaiger (2005: 2012) by examining the capacity of older modern dancers for reinforcing, renegotiating and circumventing social constructions of ageing and the older body in and through dance. The study will utilise Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model as a theoretical approach. Whiteside and Kelly (2016) successfully applied this uncommon approach to ageing

embodiment to their study of in-class social interactions of older classical ballet students. Goffman's compelling argument for embodied gesture within a theatrical performance is a suitable fit for examining older modern dancers' embodied experience, construction and performance of ageing.

Conclusion

Sociological research into ageing embodiment is crucial to understanding the common experience of ageing, yet the research area remains relatively underexplored. The potential for older adults to challenge negative stereotypes and ageist social constructions through their bodies particularly necessitates investigation. The lack of sociological literature on subjective experiences of embodied ageing reflects a widespread normative cultural oversight of the older body. Research shows that the dominant narratives of ageing permeate society with inaccurate, homogenised representations and negative stereotypes of ageing. The negative impact of the dominant narratives of ageing is well-established. However, a lack of research exists around how older adults experience ageism through their body and around the potential for alternative narratives that may transform the meaning of older age. Ageing research needs to focus more on older adults' embodied experiences of ageing and re-imagine their capacity for confronting cultural constructions of ageing through their bodies.

Even less literature exists on the subjective embodied experiences and perceptions of older adults who dance their ageing body. Sociology's preoccupation with young bodies in dance mirrors society's preference for watching young, lithe dancing bodies on stage. The discipline produces comparatively less literature on older adults, embodiment and modern dance. Limited research shows that modern dance is a suitable, yet underutilised, mechanism for exploring what it means to be ageing in an older body. A handful of researchers have found that older modern dancers can transform cultural constructions of ageing through embodied movement and performance. These findings may have implications for enabling the watchability of the older body in broader settings and potentially transforming ideologies, meanings and representations of ageing. However, how older bodies on stage confront notions of youth orientation and 'inevitable' physical decline is a topic that necessitates further sociological examination. Sociological research needs to make embodiment central to ageing studies and use modern dance as a mechanism for capturing experiences of embodied ageing and exploring the potential of the older modern dancer to confront social constructions of ageing in and through their dancing body.

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Body Work: Special Weapons and Tactics (Swat) Officers

Kathy Newton

Western Sydney University

Abstract

The concept of body work is an emerging area in the sociology of the body. Gimlin (2007) identified four areas of growing scholarship on body work which include the body's appearance in relation to work, work done on bodies, the emotional management of the body at work, and how work is indelibly inscribed on the body. There is a great deal of scholarship on the masculine gendered identity of police, however, there is only limited work on the embodied experiences of police. This paper aims to explore this gap in the literature through examining aspects of the material enfleshed body work of officers in the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) squad. SWAT officers wear military type uniforms, have sophisticated weapons and utilise specialised technology while responding to dangerous incidents. The paper draws from pre-existing police literature and newspaper articles to analyse SWAT officers' embodied experiences within the four areas of scholarship outlined by Gimlin (2007). The paper concludes that the embodied work of police officers is an important area for future scholarship and is particularly pertinent in helping to gain a better understanding of the post-traumatic stress and other mental illnesses suffered by police as a result of their work.

Keywords: Body Work, Policing, SWAT Teams, Psychological trauma

Introduction

The study of policing has been limited because sociology has predominately focussed on the structures of social relations sidestepping the corporeal dimension of social forces (Adelman & Ruggi 2016:907). Nevertheless, embodied experiences cannot always be easily disentangled from social actions, for example Stuart Hall's interpretation of Karl Marx's work on how capitalism "imposed its punishments on the flesh and blood, embodied existence of the working classes" (Adelman & Ruggi 2016:908). In Foucault's (1979) work on the construction of 'docile bodies' he demonstrated how organisational practices within places such as prisons, military colleges and religious seminaries are inscribed on the body. Foucault's work inspired sociologists such as Bryan Turner and Mike Featherstone to take an interest in the body (Gimlin 2007:354).

Originally the focus on the body tended to be narrow exploring the sexual and erotic (Gimlin 2007:355). As sociology has a history of studying work relationships, production and organisations it was not unexpected that the sociology of the body would branch into this area (Wolkowitz 2006:2). The concept of embodiment in the workplace, referred to as body work, emerged in the 1980s. Gimlin (2007:353) has identified four separate, albeit overlapping, categories of growing scholarship on body work which includes: the body's appearance in relationship to work, work done on other people's bodies, the emotional management of the body at work, and how work is inscribed on the body. The 'body/work nexus' provides a particularly useful, and underexplored, opportunity for examining how "people's experience of embodiment is deeply embedded in their experiences of paid employment" (Wolkowitz 2006:1).

Police, in countries such as the United Kingdom, United States and Australia, typically rely on 'police legitimacy' to gain cooperation from the public. Police legitimacy is when the community accepts the authority of the police and feels an obligation to obey (Sergeant, Murphy, Davis & Mazerolle). The mandated use of force is only ever used as a last resort. However, since the 1960s there has been a growing trend towards police militarisation (Tietz 2016:192). Militarism is a conviction that a threat or use of violence is the most effective way of resolving problems (Kraska 2007:503). As a model of policing militarisation relies on violence as the primary means of controlling conflict rather than a final course of action, used only when all else has failed. The militarisation of police is reflected in the growing number of specialised paramilitary police squads, which are often referred to by the generic name Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams. SWAT officers epitomise hegemonic masculinity because they are called to attend and take control of the most dangerous situations (Kraska 2007:506). Their elite masculine identity relies on certain corporal actions and behaviours. Mik-Meyer et al. (2018:5) argues that "gender constructions and gendered identities are integral to our experience of embodiment".

This paper examines the enfolded body work of police in SWAT teams using as an analytical framework the four categories of body work suggested by Gimlin (2007:355). The paper applies existing policing literature and news articles on SWAT teams from the USA and NSW, Australia. The paper draws on evidence from these countries because the academic literature on SWAT teams predominately arises from research conducted in the USA. NSW is chosen as an Australian counterpart because the activities of the SWAT team during the Lindt Café siege in 2014 drew public attention to their role in policing. The paper provides new understandings of the nature of police work.

Body Work: Appearance

One aspect of body work is the way a person adjusts their body to meet the requirements of their employment (Wolkowitz 2006:55). The management of appearance includes grooming, dressing, and even moulding the bodies physical characteristics and emotional expressions. Although not all police wear a uniform in the course of their employment when one stops and asks what a police officer is, they are likely to conjure up an image of a person, often a man, in uniform. Police represent the authority of the state and are custodians of law and order and have the legitimate authority to exercise force if necessary in order to maintain political order" (Manning 2007:49). Thus, the police body in uniform, as a corporate brand, is a symbol of the power of the government.

The members of SWAT teams, wear military style uniforms, have more sophisticated weapons and utilise specialised technology (Kraska 2007:503; Tietz, 2016:191). SWAT teams are organised on a military philosophy of physically and psychologically demanding 'boot camp' training (Dodge et al.2011:703). Physical strength, in particular upper body strength, is a requirement for SWAT officers and arduous tests must be passed to gain entry (Dodge et al.2011:703). The

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States has a 23-hour test that is physically gruelling and involves all manner of demanding activities such as running, pull ups and firearm capability. The challenging nature of the entry level test prevents women from being eligible to train as SWAT officers (Dodge et al 2011:703). In 2001 there were 40,000 members of the worldwide National Tactical Officers Association and of these only 17 were women (Dodge et al 2011:702 -703).

Tietz (2016:191) gives a vivid description of the physical appearance of a SWAT team on a night time raid in the United States, “they load their armor-piercing bullets into their magazines, affix their night vision goggles, lock down their Kevlar vests, and cover their faces with balaclava masks.” Consequently, the bodily appearance of a SWAT officer is a physically fit male body dressed in intimidating military uniforms.

Although once a specialised unit, SWAT teams are starting to be deployed more often to do general policing tasks (Kraska 2007:502; Tietz, 2016:192). The NSWPF’s SWAT team (officially known as the Public Order Riot Squad) is used for high visibility policing at protests, demonstrations, and events with large crowds. The unit is also utilised for large operations such as “searches for persons, property, cannabis plantations and around internationally protected persons, canvassing of crime scenes, staffing of correctional institutions during industrial disputes, disaster victim identification and first response to chemical, biological or radiological incidents” (NSW Police Recruitment n.d.). The militaristic impression created by SWAT team members working in the community conflicts with the appearance of a free society which is a fundamental characteristic of a democracy (Kappeler & Kraska, 2015:268; Tietz 2016:194).

Body Work: Labour Performed on Other Bodies

Another area of body work research examines labour that is done on people’s bodies such as beauticians, hairdressers, dental hygienists and sex workers (Wolkowitz 2002:497; Gimlin 2007:358). This type of work has various scales from ‘cleaner’ tasks such as performed by a doctor who barely has any physical contact with their patient to ‘dirtier work’ such as nurses being required to wash and deal with the removal of bodily fluids (Wolkowitz 2006:154).

Police work often necessitates labour performed on other people’s bodies. The nature of police work crosses the whole gambit from caring work such as assisting victims of crime or rescuing people in dangerous situations, to dirtier work such as dealing with decaying or bloodied dead bodies, assisting seriously injured or battered people, to physically subduing and handcuffing extremely violent people. Furthermore, police have the authority to kill another person as a last resort under certain conditions (Manning 2007:49).

SWAT teams were designed as specialists to deal with the most difficult and dangerous critical incidents such as “no-knock raids, suicide threats, active shootings, and hostage crises” consequently their mindset differs from patrol officers who attempt to diffuse situations in a calmer manner (Dodge et al 2011:703). Tietz (2016:191) gives an account a nighttime drug raid in the United States, “the order is given. Twenty men crash through a suspected drug dealer’s home, flash bangs go off, and children begin to cry. Smoke fills the room and confusion ensues. People are shot.” SWAT team officers view criminals as enemies who may kill them if they are not overcome first. Their work on criminal bodies aims to impose fear and is often violent and can even extend to taking lives.

Body Work: Experiencing Emotions

Another focal point is studying people’s emotions and how they manage, display or experience emotions in the course of their work (Gimlin 2007:359). Emotions are crucial to how people

experience their embodied existence and feelings can be both positive and negative. Kraska & Paulsen (1997:262 - 265) identified many ways that SWAT officers experience pleasure in the course of their work such as living out their “boyhood fantasies about being a warrior” including “handling military weapons and related paraphernalia” and sharing “mythologically rich” war stories. Other forms of pleasure identified were the deep bonds built with their colleagues because those that have “been tested in battle together form the highest type of friendship, the “brotherhood of war” (Kraska & Paulsen 1997:263), while others enjoy the adrenaline rush of being in dangerous situations. Another aspect of pleasure was the mystique of the job because of the secrecy attached to operational tactics, and there was also a sense of pride belonging to a highly specialised ‘elite’ unit (Kraska & Paulsen 1997:265-266).

The negative feelings associated with being in the SWAT team is a heightened fear of being a victim of violence. Due to the dangerous nature of their work SWAT officers are aware there is a risk of being seriously or fatally wounded. Feigenbaum and Weissman (2016:13) coined the term the “vulnerable warrior” and concluded that “The image of the cop as a warrior meets the notion of the cop as a vulnerable body”. These examples represent some of the emotions that SWAT team officers experience; however, more research needs to be done to determine how SWAT officers manage their emotions while working.

Body Work: Changing the Body

The fourth category of research into body work examines the combined effect of the three previous categories (Gimlin 2007:363). This category focuses on the lasting changes embedded within a worker’s body. One point of interest are injuries a person sustains as a result of their employment. It is well accepted in police literature that police endure a range of physical injuries from assaults to the most serious trauma occurring from motor vehicle collisions (Brandl & Serotine 2012: 266-267).

SWAT officers have attracted the interest of sports medicine practitioners whose research focuses on SWAT officers as ‘tactical athletes’ examining their metabolic fitness (Maupin et al. 2018:356) and the epidemiology of their injuries in comparison to sport athletes (Kalynych & Kleiner 2007:392). Apart from the interests of sports medicine there is no existing empirical evidence on the types of injuries that SWAT members incur. Consequently, I conducted a survey of online news articles. The majority of these articles related to incidents in the United States and involved gunshot wounds, which may be representative of the gun laws in the United States. The following three examples are from different types of incidents. In a training accident in Taiwan an officer was knocked unconscious and sustained multiple injuries after falling six floors while practising abseiling (Cheng, 2018). A SWAT officer in the United States received a gunshot wound that required surgery during hostage negotiations in a domestic violence situation ([Gallek, 2019](#)). Another domestic violence incident in the United States injured nine SWAT members when the perpetrator detonated a bomb (Leavenworth 2018). Injuries included concussions, broken bones, burns and leg and knee injuries, with all officers being hospitalised and some requiring surgery. Due to the dangerous nature of the work SWAT officers are at risk of experiencing serious trauma that may require ongoing medical care for the rest of their lives.

There is a plethora of police literature that officers may exhibit signs of psychological or physiological stress as a result of the nature of their work (Kurtz 2012:71). Yates, Riach, and Johansson (2018) refer to this as the “broken body in policing”. Acute stress normally occurs as a result of critical incidents where police officers face the prospect of being seriously injured or killed (Kurtz 2012), and are the type of situations that SWAT officers train for and attend. Currently in NSW the chief sniper from the Lindt Café siege on the 15th December 2014 is suing the NSW Police Force for psychological trauma due to the decisions made by his superiors not to act earlier which

resulted in him witnessing the murder of one of the hostages (News. Com. Au 2019). Therefore, one potential hazard of being in the SWAT team is the chance of developing Post Traumatic Stress and other psychological and psychiatric injuries.

Conclusion

This paper has used Gimlin's four categories of body work scholarship to canvass some of the embodied experiences of SWAT team officers. In doing so it has identified that the expansion of SWAT officers from a specialised squad into general policing tasks is normalising a militaristic perception of the police. The nature of the corporeal work performed on others by SWAT officers comprises of threatening behaviour, physical aggression and may even lead to acts of lethal violence. There are both satisfying, pleasurable emotions and elements of fear and anxiety attached to the work conducted by SWAT officers. The nature of this work has a risk of leaving permanent physical and psychological scars.

These findings introduce new avenues for future research to advance scholarship on both the sociology of the body and policing. Further research may be beneficial in gaining a better understanding of the post-traumatic stress and other physical and mental illnesses suffered by SWAT officers as a result of their work.

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Discursive formations of Brazil's preparation for the 2016 Olympics in a report of *The Guardian*

Lauren Santos Steffen and Flavi Ferreira Lisboa Filho

Federal University of Santa Maria (Brazil); Visiting Fellow with the Institute for Culture and Society at Western Sydney University

Abstract

This paper aims to identify the discursive formations related to Brazil's preparation for Rio 2016 in the news report of *The Guardian* entitled "100 days until Rio 2016: 'It will be a great party, with a garbage legacy'", published on April 27, 2016 in the newspaper website. The news report was selected for analysis first because it was written by Jonathan Watts, the newspaper's correspondent in Rio de Janeiro during Rio 2016, with the purpose of reporting on the state of the country's preparation before the Games. Second, the news report was selected because of the broad impact of *The Guardian* digital content on public opinion, reaching 160 million people monthly. Besides, according to the data available in the newspaper website, this specific news report had 213 comments and 309 shares on Facebook, demonstrating the attention it received from the audience. Using the methodological principles of the discourse analysis, based on authors such as Orlandi (2002) and Foucault (1999), the discursive formations, understood as the main meanings mobilized in a discourse, will be identified in the news report of *The Guardian*. Three discursive formations related to the Brazilian context are presented as results: uncertainty, calamity and hope.

Keywords: journalism; discourse analysis; sports mega-event; 2016 Olympic Games; *The Guardian*.

Introductory considerations

Considering Brazil's preparation for the Rio 2016 Olympics, a news report was published in *The Guardian's* website one hundred days before the competition. On April 27, 2016, the international correspondent of *The Guardian* in Rio de Janeiro, Jonathan Watts, published a news report entitled "100 days until Rio 2016: 'It will be a great party, with a garbage legacy'". In the text, the journalist mobilized specific meanings related to the sports mega-event, which took place in the country from August 5 to 21, 2016. These meanings were associated with the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of the Brazilian context before the competition, which were mobilized in the news report by the journalist and the sources interviewed.

The news report of *The Guardian* was selected for analysis first because it was written by the international correspondent of the newspaper in Rio de Janeiro at that time revealing meanings related to the Brazilian context in the view of a foreigner who was personally living in the country during the competition. Second, the news report was published one hundred days before the Games, helping the audience to understand and evaluate the Brazilian conditions at that time. In addition, the news report was selected because it was published in one of the main news website of the world. According to the data released by Google Analytics in 2019, *The Guardian* has 160 million monthly global browsers, what reinforces the worldwide impact of its contents. This specific news report had 213 comments in *The Guardian*'s website and 309 shares on Facebook, receiving a considerable attention from the audience.

Using the methodological principles of the discourse analysis, this paper is based on authors such as Orlandi (2002) and Foucault (1999) in order to describe the concept of discursive formations, which are related to the main meanings mobilized in a discourse. Through this methodology, the discursive formations related to the Brazilian preparation for the sports mega-event will be identified in the news report of *The Guardian*. The main meanings will be justified by exemplary sequences taken from the journalistic discourse. In the final considerations, the results will be discussed considering the representation of the Brazilian context in the news report published by *The Guardian* and its possible impacts for the country's international image.

Discourse analysis: identifying meanings in the journalistic discourse

Discourse analysis seeks to understand how language creates meaning, as a symbolic work constitutive of individuals and their history. For Hall (1997:12), language not only reports the facts of the world, but builds them based on classification systems. Thus meaning is not absolute, as if things had a fixed essence. The discursive practice is responsible for systematically building the meaning of the social objects. As Foucault (2012:52) states, the world does not present us with a readable face that we just have to decipher. The process of meaning is a "violence that we do to the facts of the world, as a practice that we impose on them in any case" (Foucault 2012:53), since it is the denominations that transform facts into objects of knowledge, making them visible and intelligible. Therefore, Brazil's preparations for the Rio 2016 Olympics acquire meaning in *The Guardian* news report through language in a process of ordering and categorizing.

Meaning is not in the object itself, but it is a product of the way this object is socially constructed through language and representation (Du Gay 1997:100). Language is the basic material condition upon which discursive processes are developed; it is a condition of possibility of any discourse (Orlandi 2002:16). In this sense, every social practice depends on meaning in order to become intelligible in a certain culture. As Hall (1997:10) concludes, "what we consider to be natural facts are therefore also discursive phenomena". Foucault (1999:173) adds that language establishes an order in space, naming and articulating the representations it transforms into discourse. The meanings of a sports mega-event, for example, are related to the way they are constructed by language according to the rules and cultural values of a given context. Thus, it is fundamental to investigate the meanings of Brazil's preparations for Rio 2016 Olympics mobilized in the news report published by *The Guardian* one hundred days before the Games, since the journalistic discourse is responsible for disseminating knowledge about a certain reality to millions of readers.

For the identification of meanings in a discourse, Benetti (2007:107) argues that one must start from the text itself, in the movement of recognizing the discursive formations. For the author, this concept refers to "a set of meanings, circumscribed by an interpretative limit that excludes what would invalidate that meaning" (Benetti 2007:112). This process consists of identifying the main meanings in the text, that is, the discursive formations which cross the discourse.

For Foucault (2008:149), the discursive formation is a similar dispersion system, which defines a regularity, that is, an order for a certain number of statements. These statements are arranged according to certain rules of formation, which are conditions of existence to which the discourses are submitted. Discursive formation shows that any object of discourse has its place and its law of appearance according to a complex group of relations, which define its specificity.

Thus, meanings are not predetermined by the properties of language, but are formed by the relations established in the discourse, located in a specific socio-historical formation. The discursive formations are not homogeneous, as if they were closed and autonomous blocks. They are compounded by contradiction and heterogeneity, with fluid boundaries, which are continually reconfigured (Orlandi 2002:43). Therefore, in this paper the discursive formations are not established in isolation, but they are analysed in a relational way in the journalistic discourse.

Discursive formations in a news report of *The Guardian* published 100 days before Rio 2016

Based on the principles of the discourse analysis, especially on the concept of discursive formations, the main meanings related to the state of Brazil's preparations for the 2016 Olympic Games will be identified in the news report of *The Guardian* entitled "100 days until Rio 2016: 'It will be a great party, with a garbage legacy'". From the analysis of the news report's discourse, focusing on the verbal text, three discursive formations are presented as results: uncertainty, calamity and hope. These dominant meanings are justified by exemplary sequences taken from the text, which were expressed by the journalist himself or by the sources interviewed.

The journalist and the interviewees will be identified by the initials of their names, placed in brackets: (JW) stands for the correspondent Jonathan Watts, (SP) for Sérgio Praça, a university professor, (RL) for Ricardo Leyser, Minister of Sports at that time, (MA) for Mario Andrada, spokesman for the Olympic Organizing Committee, (FD) for the athlete Fernanda Decnop and (LM) for Luiz Martins de Melo, a specialist in sports economy. The parts in bold represent more strongly the dominant meanings found along the analysis.

Uncertainty

The first meaning found in the news report is uncertainty, which is already evident in the first paragraph of the text. This meaning refers to the main feeling present one hundred days before the Olympic Games, which was characterized by a distrust of the country's capability of hosting such mega-event. As the journalist says, there were so many controversies in Brazil that it was no longer clear that the country was prepared for the competition.

[JW] Brazil has lurched from one **controversy** to the next of late, **undermining confidence** that Rio is ready for the Olympic Games.

[JW] Instead of celebrating Wednesday's 100-day countdown to the Games, many people in Rio de Janeiro are wondering: "**What more could possibly go wrong?**".

The journalist says that the media reinforces this sensation of disbelief in the population and also points out various aspects of the country's political and economic situation that corroborate this feeling of insecurity about the mega-event organization.

[JW] Recent headlines only add to the **sense of dismay**

[JW] From **political turmoil** to **economic recession**, Rio has been hit by a series of national and local calamities that have overshadowed preparations, **undermined confidence** and **prompted questions** about who stands to benefit from the mega-event.

Jonathan Watts criticizes the fact that Brazil was not taking the best of this opportunity to show itself as an emerging power in the international scenario. Instead of demonstrating itself capable of facing challenges and coordinating major events, Brazil was showing its fragility as a country marked by corruption and social inequality.

[JW] It all means Rio enters the Olympic home straight **looking more like an old school Latin American republic** than the modern emerging economy that is about to take its place at the global top table.

[JW] For others, it is **a missed opportunity**.

Luiz Martins de Melo, a specialist in sports economy, shows dissatisfaction with the country's lack of initiative to efficiently solve its problems, ratifying that Brazil has no competence to host the mega-event. For this reason, no consistent legacy would be left for the population in his opinion.

[JW] He (Luiz Martins de Melo) is **disappointed that more was not done** to clean up Guanabara Bay.

[LM] The party will be great. **The legacy for the city will be garbage.**

Calamity

The second meaning identified in the news report related to the Games is calamity, which shows the situation of the country one hundred days before the 2016 Olympics. The mega-event assumes negative characteristics, since it could even contribute to worsen the national scenario.

[JW] South America's first Olympics **is threatening to become a curse** for the shell-shocked host city.

[JW] From political turmoil to economic recession, **Rio has been hit by a series of national and local calamities** that have overshadowed preparations (...).

Jonathan Watts describes a number of difficulties that demonstrate the chaotic national context. Such adversities are experienced in various social spheres, from economics and politics to health and the environment.

[JW] Among **the litany of problems** were: an **impeachment** vote against Dilma Rousseff that has **divided the nation**; the **biggest corruption scandal in the country's history**; the **deepest GDP decline in decades**; the **region's worst health crisis** – Zika virus – in memory; and **water pollution is so bad** that **Guanabara Bay**, which will stage the sailing contests, **stinks of excrement**.

This meaning is the strongest one in the news report, since the journalist points out several examples to demonstrate that Brazil was in a scenario of chaos one hundred days before the Olympic Games. Jonathan mentions the cuts in public investments in the areas of education, health and public safety at that time.

[JW] Meanwhile, there are **growing concerns** about **public spending cuts**, which have prompted **strikes** that have paralysed hundreds of schools, (...) **the health system is ill-prepared** for Zika, and forced Olympics organisers to find **alternative funding for the air conditioning** in the International Broadcasting Centre.

[JW] **More worryingly**, it also prompted **the state police budget to be reduced by 2bn reais (£380m)**, despite intelligence warnings that **Islamic State radicals could see the Olympics as their next target**.

Certain terms used by the journalist also help to construct the meaning of calamity related to the Brazilian scenario, clearly implying a negative connotation for the country's image, which can be exemplified by the expressions "appalling", "poor", "worsening" and "persistent challenges".

[JW] Add to this **appalling traffic congestion (...), poor ticket sales (...), rising unemployment, worsening inflation, persistent challenges with inequality (...)** and **statements in favour of torture, misogyny and military dictatorship (...)**.

Hope

The last discursive formation is related to the possibility of the Olympic Games represent a solution to the national problems. The journalist argues that the image of the country may change, since the successful achievement of a sports mega-event is a source of pride and not of shame. The yachtswoman Fernanda Decnop is very optimistic about the improvement of the country's situation, regardless of the crisis faced in various social areas.

[JW] Organisers of Rio 2016 say **there is much to be proud of**.

[JW] They see **the Olympics as part of the solution** for Brazil rather than the problem.

[FD] **I don't think the crisis will get in the way** and if everything goes well **things will have gotten better by then**.

The Olympics are seen as a salvation, as one of the few moments of redemption for the Brazilian population, which faces the challenges of a developing country on a daily-basis. The Minister of Sport at the time, Ricardo Leyser, considers the Games one of the few events that could be celebrated in such a troubled year. The journalist seems to show a more optimistic side of the mega-event, revealing that there are people who see the Olympics as a chance of regeneration for the country.

[RL] I think **the Games are one of the few good things** that will happen this year. **It can reanimate the country and generate jobs**. In this hard moment, **the Games help us to reactivate the economy and bring in tourists**.

[JW] Many participants are equally **optimistic**. Some **hope for more economic and political stability** by August.

One of the interviewees, Luiz Martins de Melo, brings up a recurring stereotype, associated with Brazilian people, who are frequently seen as funny and engaged in public demonstrations of joy, in order to show that this can be the guarantee for the competition's success in Brazil.

[JW] He (Luiz Martins de Melo) **expects the political situation to stabilise and for Cariocas (...) to ensure the Games are fun**, because **sociological studies have shown they are more predisposed to public displays of joy** than people from other cities.

Finally, this meaning also lies in a certain magic inherent to the Games, that is, the power of the Olympic rituals of transforming the national context and cheering the population, making people forget the country's problems, even for a short period of time.

[JW] Mario Andrada, a Rio 2016 organising committee spokesman, **expects the mood to pick up after the torch relay**, which started last week in Athens, reaches Brazil, with **the public then getting excited once Brazil wins its first gold**.

[MA] But **as soon as we get the torch going and the athletes in Rio, then the energy changes**.

Final considerations

The main meanings related to Brazil's preparation for the 2016 Olympic Games identified in the news report published by *The Guardian* pointed out elements of the Brazilian context one hundred days before the competition. This framework was built in the journalistic discourse through the sequences expressed by the journalist and the sources interviewed. The relations between them helped to give an idea of Brazil's context to the audience.

The discursive formation of uncertainty was directly related to the one of calamity, because it gave the idea of a country unprepared to host the Olympic Games considering the chaotic national situation one hundred days before the competition. These meanings identified in the news report contribute to the dissemination of an image of a country incapable of dealing with the Olympic demands, considering the country itself already had many problems to face at that time, such as a political turmoil, an economic recession and a series of corruption scandals, as mentioned in the news report.

The sensation of uncertainty and the situation of national calamity identified in the article helped to build a negative representation of Brazil in the international scenario, what could impact on the number of tourists interested in visiting it during the competition, for instance. Similarly, it clearly showed that no real legacy is expected for the Brazilian population after the Games, since the country was already suffering the consequences of uncontrolled spending of public money before the competition. In the news report, the country appeared to have no competence to accomplish the task successfully, missing the opportunity of showing its power in front of other countries.

Despite these two negative discursive formations, there was a third one in the news report which raised a positive light upon Brazil in the context of the Olympic Games. In the end, there was hope that the event could be a solution for the Brazilian problems, as the competition could make the population forget their difficult life conditions through its "magical" rituals. It also seemed that the "cheerful and festive" Brazilian population would in the end embrace the event and guarantee the success of the Olympics. The article clearly recurred to a stereotyped version of Brazilians in order to sustain this idea.

The analysis of this single news report only gives a starting point for a broader analysis of Brazil's representation in *The Guardian* before the 2016 Olympic Games. It gives initial hints on how Brazil was represented at that time in the newspaper. Therefore, it is essential to analyze a wider sample of journalistic articles published by *The Guardian* in order to present more solid conclusions.

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Authors: Lauren Santos Steffen and Flavi Ferreira Lisbôa Filho

Affiliations: Lauren is a PhD student in Communication at the Federal University of Santa Maria (Brazil) and a Visiting Fellow with the Institute for Culture and Society at Western Sydney University (Australia). E-mail: lauren.ssteffen@gmail.com. Flavi is a PhD Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Communication at the Federal University of Santa Maria (Brazil). E-mail: flavi@ufsm.br.

Accessibility for Seniors: Factors for Improved Accessibility to Services

Reshma Shrestha, Dr Alpana Sivam and Dr Sadasivam Karuppannan

University of South Australia

Populations are ageing worldwide and the requirements of increasing numbers of older people need to be addressed in the built environment surrounding them. In the built environment, older population has been visibly affected by accessibility issues. However, there is limited knowledge on identifying the determinants of accessibility for creating an age-friendly built environment from stakeholders' perspectives. This paper discusses experts' views on how age-friendly built environments can be made more accessible for an ageing population. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and analysed through qualitative approaches resulting in preferable recommendations for accessibility leading to age-friendly built environment. The results indicated access issues, including in relation to inclusion, sensitivity to disability, easy access, proximity to services and walkability as major fields to consider improvement in accessibility for the wellbeing of older population. Identifying recommendations for improving accessibility can be the preliminary theme for urban planning research, by which cities could develop plans for creating age-friendly built environment ultimately.

Keywords: ageing, inclusion, accessibility, urban planning, walkability

Rationale

The world's population is ageing at unprecedented levels. In 2015, one out of every eight persons worldwide was aged 60 or over, while by 2030, those aged over 60 are projected to account for one in six people in the world (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division 2015). The term 'aged' refers to those people who qualify for the Age Pension - 65 years for men and 60 years for women officially but in general, 'aged' are those people who suffer from connotations of dependency, senescence and physical and psychological deprivation (Turnbull 1990). With the passage of time, there may be an increase of physical, mental and functional problems in humans age chronologically. However, old age is not a phase of decline and loss, instead it provides the opportunity for positive change and productive functioning when approached properly. Ageing of the population affects all aspects of the society including health, social security, education, socio-cultural activities, family life, social life and the labor market.

As people age, being active benefits older people to remain socially connected and play an integral part in communities (WHO 2007). The primary health conditions affecting older people are associated with reduced physical activity, social isolation and loss of confidence (Landorf, Brewer and Sheppard 2007). If the immediate built environment is not suitable for the aged population, they will be restricted to homes and will be more prone to isolation, depression, reduced fitness and increased mobility problems. Most older people prefer to live independently and age in the same place where they have been living (Karuppannan and Sivam 2013). As changes occur in the circumstances, capacities and the functioning of the old people, it is the responsibility of the services to adapt an older person's environment so that it meets their needs. Undertaking the tasks of daily living is not just a function of the individual and the extent of their impairment but also a function of their environment (Alidoust and Bosman 2016). The capacity of an urban environment to support ageing not only requires diverse types of housing that accommodates the changing condition of inhabitants as they age, but also requires a considerate urban environment that supports social inclusion and identification with the community (Landorf, Brewer and Sheppard 2007).

Built environments have a significant role in influencing physical activities primarily in walking and cycling and in stimulating positive social interactions (John, Lehmann and Sivam 2013). Appropriate built environments are necessary to develop behavioural and social interventions that can improve social support in community settings as it affects the older person's capacity to stay active, participate and contribute to society (Karuppannan and Sivam 2013). Built environments have a dominant influence on mobility, independence and autonomy in old age and can facilitate or hinder the quest for a healthy lifestyle at all ages. Built environments comprise the immediate physical environment, community services, informal supports, availability and adequacy of open spaces, accessibility, usability of transportation and security concerns (Levy-Leboyer and Ratiu 1993).

A significant component of built environment, "accessibility", is the encounter between a person's functional limitations and the demands the environment makes on that person. Accessibility includes both personal and environmental components. The environmental component refers to barriers in the environment and compliances with laws, such as plans to remove environmental barriers (Iwarddon and Ståhl 2003). Social participation and social support are strongly connected to good health and wellbeing throughout the life. Participating in different activities in community allows older people to continue to exercise their competence, to enjoy respect and esteem and to maintain relationships. But, the capacity to participate in social life depends not only on the offer of activities, but also on having adequate accessibility to such activities (WHO 2007). Having more or varied activities close to where they live increase possibilities for participation. In addition, having appropriate support in place to enable accessibility, particularly for people with mobility issues, is important. However, there is limited research in this area for improving accessibility focusing the aged proportion of our society. Therefore, this study suggests factors for improving accessibility for seniors towards achieving age-friendly built environment in South Australia.

Case Study

A case study method is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined Yin (2009). This paper adopted a case study approach to investigate the perception of different stakeholders on accessibility towards obtaining age-friendliness in built environment in South Australia (SA). People aged 60 years and above made up 22.3 percent of the total population in SA (ABS 2011). According to Sivam (2011), the proportion of the SA's aged population

is higher and increasing faster when compared with trends in other states resulting in a greater demand for an appropriate age-friendly built environment. Recognizing the challenges, the state government put forward the basic themes identified as fundamental to the future and one of the primacy actions defined in the plan is facilitating choice and independence where aged people live and travel around, connecting to local community and remaining healthy (O’Hehir 2014).

Methods

This paper is based on semi-structured interviews with different groups of stakeholders: academicians and researchers (ARs), governmental officials (GOVs) and service providers (SPs) in field of “ageing and built environment” in South Australia. There were 20 respondents, 10 ARs from local universities, 8 GOVs from local councils, Office for the ageing, SA Housing and Renewal SA and 2 SPs from local age care service providers covering the three main concerned bodies working for ageing. The questionnaire was designed to explore the opinion of stakeholders about their preferable approach towards accessibility. The respondents were first emailed and were invited to state their willingness to participate. After they agreed, face to face semi-structured interviews were conducted at their choice of date and place.

The data were transcribed in Microsoft Word and analysed with NVivo 12 software tool. This paper used thematic analysis as qualitative content analysis, a process that identifies both implicit and explicit ideas within the data as themes. It involves a process of identification of themes through careful reading of data. A theme could be expressed by a single word, a phrase, a sentence, a paragraph or entire document. It might assign a code to a specific text portion of any size within whole texts, where this portion represents a single theme or specific issue that is relevant to the research questions. The themes were derived from the relationship between the literature review and the interview data.

Results

Three main themes emerged from the analysis are shown in figure 1. Depending on the number of references, the theme with the highest number of references is in top position while the one with the lowest number of references is at the bottom determining which factor was given the most priority and which the least. According to figure 1, “walkability” was mentioned the most; hence it is the most prominent factor to be considered for improving accessibility in South Australia. The second prominent factor is enabling environment, easy access and proximity to services and third is access inclusion which are further discussed.



Figure 1: Main themes from thematic analysis for “accessibility”

Walkability

Different factors encourage walkability among older people. There should be local facilities where people could walk to, such as shops, libraries, parks and car parks. There should be provision of quality and adequate walking or cycling tracks. Small initiatives such as green strips for

bike lanes make a huge difference and can contribute to connecting communities and encouraging activities in the built environment. Another important aspect is the quality of the streetscape, designing streets to enhance age-friendliness. Older people are more likely to go out for a walk if it is a pleasant environment and if there are tree lined streets compared to bare streets. There can be flush kerbs, ensuring that the footpath and the road in the same plain, so that people can move around safely, making it easier for wheelchairs and gophers, which might otherwise be dangerous both for the person themselves and cyclists and vehicles using the roads. The footpaths should be wide enough so that people with scooters and walkers have room to walk and are of good quality. There should be places in footpath to cross safely. Footpaths should not have overhanging trees or cement should not come up because of the tree roots.

Due to the advance development in technology, smart technologies could be used as one respondent suggested: *“There are smart technologies and we need to think about how they can be incorporated. You might wear a watch that can connect to the footpath. So if you have got early stages of dementia, it can tell you your route home when you press home on your watch or picture of your house for home and it tells you if you feeling a bit lost where you want to go or it may light up as you are walking so that you feel more confident on walking on a gloomy day or in dusk or in night”* (Respondent #AR6, 2018).

Road-crossing time is also an important issue for walkability of older people since they prefer it to be longer so that they can walk safely to the next side of the road. It allows them to decide whether to move forward or stay at the other side depending on the time left and sound of the traffic. For example, in Singapore, swiping a senior card at the road crossing gives a longer time to cross the road.

Enabling environment, easy access and proximity to services

One of the priorities of State Age-friendly SA strategy is looking at enabling environment, making it easy to get around covering all the components of transport, walking, cycling, public transport, car parking and issues enabling people to get out in their community and to get what they need. There are two aspects in built environment: one is the ability to walk, to get about and the other is the want to get outside which is possible only if it is enabling and has a pleasant environment. For example, one respondent mentioned: *“If you live on 6 lanes 3 way on your doorstep, you are less likely to want to go out for a walk than if you have tree lined streets. If that space you are very familiar with is a big old house on a big garden, 2 kms from the shops and you no longer drive, then you are trapped in that space. It is no longer an enabling environment; it is one that stops you from getting out”* (Respondent #AR6, 2018).

Most of the respondents discussed about access to different services like libraries, public buildings, public spaces, gardens, medical services, movies, central markets, shopping and other services including hairdressers and post offices. However, they believed some people were happy with online shopping, but they want to be out doing other things or go to libraries instead of going for shopping.

Another critical access to services is access to public transport. People prefer to be 100 meters away from bus stop or in easy walking distance. However, only access to public transport might not be enough, there should be community buses to pick up when needed.

It is also important to have proximity to services as older people want to live closer into the city so that they have got access to services, movies, shopping and central markets, even though housing is cheaper in far areas away from services. People agreed on the importance of being close to services within walking distance since it also benefits the health because they are walking instead of driving their car.

Access inclusion

If the places are designed with access inclusion criteria, be it limited visibility or people suffering from sensitive issues, it makes them easy to navigate. All public buildings need to be accessible for people with any mobility issues or vision impairment and similar things unless if they have a heritage requirement. There should not be steps at doorways of public buildings and ramps should not be too steep; if they are steep, there should be handrails. Social aspects are equally important as there should be a reason to visit a place with activities for older people. Such places should be friendly for them as there should be facilities like shelters for sitting or standing, places to put their bags and to seat to be safe from foot or vehicular traffic. For example, one respondent mentioned: *"It really comes around is there a reason for older people to decide to go to public places which comes into the social things. You have two parts of the ageing discussion. One is: is there a reason for people to use or go to a certain place and once they are there, is it quite friendly for them in terms of is there a place to stand or sit under shelter or a place to put your bags down safely or to not have to be standing where there is risk of being in foot traffic or vehicular traffic or things like that. But the big question is: is there a reason for people to be there?"* (Respondent #AR8, 2018)

For disability access in buildings, there should be wheelchair lifts, escalators and similar facilities. Flush kerbs (edges in footpaths in same level) make it easier to move around. However, disability access is not only about suitable ramps, handrails, wide doors or flat ground, it is also about the ability to navigate between buildings. Therefore, though a lot of universal design principles evolved considering the needs of people in wheelchairs, their needs are not necessarily the same with the aged people. Hence, more emphasis is required to advance inclusive access from an ageing point of view.

Conclusion

Enabling environments to enhance walkability, easy access and proximity to services and access inclusion will improve accessibility in South Australia and can also be considered in other parts of world. Due to increasing challenges aged people face, planning policies and services should be designed to enable them to live independently, enjoy good health and continue to participate in society. Several facilities in societies can be enhanced when planning decisions are undertaken properly. Barrier-free structures and streets will enhance mobility and independence of both young and old individuals with disabilities. Initiatives to enhance the wellbeing of older people will not only support the older people, but also ensure that younger people enjoy continued economic and social prosperity. Consequently, policies to meet the challenges of ageing population will be substantial to the overall wellbeing of people of every age group in a society.

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Flexible Non-Citizens: Class, Strategic Citizenship and the Citizenship Dilemmas of Migrants from China in Australia

Catriona Stevens

University of Western Australia

Abstract

This paper addresses the 'citizenship dilemma' (Ho 2011) faced by migrants from China living in Australia and explores the primarily instrumental ways that participants evaluate the benefits of Chinese versus Australian citizenship. Because China does not permit dual nationality, naturalisation in Australia entails the loss of Chinese citizenship and, by extension, subnational (local) citizenship rights afforded through the *hukou* system of household registration. Participants accounts illustrate their calculations of relative value within the constellations of membership available to them. These case studies illustrate how the instrumental value of *hukou* forms a critical part of these calculations, over and above that afforded through membership at the national level. For migrants unwilling to lose their valued urban *hukou* status, naturalisation in Australia presents a significant dilemma and families may resort to strategies like *split nationality households* to optimise benefits and limit risk across all jurisdictions. This paper argues that social class is a key factor in decision-making processes, in particular the uniquely Chinese spatial expression of class that is manifested through the *hukou* system and the administrative division of the population into rural and urban. Citizenship decisions of Australian residents involves complex, highly individualised interests in relation to competing citizenship statuses.

Key words: Chinese migration, *hukou*, differential citizenship, citizenship constellations, strategic citizenship, permanent resident.

Introduction

Dual nationality has been permitted under Australian law since 2002, however China does not permit dual nationality. If a Chinese citizen acquires the citizenship of another country, then they are deemed to have relinquished their Chinese citizenship and are thereafter treated as aliens under Chinese law and by systems of Chinese public administration. These systems include their *hukou*, the household registration system that forms the main point of interface between a Chinese citizen and the state, and which affects access to welfare services like education and health-

care, as well as work rights, family planning and residency permits, and employment insurance schemes (Wang 2005).

The author conducted ethnographic research over eighteen months during 2014-16 among China-born trade skilled migrants and their families living in Perth, including participant observation and semi-structured interviews, total participants n=55. The findings show that many long-term Australian residents find the decision to naturalise very difficult. Many participants in this study arrived in Australia as temporary workers with fixed-term plans to return to China but have since unexpectedly become permanent residents, balancing the demands of family life in Perth today with future aspirations of return or circular migration in retirement (Stevens 2017; 2019).

This paper addresses the 'citizenship dilemma' (Ho 2011) faced by migrants from China living in Australia and explores the primarily instrumental ways that participants evaluate the relative benefits of Chinese versus Australian citizenship. Many families choose to create *split nationality households* as a strategy to accomplish varied, sometimes contradictory, objectives over the course of their migrations. This paper further argues that social class is a key factor in decision-making processes, particular the uniquely Chinese spatial expression of class that is manifested through the *hukou* system and the administrative division of the population into rural and urban residents.

Strategic citizenship and the citizenship dilemma

As states develop increasingly complex mechanisms to manage cross-border mobility, citizenship has become a site of global inequality and a valuable component of mobility capital (Shachar 2009; Kim 2019). Meanwhile, rising ethnic diversity within nations and increasing levels of transnational engagement has resulted in many countries liberalising citizenship laws to permit dual and multiple citizenships. These changes in the ways in which citizenship may be acquired have resulted in the commodification of citizenship, whereby national membership can be seen as 'a portable good that carries value independently of its connection to a specific nation' (Harpaz and Mateos 2019, p.8).

The 'inevitable lightening of citizenship' which accompanies these processes of liberalisation and commodification has resulted in the 'dissociation of citizenship from nationhood' (Joppke 2010, p.9). The subjective value of citizenship has declined and the objective, practical value of citizenship as a form of mobility capital has increased, leading to what Joppke (2019) terms the 'instrumental turn' in citizenship. Strategic approaches to citizenship arise through the confluence of two factors: the central role of national membership in patterns of global inequality, and new migration and citizenship legislation that forms opportunity structures for those who move or seek to move (Harpaz and Mateos 2019).

Bauböck (2010) proposes 'citizenship constellations' as a means of understanding how people are simultaneously linked to two or more territorial political entities, subject to the laws and party to the benefits accorded to members in different jurisdictions, including those at national, sub-national and supra-national levels. These links generate complex and highly individualised interests in relation to competing citizenship statuses.

For Chinese nationals there are two particular factors to consider when evaluating the citizenship constellations within which individuals make naturalisation decisions. Firstly, China does not permit dual nationality. Although Chinese scholars argue for liberalised citizenship laws (e.g. Ren 2009) this is unlikely to change. Secondly, in China few rights of citizenship are afforded at the national level. Instead, Chinese nationals experience 'differential citizenship' (Wu 2010), meaning unequal access to the rights and benefits of citizens, on the basis of their *hukou* place of officially registered residence. Many functions of the state, including education, healthcare,

pensions and other welfare functions, are administered at the local level. This results in *hukou* effectively functioning as an 'internal citizenship institution' (Vortherms 2015) and so for migrants *hukou* becomes an important subnational membership to be considered when evaluating the instrumental value of national citizenship.

Calculating the Instrumental Value of Chinese Citizenship

Among migrants from China to Perth, three core concerns arise as justifications for choosing to retain Chinese citizenship and not naturalise in Australia as they calculate the relative instrumental value of the possible citizenship constellations available to them (Joppke 2019; Bauböck 2010). First there are the practicalities of returning to China for short visits, longer stays or possible retirement migration. Chinese visa regulations are perceived to be opaque, open to subjective interpretation and possibly subject to unpredictable changes in the future, potentially resulting in permanent exclusion (see also Liu 2011).

The second concern is closely connected and revolves around *hukou* as the point of interface with the various agencies of the Chinese state. This is a factor not only for people considering return or circular migration, but also for many migrants who plan to remain living overseas but have ongoing financial or familial attachments to China. For example, 'Chen' is a welder who first left China when he was nearly forty years old, having made contributions to his Chinese pension for some two decades. He continued to make payments while working overseas, first in Singapore and then in Australia. Because he worked in a specialised skilled occupation, his pensionable age is fifty-five, only two years away at the time of interview. He does not plan to retire in Australia just yet, but looks forward to being able to claim his Chinese pension. However, he can only do so through a local *hukou*, which he loses if he becomes an Australian national. He and his wife have therefore retained their Chinese citizenship. Not only do they imagine a future when they might return to China for their retirement, but their personal financial circumstances are a powerful disincentive to naturalising in Australia.

Finally, some migrants are concerned about the ways in which their citizenship as legal status reflects their identity and invoke a sense of loyalty to and pride in the nation of China when discussing their decisions. However, while most participants expressed a deep affection for China, discussions of citizenship and legal status were overwhelmingly instrumental and pragmatic in tone. In this context, Australian citizenship is itself not that highly valued, as 'Zhang' explains:

Keeping Chinese citizenship means we can always go back after they have grown up. It's a kind of insurance... It only costs \$200 to become an Australian citizen. But if you wanted to become a Chinese citizen you could spend any amount of money and you still probably wouldn't get it... Both Australian and Chinese citizenship have advantages... But having Australian citizenship and PR are pretty much the same. A citizen can vote, but what's that got to do with me? Everything else is the same. Same access to education and everything.

Viewed from a constellations of citizenship approach (Bauböck 2010), Chinese citizenship may have too great an instrumental value to be given up lightly, particularly when it may be combined with Australian denizen status. However, participants' preoccupation with the localised citizenship benefits afforded by their *hukou* demonstrates that instrumental calculations engage the value of multilevel citizenships beyond simple national membership.

Calculating the Instrumental Value of Australian Citizenship

Despite the widely recognised benefits of keeping Chinese citizenship, for many participants the decision is still a major dilemma. Balancing the advantages of remaining a Chinese national, there

are compelling, pragmatic reasons for taking up Australian citizenship. These include accessing loans for higher education and perceived advantages for jobseekers who can list Australian citizenship on their application.

Other factors, particularly reforms to Australian migration legislation, are leading some migrants to reconsider earlier decisions to not apply for citizenship. While the denizen rights and benefits afforded migrants with permanent status closely approximate those granted to naturalised Australians, permanent residents are still non-citizens potentially subject to visa cancellation. During the period of data collection, changes to section 501 of the Migration Act meant that visa holders who failed the character test were subject to mandatory rather than discretionary visa cancellation. News of this change and fear of detention and deportation caused some disquiet, even among very law-abiding migrants.

Many also fear there may be future changes to Australian migration legislation that could limit their right to remain. Australian visa regulations are perceived by migrants to be constantly changing and quite unpredictable. This is not surprising; most have experienced grappling with changing English language criteria and frequent amendments to skilled occupations lists while applying for their initial temporary and permanent visas. Tales abound of would-be migrants who have fallen foul of the shifting legislative landscape. It is highly unlikely that Australia will revoke the right to a return resident visa for permanent residents. Nonetheless, some participants still feel insecure in their status as a non-citizen, partly as a result of their limited *migration literacy*, meaning their ability to read and interpret migration legislation. Strategic approaches to citizenship calculations thereby depend on not only highly individualised legal matrices of opportunity, but also individualised capacity to act upon those opportunities.

Citizenship Strategies of Families in Australia

Given the insecurities inherent in non-citizen status in either country, for many families the preferred strategy is to arrange for some members to take Australian citizenship while others retain their Chinese identity documents. *Split nationality households* are seen to offer the best protection against the insecurities inherent to non-citizen status in both jurisdictions. These family strategies illustrate that a citizenship constellations approach (Bauböck 2010) may go beyond individualised analyses and instead position the household as the key unit of enquiry.

Some parents indicate that they feel ‘safe’ because they have an Australian child and so ‘no-one is going to make us leave’. While this view of migration law is flawed, as there have been cases where one parent of a dependent Australian citizen has been detained or deported, this is still a common strategy proposed by participants.

Having a spouse in each camp is another an established approach to hedge the decision to remain in Australia. ‘Jasmine’ and ‘Alan’ began their Australian journey as holders of 457 temporary work visas in a regional town where Alan was employed as a welder. They had a school age child whom they left behind with grandparents so that his Chinese education would not be interrupted while they went overseas for a few years. Over time, however, they came to prefer life in Australia. Once they had moved to Perth and acquired permanent status, they brought their child to Australia where he is now established and thriving in a local high school. They have another younger child, born an Australian, for whom Jasmine says, “there is no point having Chinese citizenship because he doesn’t get a *hukou* because he was born outside of China.”

Both parents and their eldest child are still permanent residents rather than citizens. They see no future in China for their youngest; he doesn’t speak Mandarin, only their family local dialect, and is not learning to write Chinese. They recognise that if they are to stay here then losing their *hukou* is of little import, and yet are still loath to renounce their Chinese legal identity. They have

decided that the best approach will be for just one of them to apply for citizenship, but when I asked Sarah which of them would become an Australian, she laughed, “Ha! I don’t know. Neither of us wants to. I tell him he should become a citizen and he tells me I should become a citizen!”

Social Class, *Hukou* and Strategic Citizenship

Homeland social class, particularly *hukou* status, is a key factor affecting naturalisation decisions in Australia. All participants in this study who argued for the instrumental value of Chinese citizenship are working class labour migrants from major cities in China. Their localised citizenship (Vortherms 2015), specifically their right to return to and access services in their respective home cities, is highly valued by members of this group.

Migrants from rural backgrounds, in contrast, may have less to lose in renouncing their Chinese citizenship status; the instrumental value of citizen status in Australia may exceed the combination of permanent residency and the limit value they see in the local citizenship rights in China. Of all the people I spoke with about their citizenship choices, the man who was most emphatically and enthusiastically satisfied with his decision to become an Australian was someone who in China been disadvantaged by his own poor, rural background. ‘Yang’ is a rural resident who spent many years suffering discrimination as he worked away from home in a coastal city in China before taking a job overseas. He felt that the hereditary status of a rural *hukou* meant that his children might fare little better in life than him, constrained as they were by China’s socio-spatial hierarchies. When asked him if he had taken citizenship, he explained that dissatisfaction with his personal circumstances in China had been the most important factor in his decision:

Yes, I have taken citizenship. Why is not an easy question... [long pause]... I’ve been in Australia for seven years and I’ve been back a few times. At first, I really missed it and wanted to go back. But then I started to feel that there were things I didn’t like. I had to do some things, administrative jobs that involved going to government departments, and I didn’t like having to rely on people you know (zhao guanxi) to get things done. And I don’t like that farmers have the lowest position in society. No one cares and they have nowhere to express their voices. I am not satisfied with the government.

For Yang, naturalisation has strategic value since the rights afforded him as a citizen of China are limited and constrained by the ‘differential citizenship’ (Wu 2010) he has experienced because of his *hukou* status and the consequent exclusion from urban citizenship that this entailed. Yet the instrumental value he finds in Australian citizenship does not preclude non-instrumental or affective value. The two are in fact complementary (Bauböck 2010), as he works to (re)construct his identity as a new Australian. He also is politically engaged; ‘Yes, of course I vote!’ he told me enthusiastically, as he shared his opinions on a range of topical issues. He feels personally invested in the destiny of ‘our country - for I’m an Australian now’.

Conclusion

It is now thirty years since Ong (1999) proposed ‘flexible citizenship’ as a means of understanding mobile elites’ responses to the disciplining power of nation states. While there have been critiques of Ong’s thesis, the ‘instrumental turn’ (Joppke 2019) indicates that such flexible affiliation is now a commonplace understanding of citizenship, not just among East Asian elites, but most internationally mobile people, including those with aspirations to mobility.

Simple linear processes of migration and assimilation are now unusual as migrants of all backgrounds live transnationally engaged lives. This includes maintaining future aspirations and imaginaries that demand flexible mobility and the ongoing ability to move to and to reside in more than one national (or subnational) jurisdiction. Where one country does not permit dual

nationality, strategies of flexible accumulation may involve choosing to not take citizenship in another, especially where the rights and benefits afforded citizens and permanent resident non-citizens are comparable.

Participants accounts illustrate their preoccupation with calculations of relative value within the constellations of membership available to them. This case study offers a new dimension to analyses of the 'citizenship dilemma' (Ho 2011) by illustrating how *hukou* may have instrumental worth over and above that afforded to membership at the national level. For migrants unwilling to lose their valued large city *hukou* status, naturalisation in Australia presents a significant dilemma and families may resort to strategies like split nationality households to optimise benefits and limit risk across all jurisdictions. For migrants disadvantaged by their class position in China's social-spatial hierarchies the decision is often far more straightforward.

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Quantitative Measurement and Statistical Analysis of Seniors' Behavior in Street-corner: Small-scale Public Space

Xuyang Sun, Lijun Wang, Ning Gu, and Fei Wang

Tianjin University

Abstract: Seniors are an important part of urban diversity and urban public spaces are important places for them to participate in city life. With urban growth and aging of population, how to make urban public spaces more suitable for seniors becomes an important challenge that contemporary cities face. However, most of the attention has been on the large-scale major public spaces. The widespread small-scale public spaces that seniors frequently use in their daily life have been overlooked. Street-corner small-scale spaces are fairly typical in this respect. In the research we randomly selected 74 street-corner small-scale spaces in Tianjin, China as sample spaces. Then we observed and periodically photographed the behaviors of seniors within to obtain behavioral data. The duration of observation for each sample space was no less than 4 hours. Based on the data, we quantitatively analysed the behavioral characteristics of seniors in street-corner small-scale spaces. Finally, taking the occurrence of communication as an example, combining with the spatial form index data acquired by measurement, we explored the impact of spatial form on the occurrence of communication with statistical methods. The research will provide a basis with scientific evidence for age-friendly design of street-corner small-scale public spaces.

Keywords: seniors' behavior, street-corner small-scale public space, spatial form, quantitative measurement, statistical analysis

Introduction

Public spaces are the lifeblood of cities (Nemeth and Hollander, 2010:21). Public open spaces are areas for relaxation, social contact, entertainment, leisure, and for simply having a good time (Banerjee, 2001:14). These places maintain people's social entity within the society, where people face different groups of people and events, and share experiences (Holland et al. 2007:46). Such spaces should be ideal places for the occurrence of various activities among different age groups (Whyte, 2001; Giles-Corti et al, 2005). Because of the restriction on body function, seniors have a relatively limited geographical boundary to participate in the city life. As a result, they depend less on the large-scale urban public spaces, which are scarce in number and dispersed in distri-

bution. On the contrary, the widespread small-scale public spaces in cities are frequently used by them but often overlooked by researchers and urban designers. In this research, we argue that age-friendly design of small-scale urban public spaces can significantly improve the daily experience of using these spaces for senior citizens and motivate social interactions to enable them to take a more active part in the public life of the city.

Background: people's behaviors in urban public spaces

People's behaviors in space greatly differ from age group. For example, seniors are less likely to carry out social interaction with other groups or to explore public open spaces compared to younger people. In turn, seniors are more concerned about their physical and environmental needs (Askari et al. 2015:93). The behavior of seniors can reflect their real requirement for the space under most circumstances and the related research can help us think about how to make age-friendly improvements. Engels and Liu (2013:168-189) investigated why the seniors in three different case study areas needed to travel outside the home, how often and how far, plus what modes of transportation were used. They argued that seniors must be able to access a wide range of services and facilities either in their immediate neighbourhood or surrounding area. In addition to this, the space people within may affect their behaviors in some way. Maat and De Vries (2006:2111-2127) found a positive connection between the visiting patterns of people who live in a green or mixed environment and the proximity of parks and green areas. Schipperijn et al. (2010:25-32) tested the relative importance of different factors on the frequency of using the nearest urban green space through a multivariate logistic regression model. They found that whether or not respondents used their nearest green space most often depended on size of the area, distance to the area and factors that were likely to express a reduced mobility.

However, most related research mainly focuses on the general behavioral patterns rather than specific daily behaviors people occur within particular type of space. As a result, research about the following aspects is not adequate and has an important theoretical meaning. This includes, which specific behaviors are most likely to occur in particular type of space, what are the characteristics about the frequency of occurrence for different behaviors, is the occurrence of certain behaviors affected by spatial form and how. Exploring these issues can provide a basis with scientific evidence for us to think about how to make urban public spaces suit people's daily life.

Research design: sample space selection and data collection

In our research, firstly 74 street-corner small-scale spaces in Tianjin, China were randomly selected as sample spaces. Then we continuously observed (no less than 4 hours per sample space) the daily behaviors of seniors in the sample spaces on a workday and a weekend day within normal weather (no rain or other severe weather). In the process of continuous observation, following a cycle of every 10 minutes, we took a photograph to further record the behaviors of seniors (if one photograph can't contain all the seniors within the space at that moment, additional photographs should be taken) and continued this sampling method of behavioristics for the entire observation.

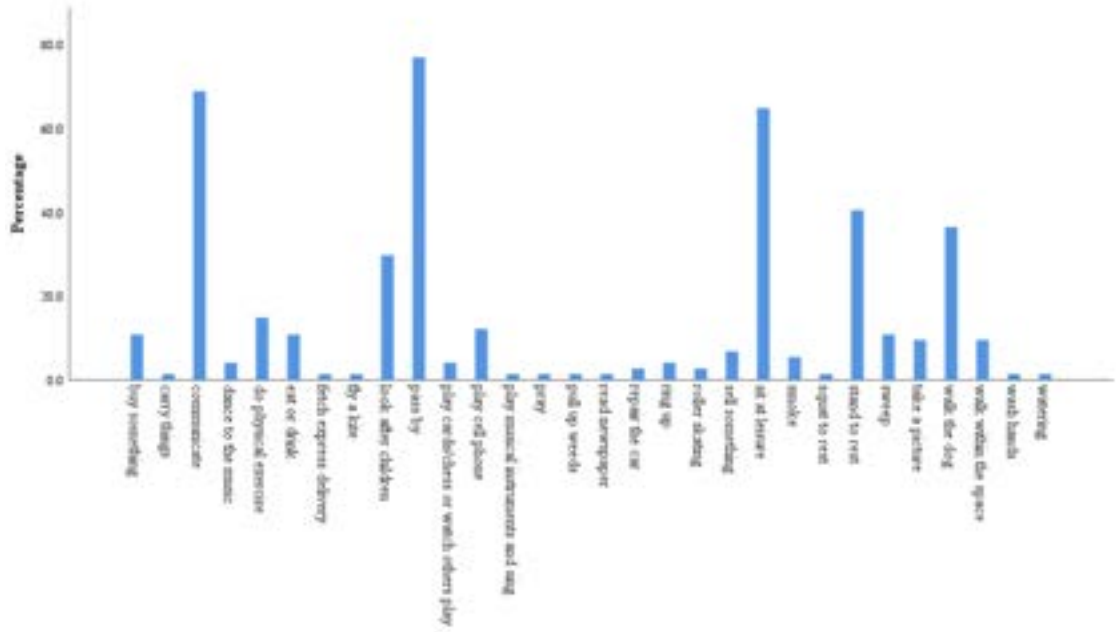
Because the duration of the observation was long enough and the photographs were taken periodically, the behaviors in the photographs can well represent the daily behaviors of seniors in sample spaces in general. Based on this, we extracted and organized the behavioral data according to the photographs. The specific approach is that distinguishing seniors from others by common sense (since the quantity of sample spaces is sufficient, the duration of observation is long and the conclusion is about tendency, the individual error is tolerable), we divided the behaviors of seniors shown in the photographs into different kinds and described them, such as "buy something", "play cell phone", "look after children" and so on. Then the specific kinds of behaviors seniors occurred in every sample space were recorded and the frequency of occurrence for each

kind of behavior was counted to study the behaviors of seniors in street-corner small-scale public spaces.

General statistical analysis of results

Figure 1: statistical analysis about the specific behaviors of seniors and their occurrence in terms of percentage

The statistical analysis on the behavioral data of seniors was conducted with SPSS. It was found



that their behaviors varied and there was a significant difference in the occurrence of different behaviors in terms of percentage [Figure 1]. Among the 74 sample spaces, passing by (adding “ing” after the behavior of “pass by” is to make the sentence grammatically correct and the following is similar) occurred in 57 sample spaces, which accounted for 77% of all sample spaces, ranking at the top of all kinds of behaviors. Communication was in the second place, appearing in 51 sample spaces, closely followed by sitting at leisure, which respectively occupied 68.9% and 64.9% of all sample spaces. Besides, standing to rest (40.5%), walking the dog (36.5%) and looking after children (29.7%) also occurred in the sample spaces with relatively high percentages (great than 20%).

The percentages of occurrence for different kinds of behaviors in sample spaces reflect their probabilities to occur in street-corner small-scale public spaces. Therefore, it is advisable that meeting the requirement of these behaviors with high probabilities of occurrence should be prioritized when designing age-friendly street-corner small-scale spaces.

Descriptive statistical analysis about different behaviors

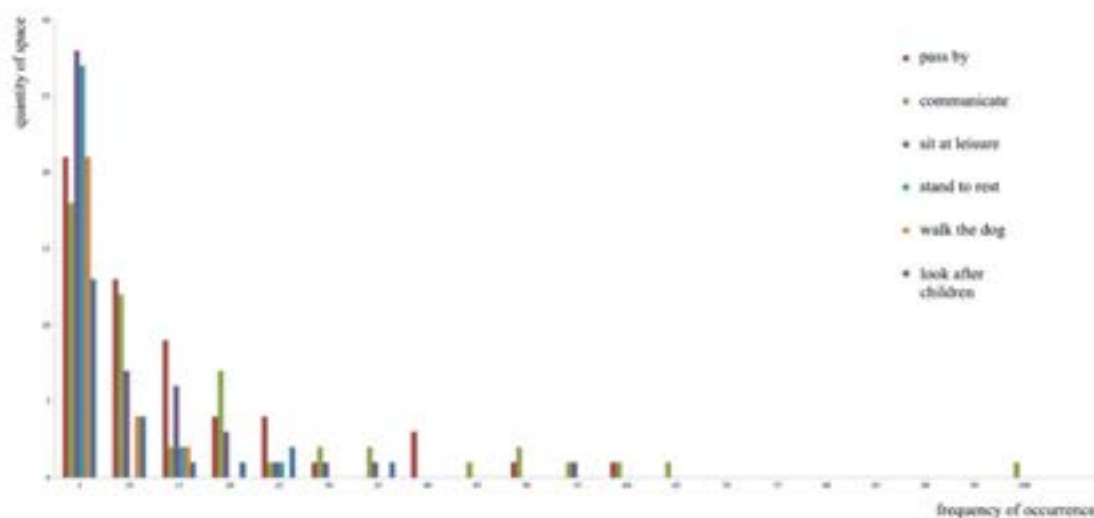


Figure 2: histograms of distribution about the frequency of occurrence for the six kinds of behaviors with the highest percentages of occurrence

Based on the general statistical analysis, a histogram of distribution about the frequency of occurrence has been illustrated for the six kinds of behaviors that have the highest percentages of occurrence [Figure 2]. The histogram shows that the frequency of occurrence for the six kinds of behaviors does not conform to Gaussian distribution. That is, the frequency of occurrence for these behaviors is relatively low in most sample spaces. With further statistical analysis, we found that other behaviors besides these six kinds of behaviors shared the similar pattern. Under this circumstance, the medians should be used to describe the centralized tendency (mean level) of the frequency of occurrence for the behaviors [Table 1].

Comparing the medians of different behaviors, we found that the median frequency of occurrence for playing cards/chess or watching others play in the sample spaces where this kind of behavior occurred was significantly higher than that for other behaviors. Contrasting to the low percentage of occurrence (4.1%) in the general statistical analysis, it shows that even though the probability for playing cards/chess or watching others play to occur in the street-corner small-scale spaces is not high, once it occurs, it is likely to continually occur or to cause the gathering of seniors.

Dancing to the music is another interesting similar to playing cards/chess or watching others play in this respect. Beyond that, the medians of communication, passing by, playing musical instruments and singing are all 9 times, ranking the third highest among all behaviors. What calls for special attention is that the medians of some behaviors (with high percentage of occurrence in general statistical analysis) are not so high. They include standing to rest, doing physical exercise, playing cell phone and eating or drinking with respective medians of 2, 2, 1 and 1 times. It suggests that although the probabilities for those behaviors to occur in street-corner small-scale spaces are quite high, the frequency of occurrence for them is not very high in most cases.

Table 1: the medians of the frequency of occurrence for different behaviors

| | communi- -cate | sit at leisure | eat or drink | buy something | sell something | stand to rest | pass by | walk the dog | pray | roller skating |
|--------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|------|-------------------|
| Median | 9.00 | 5.00 | 1.00 | 4.50 | 7.00 | 2.00 | 9.00 | 3.00 | 3.00 | 2.00 |

| | dance to music | play cell phone | fly a kite | pull up weeds | sweep | Ring up | smoke | take a picture | look after children | walk within space |
|--------|-------------------|--------------------|------------|------------------|-------|------------|-------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Median | 15.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 3.00 |

| | do physical exercise | play cards or watch | Water | read | play musical instruments and sing | fetch express delivery | carry things | squat to rest | repair cars | wash the hand |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------|------|---|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Median | 2.00 | 60.00 | 4.00 | 1.00 | 9.00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 1.00 |

This finding suggests that it is important to prioritize the requirements of the behaviors with high probability as well as frequency when designing age-friendly street-corner public space.

Logistic regression analysis about the impact of spatial form on the occurrence of communication

Table 2: objective index about spatial form

| Space | Facilities | Landscape | Surrounding |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---|
| Construction | Collocation | Feature | Environment |
| spatial area | number of seats | average ratio of the sky to the view in all four directions | the time of construction for buildings |
| ratio of green space | percentage of pavilion coverage | | average height of surrounding buildings |
| percentage of greenery coverage | proportion of rigid material | species number of colors within large area in the line of sight | width of the adjacent street |
| | | average noise level | ratio of building height and street width |
| distance to boundary | | | distance from the nearest convenience store |

After the measurement, statistics and analysis about the behavioral data of seniors in sample spaces, 15 kinds of objective index about the spatial form was selected, which were easily obtained, had relatively high reliabilities and might affect seniors' behaviors. The index involves in four aspects: space construction, facilities collocation, landscape feature and surrounding environment [Table 2]. Then the data of objective index about the spatial form of 74 sample spaces was obtained by measurement according to systematic survey and Baidu Map.

Based on the behavioral data of seniors and the data of objective index about the spatial form, taking communication as an example, we explored the impact of spatial form on the occurrence of communication with the help of statistical method.

Unlike the experiments in the laboratory, the behaviors of seniors in street-corner small-scale public spaces actually occur in real life, which are affected by a lot of factors besides the spatial form. As a result, the original data of objective index about spatial form was graded according to numerical value to explore the tendency of the impact.

The index variables about spatial form that might influence the occurrence of communication were screened by the method of “Forward: LR” (likelihood ratio test). The table below shows that, in the final step of variable screening there remain only two variables, which are the “percentage of greenery coverage” with $P=0.012<0.05$ and “species number of colors within large area in the line of sight” with $P=0.081<0.05$ and >0.1 [Table 3]. It can be preliminarily speculated that the “percentage of greenery coverage” may have a significant effect on the occurrence of communication among the 15 kinds of index about spatial form.

Table 3: binary logistic regression (1) — the final step of variable screening

| Variable | Model Log Likelihood | Change in -2 Log Likelihood | df | Sig. of the Change |
|--|----------------------|-----------------------------|----|--------------------|
| Step 14 percentage of greenery coverage 1 (Binned) | -45.100 | 6.327 | 1 | 0.012 |
| species number of colors within large area in the line of sight 1 (Binned) | -43.462 | 3.053 | 1 | 0.081 |

Based on that, “whether communication occurs or not” was still incorporated into the dependent variable, meanwhile merely “percentage of greenery coverage” was incorporated into the covariates to test by bivariate logistic regression model. It shows that the significance of the overall statistics is $0.03<0.05$, which means the model is obviously improved on the basis of benchmark model. The significance of “percentage of greenery coverage” is $0.03<0.05$, which means that the “percentage of greenery coverage” has a significant impact on the occurrence of communication. [Table 4]

Table 4: binary logistic regression (2) —Variables not in the Equation

| | | Score | df | Sig. |
|--------|--|-------|----|-------|
| Step 0 | Variables | | | |
| | percentage of greenery coverage 1 (Binned) | 4.730 | 1 | 0.030 |
| | Overall Statistics | 4.730 | 1 | 0.030 |

Table 5: binary logistic regression (2) —Variables in the Equation

| | | B | S.E. | Wald | df | Sig. | Exp(B) |
|---------------------|--|--------|-------|-------|----|-------|--------|
| Step 1 ^a | percentage of greenery coverage 1 (Binned) | -0.675 | 0.317 | 4.527 | 1 | 0.033 | 0.509 |
| | Constant | 2.168 | 0.720 | 9.058 | 1 | 0.003 | 8.743 |

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: percentage of greenery coverage 1 (Binned).

Table 5 is the final result. In this equation obtained by binary logistic regression, the exp(B) of the “percentage of greenery coverage” variable is 0.509, which means that when the “percentage of greenery coverage” rise by a higher grade, the probability of occurrence for communication reduces by 50.9% of the original one in terms of other variables unchanged.

Discussion

This paper has graded the “percentage of greenery coverage” into three levels (high, middle and low), so the conclusion merely reflects the general tendency about the impact of the “percentage of greenery coverage” on the occurrence of communication. It is lacking in evidence that the tendency is similar within every grade. As a result, it is doubtful to get a thoughtless conclusion that the higher the “percentage of greenery coverage” is, the lower the probability of occurrence for communication is. However, the conclusion is contrary to the conjecture that the increase of the “percentage of greenery coverage” is quite positive to motivate the communication for seniors because of the improvement of natural environment with that, which is lack in proof but taken for granted by many urban designers. That’s the meaning of exploring the impact of spatial form on seniors’ behavior by quantitative measurement and statistical analysis.

Conclusion

This research finds that the behaviors of seniors occur in the street-corner small-scale public spaces are various. There are significant differences between the probabilities of occurrence for different behaviors. On the other hand, even though some behaviors have comparatively low probabilities to occur in street-corner spaces, once they occur, their frequency can be very high. In addition, the spatial form could influence the occurrence of the behaviors in certain way. In future research, we will explore the impact of spatial form on the frequency of occurrence for the behaviors and interview seniors for their suggestion to improve the designs of street-corner small-scale public space.

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Broken Worlds: TASA 2020 at the Australian National University

Beyond the familiar discourse of crisis, the theme of Broken World seeks to raise new questions about the problems of repair, maintenance and continuity of ecologies, sociality, animals, media, institutions, health, economies, politics, movements and sexualities. Attending to conditions of fragility, breakdown, disaster, disorder, and collapse, we invite contributions that bear on approaches to mending, curing, treating, fixing, survival, eeking-out, hanging-on, crafting, healing, stitching and hacking. We encourage consideration of how sociology can voice or sustain experimental and practical understandings of planetary, social, technical, constitutional and economic limits, by attending to breakdown, maintenance and repair.

The idea of 'broken world thinking' (Jackson, 2014) provides one lead in this direction. It takes decay, erosion and breakdown as a point of departure, rather than as an endpoint for thinking about infrastructures and devices. Increasing doubts in political sociology about even elective affinities between capitalism and democracy move from similar premises. A concern with repair and maintenance also lie at the core of ethnomethodological

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understandings of everyday social action and orderings and in the cultural sociology of civil spheres. Attention to breakdown and loss has a rich history in phenomenological, psychoanalytic and critical accounts of experience. In recent forms of critical race theory, in contrast, the very notion of repair is announced as a refusal to recognise the unpayable debt at the heart of sociality. From such points of view, the challenge is to grasp the brokenness of contemporary reality, without the imperative to get back into credit through a form of fixing.

In any event, it is this broad theme of Broken World that is the provocation of the conference and we welcome diverse attempts to contribute to the conversation.

Conference papers and panels could explore the following:

| | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| Broken promises | Extinctions | Disintegrating public spheres |
| Failure and/as transformation | Indigeneity | Debt and indebtedness |
| Social, technological and mental ecologies | Capitalism, growth, accelerationism | Democratic breakdown and repair |
| Illnesses, therapies and rehabilitation | Realities and societies | Broken bodies, entities, ecologies, transmissions, knowledges, politics, institutions |
| Crowds, riots, protests, populisms and rebellions | | |