Inequality In America
And The Incarceration System
Race, Crime and Criminal Justice

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Introduction

Why is crime and criminal justice a crucial topic to examine and explore? Since the 1830’s until today, critics such as Tocqueville and others, have recognised America’s criminal justice and prison system as one of the harshest and the most “punitive” in the world by Western democratic standards (Howard, 2017, p. 1). It has even been described as “unusually cruel” (Howard, 2017, p. 1). In America today, the incarceration rates are at an all-time high and are increasing. Many of the incarcerated are imprisoned on minor offences, given excessive sentences some are even innocent. This legal system is thought of and taught to the majority of the general American population as one that, “guarantees and protects the rights of the innocent”, a system that is “the best in the world”, a system that is “colour blind” (Howard, 2017, p. XIV). This raises concerns and questions about the judicial system that 328 million Americans live by. Why are the majority of the worlds incarcerated located in American prisons? Why does crime and criminal justice inequality disproportionately and directly affect those in poverty and people of colour? What are the systems and policies in place that are creating such statistics and issues? As such, Howard alludes that the issue of mass incarceration is due to factors of race, religion, politics and business (Howard, 2017, p. 22). In this regard, I will concentrate on two particular themes, crime and criminal justice and race. Fundamentally, in this essay I will provide a theoretical framework of key ideas, terms and concepts in regards to race, crime and criminal justice and related topics. I will then explore how crime and criminal justice inequality intersects with race inequality. Lastly, I will consider the problems presented and the possible solutions to them.

Comprehension

An important term to start with is democracy, which is what the American political structure claims to be. A democracy is defined as a country where all members are politically
equal, a country that allows its citizens to make decisions for themselves and “have an equal chance to influence the government” (Dahl, 2015, 37; Caliendo, 2017, p. 26; Morone & Kersh, 2017, p. 14). Is the United States really a democracy if as many critics claim, there are superfluous inequalities in American structure, such as, structures of policies, crime and justice? As Ian Shapiro states “inequality undermines the quality of democracy” (Shapiro, 2015, p. 200). As such, most Americans experience inequality in their day to day lives because they did not have a fair start. Robert Frank claims that a person’s success and failures are attributed to one’s luck (Frank, 2016, p. XIV). Many are unlucky to begin their life in poverty, whilst others are “lucky enough to be born into a middle-class American family who nurtured and programmed them for success” (Frank, 2016, p. XIV). Those who are fortunate to succeed are often oblivious to their privileges and base it on their own merits. Being White and male is thought of as privilege, because “mainly White males … don't have to struggle [to gain success]”. Similarly, Keith mentions that with, the intersectionality of being a White American man, comes privilege. He says “It's not something I’m choosing, it’s something ascribed”. Intersectionality is thought of a person’s overlapping traits that create inequality or privilege, like being a Black female or being a White male. Specifically, it is defined as “a metaphor for…multiple forms of inequality or disadvantage compound[ed] to create obstacles” (Crenshaw, 2018). Ascription are the characteristics an individual is ascribed at birth, like their sex, race and class (Miller, 1976, e.p. 93).

Moreover, there are core values that make up the illusion of The American Dream. These core values were derived from the notion of American exceptionalism, which is “the view that the United States is uniquely characterised” (Morone & Kersh, 2017, p. 10) by

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1 Personal interview conducted by Jawaher Al-Majid on visiting students and professors of the class “Migration and the Global City” from the University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington, USA, March 20, 2019, Doha Qatar. Ethnographic interviews were centred around the subject matter on issues of inequality in America. All interviews were transcribed and then compiled into a shared class folder on Canvas for our use.

2 Personal interview conducted by Jocelyn Mitchell, March 20, 2019, Doha Qatar.

More descriptively, American exceptionalism is “a belief that the U.S. follows a path of history different from the laws or norms that govern other countries” (Tyrell, 2016).

Benjamin Franklin was the first to describe The American Dream yet James T. Adams was the first to label it. Benjamin Franklin quotes “if you are talented and work hard, you can achieve personal and especially financial success”, many believe that owning a home, a business, good health and education are components of that (Morone & Kersh, 2017, p. 25; Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 74, 135, 147). Meritocracy is the belief that successful people earned their success with hard work, solely with their efforts and attributes, whilst the unsuccessful are lazy and lack determination (Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 2; Frank, 2016, XII). Individualism is the idea that individuals are responsible for their own well-being and not society or the State (Kersh & Morone, 2018, p. 20). Egalitarianism is the theory of equality, which is the notion that under the rule of law everyone has equal rights, such as status, privileges, rights and equality of opportunity and equality of outcome (Morone & Kersh, 2017, p. 28, 30; Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 17). Freedom is the “ability to pursue one’s own desires without interference from others, yet liberty has two sides (Morone & Kersh, 2017, p. 11). Positive liberty is the access to what one needs to pursue their goals, whereas negative liberty is the freedom from constrains and interference (Morone & Kersh, 2017, p. 12).

Furthermore, important key words and concepts also to note are cycle of disadvantage, self-fulfilling prophesy, systematic racism, racial bigotry, prejudice and implicit bias. The cycle of disadvantage is explained by Caliendo as the perpetual cycle of shortcomings that people of colour and those in poverty are trapped in, typically centring on “jobs, education and housing” (Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 69). A Self-fulfilling prophecy is the concept that a person’s characteristics and actions reinforce the stereotypical thoughts held by the same person or that of another person, for example, an attractive woman is funny and an
unattractive woman is boring (Snyder, 1982, p. 542). Systemic racism refers to the “system … that privilege Whites and disadvantage persons of colour” (Caliendo, 2017, p. 10). Racial bigotry denotes to the explicit hostile acts against another person or a group of people from a different race (Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 10). Prejudice is the preconceived ideas that individuals have towards other races and classes, and implicit bias is the subconscious bias individuals have (Caliendo, 2017; Saleem, 2016). Among these, an individual can experience temporary and permanent inequality (Miller, 2016, e.p. 91-92). Temporary inequality is a relationship between 2 people sustained for a limited period of time, for instance a doctor (the dominant) and a patient (the subordinate). Permanent inequality is the perpetual and unlimited inequality experienced by a person or group, for example, between Whites (dominant) and people of colour (subordinate).

Additionally, there are two different types of representativeness that an elected official can demonstrate in politics. These are trustee and delegate, who generate symbolic or substantive representativeness (Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 23). A trustee is someone who carries out what he/she thinks is best for the population despite what the population voted for. Whereas, a delegate carries out what the majority of the population asked for. A symbolic representative is one with similar characteristics to their constituents and a substantive representative is one that holds the same interests and values as its constituents (Caliendo, 2017, e.p. 23). Donald Trump is an example of a trustee as he acts out on what he believes is best for his constituents. As Howard explains in his book, in The Rise of Evangelism and Political Competition, politicians have stimulated the concept “culture of fear” as a tactic for more votes and “punitive reforms” (Howard, 2017, p. 15). Since the abolition of slavery, the culture of fear has been drenched in the terror of Blacks and the belief that ‘they’ are violent criminals.
The criminal justice system has led to some positive and negative initiatives such as mandatory minimums and affirmative action. Mandatory minimums are fixed prison sentences, John Oliver states “mandatory minimums require judges to punish certain crimes with a minimum years in prison regardless of context” (LastWeek Today, 2015). Affirmative action is the process of taking race into consideration when companies or organisations look at applications or resumes in order to diversify a work force or student body (Caliendo, 2017, p. 185). Affirmative action has been mistakenly thought of as a quota system that advantages ethnically diverse individuals at the expense of Caucasians by which critics question its effectiveness and legitimacy (Caliendo, 2017, p. 185). Accordingly, from the culture of fear has risen racially motivated hate crimes and police brutality by which initiatives like the Black Lives Matter movement have sprouted in retaliation. Convict leasing is described as a business of renting out felons for money, captured by convict recruiters, to carry out labour (Howard, 2017). Non-violent offenders are convicted individuals who committed minor offences like selling or carrying drugs. Super predators are aggressive individuals who prey on victims to murder or rape, which was how African Americans were thought of (DuVernay, 2016). The War on crime & the war on drugs were terms coined by delegates that increased incarceration rates and America’s punitiveness (Howard, 2017).

**Connection and analysis**

First and foremost, let’s put into perspective the scope of the situation and the incarceration rates in America. America accounts for only 5% of the world’s population and among that, 25% of the world’s prisoners can be found in American jails. (Howard, 2017, p. 1; DuVernay, 2016; Spurlock, 2006). For every 100,000 people, 700 people are imprisoned in the United states, which is at a rate of 7-10 times higher than America’s European and Canadian democratic counterparts (Howard, 2017, p. 2). The American criminal justice
system locks up “1 out of 4 human beings … in the land of the free” (DuVernay, 2016; Spurlock, 2006).

In 2016 Louisiana was named the arrest capital of the United States and in 2013, approximately 1 in 3 adults were arrested (Arrest Records, n.d.). Louisiana has the highest incarceration rate in the world, 5 times higher than China (Bauer, 2018, p. 9). Between 1990 and 2008 incarceration rates sky rocketed from roughly 1.5 million to over 2.3 million. Numbers show a 500% increase over a few decades (Howard, 2017, p. 6; DuVernay, 2016). Shockingly, these figures do not include individuals on probation and on parole. Statistics show a grand total of approximately just over 7 million involved with the criminal justice system either physically behind bars or under some kind of surveillance (Howard, 2017, p. 7).

Internationally, America out numbers the rates of all liberal democracies and advanced industrialized societies, like the UK, France, Germany and Japan. Comparatively, most of these countries rates are below 100 people incarcerated per 100,000, such as Japan (Howard, 2017, p. 10-11). However, in 2015 the United States rate was over 700 people per every 100,000 (Howard, 2017, p. 10-11). The United States out numbers all liberal democracies in all categories such as, pre-trial detainees, juvenile prisoners aged 10-17 and female prisoners per 100,000 (Howard, 2017, p. 10-11). The American female incarceration rates distressingly out numbers some countries total incarceration rates (Howard, 2017, p. 12).

All these figures add up costing federal and state government millions. As a whole, the United States spent 147 billion in 1999, “that is more than four times the 36 billion spent on the criminal justice system in 1982” to combat crime (Butterflied, 2002). Relatively, the same amount of money that is spent on health and hospitals is spent on the criminal justice system (Butterflied, 2002). Statistics have shown that the billions spent on the “nearly 2.2 million people work[ing] in the criminal justice system, including one million police officers,
717,000 prison and jail guards and 455,000 people” has not reduced crime rates (Butterflied, 2002).

With all the money that is being spent on the criminal justice system, prisons such as Alabama state prison, still do not meet a basic standard of living (Bennet et al, 2019). Alabama prison conditions are said to be one of the nation’s worst prisons, going against inmates’ constitutional rights (Bennet et al, 2019). It was noted that “‘there is reasonable cause to believe that conditions at Alabama’s prisons violate the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution’ which protects against cruel and unusual forms of punishment” (Bennet et al, 2019). The federal statistics report noted that Alabama prison was said to have the highest homicide rate in the country, not to mention other acts of prisoner on prisoner violence and sexual abuse (Bennet et al, 2019).

Similarly, in Winn, Louisiana, Shane Bauer reported incidents that could be considered as violating the Eighth Amendment. An inmate named Mason was found to have fluid in his lungs after he collapsed one morning, he was sent to the hospital just to be sent back again without being treated (Bauer, 2017, 203). Bauer discovered that the CCA (Corrections Corporation of America) refused to treat him because they would have to pay for his stay at the hospital and for the guards to supervise him (Bauer, 2017, 204). The CCA is a “for-profit company” which means paying for sick inmates incurs a loss of profit. In this regard, the CCA refuse to accept any inmates that are over 60 years of age, inmates that suffer from mental illnesses or any terminal diseases (Bauer, 2017, p. 204). Bauer notes other instances of inhumane treatment found in CCA run prisons: - in 2001 an inmate with a broken jaw was left with his jaw wired shut for 10 days (Bauer, 2017, p. 205), and in 2014 a woman went into labour and was not given any medical attention, shortly thereafter the baby died (Bauer, 2017, p. 206).
Likewise, in a Nashville prison, a pregnant inmate complained of stomach pains but was put into solitary where she bled out heavily (Bauer, 2017, p. 206). The next day she was sent to the hospital where she was sedated and woke up to find her new born baby dead. They did not inform her of the procedures that would take place to bury the baby (Bauer, 2017, p. 206). Additionally, in 2014 Winn Correctional Centre reported 550 sexual offenses (Bauer, 2017, p. 213). Nationally, 9% of male inmates report being sexually assaulted, however that does not show the true picture because of “the anti-snitch culture” (Bauer, 2017, p. 213).

As such, these incidents are only some of many inhumane and degrading incidents that take place in prisons on a regular basis. It is said that these poor conditions can be attributed to overcrowding and a lack of staff. A New York times article quotes “Overcrowding [is] so excessive and staffing so inadequate that inmates are virtually unsupervised and, in the words of a former warden, ‘in extreme danger.’ [and there is] Grossly inadequate health care” (Bennett, 2019). In the most recent years Americans can no longer consider themselves exceptional, except sadly, in terms of mass incarceration, where the United States sets itself drastically apart from its European equals (Howard, 2017, p. 13). Not to mention, America’s exceptionalism in regards to its racially discriminative systems and punitiveness (Howard, 2017, p. 13)

**Connection between race and criminal justice**

With the general scope of the American criminal justice system and incarceration rates in mind, let us consider the statistics and how race inequality intersects. In 2014, there were disproportionately more men of Colour than Caucasians locked up (Howard, 2017, p. 7). Over 2700 male inmates were African American per 100,000, over double the rate of Latinos and 6 times more than that of Caucasian males (Howard, 2017, p. 8). In addition, female African American incarceration rates were the highest but not far off the rates of Latino
female inmates who were over twice the rates of Caucasian female inmates (Howard, 2017, p. 8). Racial discrimination in the crime and criminal justice system is thought to be “intricately woven into the national history of crime and punishment in America”, a history that is the product of the White American ancestors (Howard, 2017, p. 152; DuVernay, 2016). The American constitution notes that slavery is against the law and all Americans have a right to freedom, however, there is a loophole that excludes convicted ‘criminals’ (DuVernay, 2016). Thus, by looking back at American history we can start to understand how crime and criminal justice and race intersect to create the cruel and unusual punishment system that can be witnessed in America today.

After the abolishment of slavery, a period occurred called the convict leasing era (Howard, 2017, p. 152). During this time in post-Civil War South there was a “conscious, concrete, and organized strategy by the Southern Whites to perpetuate racial discrimination” (Howard, 2017, p. 153). Southern Whites were able to achieve their goal through the crime and criminal justice system due to the clause in the constitution. Therefore, there was a culture of fear prominent during that era notably exacerbated by the media (Howard, 2017, p. 153). Cannibalistic and rapist representations of African Americans were seen illustrated on screen and in the papers (DuVernay, 2016). Cyril states that “Blacks were overrepresented in media as animals”, or in other words, as super predators (DuVernay, 2016). White southerners were deathly afraid of what might happen if uneducated and uncivilised former slaves were able to move freely throughout society (Howard, 2017, p. 153). As such, Southerners took this opportunity to create a punitive criminal system to help the economic crisis and exploit former slaves for cheap labour. This was the start of arrests and imprisonment on minor offences, such as petty thefts (Howard, 2017, p. 153). African Americans were captured in large numbers by convict recruiters (Howard, 2017, p. 153).
This turned out to be a profitable business for both the convict recruiters who got paid for more African Americans arrested, and, for the punitive criminal system that could force convicts to “do any work, no matter how hard, long, or dangerous” for free (Howard, 2017, p. 153). The “primitive American fear of the post slavery Black rapist man” has been carried through generations giving rise to initiatives such as, the Civil Rights Movement and Black Lives Matter. Regardless of these initiatives anyone who challenged the judicial system, for example Civil Rights activists, were portrayed as criminals (DuVernay, 2016).

In retribution, the war on crime, a name coined by former President Nixon, emerged in response to the Civil Rights Movement. Delegates such as former President Bush (and Trump) were elected by creating fear around Black people encouraging White supremacy and the KKK (DuVernay, 2016). A recent example of imprisonment on a minor offence is Brandon (Forman, 2017, p. 5). Brandon was 15 years of age at the time when he was apprehended possessing a hand gun and a small amount of marijuana (Forman, 2017, p. 5). He was tried and sentenced despite the positive reputation he held in the community as a boy with potential (Forman, 2017, p. 5). Likewise, Edward Douglas, a father, a son, a former engineer and African American was sentenced to life for selling cocaine (Blinder & Medina, 2018). Timothy Jackson, an African American inmate serving a life sentence for a non-violent and petty crime of stealing a jacket in 1996, is one of the many thousands who are currently incarcerated and will probably die in prison (Pilkington, 2013). Harriet Cleveland, a female Africa American was also sent to jail for a non-violent and minor offence of not being able to pay for her traffic tickets (LastWeek Tonight, 2015). These cases are examples of the impact mandatory minimums and the war on drugs has had on non-violent offenders which are filling up American prisons. Whilst in contrast, Whites are given shorter sentences for more serious crimes (Howard, 2017, p. 154). For example, John Howard, a Caucasian 19-year-old, was spared jail after being accused of sexually assaulting a mentally disabled black
girl in a US Highschool (England, 2017). Howard was sentenced in an Idaho court and received three years’ probation with 300 hours of community service. Similar examples of Caucasians committing sexual assault and being let off on minor sentences are seen, such as, Ian Milaski, 21 in 2019 and the Baylor rape case 2016 (Reilly, 2019; Oppel Jr., 2018).

Moreover, if incarceration rates and substandard prison conditions plus poor treatment was not bad enough for the convicted, re-entry back into American society is made almost impossible. The challenges exonerated and rehabilitated felons face when leaving prison is not a happy or exciting experience that is often portrayed in films. It is on the other hand, challenging, like the experience of Glenn Fords, who served 30 years in prison and was set free with a 20-dollar gift card (LastWeek Tonight, 2015). Many of the convicted that have served long sentences leave prison with practically nothing to their name. Many of whom end up back in prison shortly after being released (LastWeek Tonight, 2015). Sometimes this happens because of unavoidable parole violations, like Bilal Chapman, who missed meetings with his probation officer after he refused to provide flexible meeting hours that did not clash with Chapmans working hours (LastWeek Tonight, 2015).

Furthermore, depending on the area, convicted criminals are denied government food benefits, whilst others are prohibited to returning home to government housing which bans convicted criminals (LastWeek Tonight, 2015). Geraldine Miller, an African American and mother to a convict son, is at risk of eviction because her son was seen in her house (LastWeek Tonight, 2015). In addition, trying to get a job is difficult enough as an African American, let alone being an African American with a record (Howard, 2017, p. 158). Some job applications require applicants to state if they have any criminal convictions, which, consequently inhibit the chances of being hired (Lucas, 2019). In some states, felons are even prohibited from having a driving licence and working in specific occupations like nursing and aren’t allowed to vote (LastWeek Tonight, 2015).
Furthermore, horrifyingly so, the racist system can lead to explicit forms of racial bigotry exemplified by police officers. The Black Lives Matter Movement rose after reoccurring African American deaths, their lives taken at the hands of police officers. For example, Trayvon Martin, an African American unarmed teenage boy was shot to death in Miami 2012 by a police officer, in response to a call from a neighbourhood watch member reporting a suspicious hooded person (Nadege & Racha, 2019; Howard, 2017, p. 157). Martin was killed at the hands of Officer Zimmerman due to racial profiling (Trayvon Martin Shooting Fast Facts, 2019). Another police shooting in 2014 killed a 14-year-old African American boy, Tamir Rice (Nadege & Racha, 2019; Howard, 2017, p. 157). A call was received after Rice was seen playing outside a recreation centre with a pellet gun. Rice was then shot seconds after the police vehicle arrived on scene (Oppenheim, 2018). The police officer, Loehmann, claimed that they saw Rice pulling out a gun and opened fire (Oppenheim, 2018). Loehmann was fired but has recently been hired by Ohio Police Department (Oppenheim, 2018). Adding to this, a 17-year-old boy Laquan McDonald was also shot to death by Chicago police officer Jason Van Dyke in 2014 (Oppenheim, 2018; Howard, 2017, p. 157).

As a result of these incidents, the phrase guilty whilst black was coined. African Americans have taken to the internet to illustrate what they have to face, such as racial profiling and racial bigotry just because they are Black. Corey Lewis was one member of the African American society to document his experience with racial profiling and racial bigotry on Facebook after being approached by a White lady (The Young Turks, 2018). The White lady saw Lewis with 2 White kids and began to interrogate him and the kids he was with (The Young Turks, 2018). She proceeded to follow him for an hour until he arrived home from where she called the police shortly thereafter (The Young Turks, 2018).
Policy Solutions

Whilst bearing in mind the aforementioned cases, what are some possible solutions to the problems of race, crime and criminal justice inequality? Critics such as Howard suggest that re-entry into society would be made better by “unlocking potential” giving the convicted a second chance at life (Howard, 2017, p. 186). He says that studies have shown that investment in post-release supervision has decreased incarceration and crime rates (Howard, 2017, p. 186). These results have been illustrated in statistics in other states such as New Jersey and Kentucky (Howard, 2017, p. 186). He notes that support for lesser sentencing would decrease incarceration rates (Howard, 2017, p. 189). Such reforms, like the First Step Act, is a Senate plan to reduce sentencing of minor offences, improve prison conditions and promote the ease of felons re-entering into society (Bennet et al., 2018). However, this would create obvious push backs from organisations like the CCA who back and implement initiatives like the ‘3 strikes’ system that encourages incarceration (DuVernay, 2016).

Additionally, other suggested solutions to cut back incarceration rates is to abolish the bail system. Some say that getting rid of the cash bail system would mean reduced numbers in jail, because a lot of people held in detention centres are impoverished and cannot pay (Arango, 2019). On the other hand, some suggest that this would be problematic because it would mean more criminals on the street to commit crimes, which would lead them to being incarcerated in the end (Arango, 2019). Angela Davis argues that a way to improve the crime and criminal justice system once and for all would be to create a widespread movement that refute profitable prisons (Davis, 1998, p. 558). Davis quotes “Considering the impressive number of grassroots projects that continue to resist the expansion of the punishment industry, it ought to be possible to bring these efforts together to create radical and nationally visible movements that can legitimize anti-capitalist critiques of the prison industrial complex” (Davis, 1998, p. 588).
Reflection

Subsequently, race, crime and criminal justice inequality is one that cannot be ignored. Race and criminal justice inequality effects the majority of the American population who do not fall under the wealthiest 1 percenters. To address this, I believe that what Davis says rings true, that if there was a collective effort to prohibit organizations from profiting from imprisonment, incarceration rates will most certainly be reduced. Ultimately, lessening crime and criminal justice inequality cannot be fully solved without tackling race inequality. However, just as the criminal justice system is so intertwined with race, so is income and wealth, health, housing and education inequality. The criminal justice system will not be adequately resolved without addressing the root causes of inequality. As such, reinforcing what Davis alludes to in the end of her chapter, that there has to be less money, attention and emphasis put on such a militant judicial system and shifted to education, health and housing (Davis, 1998). As mentioned in my pervious essays, a person cannot achieve self-actualization without attaining basic physiological needs such as shelter, food and warmth (Mitchell, 2019, April 8; Al-Nuaimi, 2019). Government and state funds need to be concentrated on improving and providing quality education across the board that allows all Americans to pursue and develop their career. Similarly, quality healthcare and housing that allows them to be healthy and happy.

I think it is essential to comment that noticeably, inequality is a complex, multifaceted web of issues that no one reform or solution will resolve. In other words, no one size fits all, which is why policy solutions need to tackle multiple angles simultaneously. In a nutshell, for citizens to be productive members of society, basic requirements of a fair judicial system, quality education, health care and housing needs to be satisfied in order to cultivate autonomous and productive members of society.
On a personal level, after taking this course I have significantly become aware of my privileges as a mixed race, White British – Arab woman living in one of the wealthiest countries in the world and also how these ascriptions also work against me. I would be fascinated to research and learn about the racial and gender inequalities presented in this region of the world and how they interlink with other areas of inequality. Further, I would love to discover the trends in racial and gender inequalities that have emerged in The Gulf during the boom of social media and post blockade. Have we become a more racial and gender progressive society in the wake of Westernization or a society desperate to cling to its culture and heritage?
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