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Created By Undergraduates at the
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"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways;
the point, however, is to change it."
–Karl Marx, "XI" from "Theses on Feuerbach"

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EDITORS' NOTE

We are proud to present the twelfth volume of *Eleven: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology*. This volume was made possible because of the hard work of our featured authors and dedicated editorial and public relations teams. We also thank the staff and faculty of the University of California, Berkeley Department of Sociology for their support, especially our Faculty Advisor, Michael Burawoy.

The theme of our twelfth volume is *Perspectives*. Drawing from the unique points of view on the contemporary human experience, the papers in this issue explore the kaleidoscope of potential of what it means to apply sociology to our modern world. They examine how the sociological imagination can shape how we understand and navigate our experiences, relationships, and positionalities. These featured authors provide nuanced analysis to deepen our understanding of social constructionism, stigma, and power.

In "Time in Loops and Lines: The Social Construction of Time", Camille Jonlin examines how time's social construction affects how humans experience it, particularly older adults. Jonlin finds that the experience of time shifts over the life course and is qualified by the way that time exists within an industrialized American society. Jeanne de Barthès, author of "'What is wrong with me?': The impact of gender norms on women's experiences of orgasm within heterosexual sex", explores how young women's awareness of gender roles shapes their experience of orgasm and how this relates to the gendered construction of sexuality. De Barthès finds that while young women are aware of how gender norms play into their experience of sexual pleasure, they also wish to challenge these implications. In "California's Support from Incarceration to Higher Education", Julienne Alexis Correa investigates the support systems in place for formerly incarcerated individuals. By recognizing how institutional support exists in dialogue with the stigma that former felons face, Correa also points out directions for further research in changing the school-to-prison pipeline to a prison-to-school pipeline.

These perspectives challenge us to not only sharpen our sociological understanding of the world, but to also act on it. *Eleven* is predicated on Marx's call to action: a move from explaining society to changing society. As you engage with this excellent undergraduate research, we invite you to imagine and work with us toward a more equitable, compassionate, curious world driven by diverse perspectives.

Kara Anderson and Sienna Bishop
Eleven Editors-in-Chief

Time in Loops and Lines: The Social Construction of Time

Camille Jonlin
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Abstract
"Time well spent," "a race against the clock," and "ahead of one's time;" in a society consumed by the notion of time, Americans lose sight of the fact that the concept of time is socially constructed. Existing sociological and anthropological literature on time reveals how people spend their time or the theoretical implications of time, but the present study provides personal accounts of time as a social construction. Drawing from 15 in-depth interviews with people 70 years old and older in Boulder, Colorado, this study focuses on the ways in which older Americans perceive and experience time and how this perception and experience changes over the course of a lifetime. Four themes emerge from interviewees' reported experience of time; they prefer to live in the present rather than in the past or future, they are affected by socially constructed "industrialized time," the experience of time changes with age, and time is simultaneously experienced as cyclical and linear.

Keywords
time, aging, clock, social construction

What do you say when I ask you, "What is time in the way that you personally experience it?" Do you tell me it's a round object on your wall that goes *tick, tick, tick*? Do you walk me through your day from morning to noon to night? Do you try to explain Einstein's theory of relativity? I look forward to hearing your answer, as I have not yet discovered one for myself. The most rational answer I've encountered is best stated in the words of a 94-year-old woman, Sofia, who has lived through a world war, separation from family, death of a husband, and plenty of happy memories in between: "Time is just an entity that fills your life. It's a background in which you exist. It's like the air. Like the environment. There are some things that are just there and there's nothing you can do about them." Time just is.

The mystery of social time has captured my attention for many years. Sociologist Benjamin H. Snyder (2016) defines social time as "the system of rhythms and trajectories that humans create as they engage in interaction within social institutions" (11). Social time connects people to the institutions they are a part of, acting to coordinate and synchronize events that are important to a group's constituents. As broad as it is, social time is real and pervasive in our daily lives, as much as or more than political and economic systems. In contrast to common thought, social time is its own entity, separate from the changing of seasons and movement of the sun, and it must be recognized when considering social change and social processes (Sorokin & Merton 1937).

My goal in this project is to discover how people conceptualize time over the course of a lifetime in relation to each other and to the social institutions they form, as well as how people perceive their own role within time's infinite scope. I am investigating neither "natural time" of astrological cycles nor "clock time" of abstract quantifying and partitioning, but rather, how time is socially perceived and experienced alongside these occurrences. To begin this exploration, I have chosen to study time through the eyes of those who have experienced time the longest: people in the upper reaches of the human lifespan. With age comes a wealth of observation and experience about time that no young person could discover on her own. Before diving into my study, I will present a review of existing sociological and anthropological literature about aging and the social construction of time.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Time has been studied from a wide variety of perspectives across history. Universally recognized temporal phenomena include movement of the stars, bodily cycles, and progression from birth to reproduction to death (Silverman 2001). In social theory, time has been a fundamental topic since the rise of sociology and anthropology as disciplines, including works by classical theorists such as Emile Durkheim (1915), E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1940), and Edmund Leach (1961). Widely discussed among social theorists are two themes of temporal phenomena: first, linearity versus cyclicality, and second, rhythm. Linearity is the concept of time on a straight timeline, moving in one direction, while cyclicality is the concept of time repeating itself or moving in cycles. Rhythm includes the tempo or pace of time, the sequencing of events over time, and the temporal duration of such events. According to Silverman (2001), these two themes are recognized in all cultures, and for this reason they are the focus of my review of sociological and anthropological literature. I will begin the review by exploring the presence of temporal cycles and linear timelines in social theory, followed by a discussion of temporal rhythm and "modern time," ending with theory of the life course and the process of aging. Each of these themes will be echoed in my findings.

Cyclicality and Linearity

When sociologists and anthropologists study time, they tend to examine the relationship between "cyclicality" and "linearity" (Leach 1961; Adam 1990; Silverman 2001). Cyclicality is demonstrated in repeated events with known or expected rates of occurrence, often referring to physical and biological processes such as planetary movement and seasonal shifts. Linearity is explained in terms of human lifetimes, history, or the concepts of past, present, and future, with events occurring *before* or *after* each other. Cyclicality and linearity are separate occurrences that coincide when humans experience time. Leach (1961) discusses how time is a social construction of two human experiences: repetitions (cycles) of nature, and irreversibility (linearity) of human life. For example, he posits that religion renders the linear experience of time a cyclical experience because birth and death are viewed as an ongoing sequence, locating linear time as a sub-category within cyclical time. Silverman (2001) asserts that every society recognizes both cyclical/repetitive forms of time and linear/irreversible forms of time. This is consistent with Adam (1990), who cites cyclicality and linearity as one of the primary dichotomies in social time discourse.

Cyclicality and linearity are demonstrated concretely in Evans-Pritchard's (1940) famous ethnography *The Nuer*, using alternative terminology. Evans-Pritchard divides time into "oecological time" and "structural time." Oecological time relates to the physical and biological environment of the Nile River Valley where the Nuer live, while structural time relates to the Nuer social structure. Oecological time is perceived among the Nuer to be cyclical, as the earth continuously changes between rainy and dry seasons. On the other hand, historical time–a core component of structural time–is constructed through memories that are passed along from one age-group to the next, travelling linearly from the past to the present (Evans-Pritchard 1940).

Cyclicality in social time sometimes appears as a subset of other theoretical discourse, as shown in the work of Anthony Giddens (1984). Giddens introduces the theory of structuration, which states that structure and agency shape each other, enabling and constraining each other. Human agency works within the rules and resources of a society to produce social action, but it is the structure of the society that enables human agents to perform the social action in the first place. In turn, the structure itself is upheld and reconstituted by new social action performed by new agents; structure is developed and maintained by the practice of agency. Therefore, agents and structures are both mediums and outcomes that indefinitely flow from one to the other, producing and reproducing a society. For example, a professor may design a revolutionary teaching strategy, and this strategy may be incorporated into the broader educational system, but the professor was only able to implement the strategy because it occurred within the correct social timing and location as determined by the structure.

This repetition appears in human experience over space and time, which Giddens claims is a defining factor of social science. He writes, "the basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens 1984:2). This "time-space" occurs in a continuous flow and defines human action by determining the sequence and timing of human action as it is required to fit into the sequence and timing of institutional action. The question of structure versus agency directly relates to how people experience time because there are two different angles people can take when interacting with time. On one hand, a person may perform action within time's socio-structural conventions, following the way time is socially constructed. On the other hand, a person may practice agency by consciously interacting with the structure of time, using time to guide their actions.

Giddens' theories bring into question the concept of intentionality in relation to time. Various human actions transpire daily without question, such as consuming food or putting on a watch, and these form a repetitive cycle in an individual human life. Zooming out to a human lifespan, however, highlights the intentional events that distinguish each day from the next, creating a linear timeline of events. When considering an even broader time frame of human existence, life and death of generations continuously repeat, forming cycles. Giddens brings in the language of reversibility as used by Leach (1961) when describing day-to-day experience as reversible (may reoccur), the life-span of an individual as irreversible (occurs only once), and long-term presence of institutions again as reversible. Social action taken by individuals on a day-to-day basis and long-term institutional action produce and reproduce each other, leading to cycles of social action that do not sit on a concrete linear timeline (Giddens 1984 in Ryan 2005). The theories of Giddens (1984) and Ryan (2005) suggest that, in contemporary social theory, cyclical time refers to temporal processes that exist as a structure around regular human activity, while linear time acknowledges human agency and ability to conceive of time and plan or reflect upon time. Both cyclicality and linearity are experienced by people of all ages.

Rhythmicity and Industrialized Clock Time

Cyclicality and linearity relate to temporal rhythm, duration, and sequence, which emerge together as a common theme in social time and must be recognized in order to understand the social experience and social construction of time (Durkheim 1915; Adam 1990; Cross 1994). Adam (1990) uses the term “rhythmicity” to describe tempo, sequencing, and repeated patterns over time. Feldman-Savelsberg (2018) compares rhythm in social time to rhythm in music: a song may have instruments playing complementary or contrasting tempos, tempo may change throughout the piece, or different compositions of the same song may treat tempo in a more fluid or rigid manner, just as the tempo of life varies across space, society, and historical moment.

The natural world is full of organisms with rhythmically timed action. The sun is the core of rhythmic organization for all living beings, from algae to evergreens and butterflies to hippopotami. Humans are no different: we breathe, exert energy, concentrate, and communicate on a rhythmic trajectory, and the circadian rhythm keeps us synchronized with the timing of our natural environment (Adam 1990). Such “biorhythms” produce a sequence of similar action in each human life. This recurrence is not sameness, but rather, biorhythms create paced variation, such as with morning dew or a menstrual cycle. In biological time, linear or irreversible processes curve themselves into a cyclical pattern, but this does not produce a reversible cycle because each beat of the tempo creates change (Adam 1990). For example, daffodils bud and wither at regular intervals throughout the year in a cyclical manner, but each iteration of the cycle produces a fresh, changed daffodil.

Stemming from the biological realm, cyclical variation takes shape in societal and cultural phenomena. For example, name popularity over time forms a cycle as names come and go in taste, but each period of popularity implies new contexts and connotations (Lieberson 2000). Cyclical variation occurs not only in Western cultures, but cultures around the world; ritual time for the Kédang of Indonesia curves into a shape somewhere between cyclical and linear, as rituals occur repetitively, but each iteration represents a new change (Barnes 1974 in Silverman 2001). Human physiological rhythms follow astrological cycles, and these cycles permeate into our social lives, through variation in social processes across seasons or morning versus evening behaviors (Adam 1990). Rhythmicity is fundamental to nature, and the concepts of "beginning" and "end" of biological and social processes are constructed by human reflection. Biorhythms pervade human life on both an individual and societal level.

As with cyclical time, the modern clock shapes how humans perceive temporal rhythm. The modern clock's high level of precision allows for an accelerated tempo in which time is segmented to the hour and minute rather than flowing across the day from sunrise to sunset (Cross 1994). Our seemingly arbitrary weeks, months, and calendar years, with their even, linear spacing and undifferentiation, compose a structured tempo (Roy 2001). Durkheim (1915) writes, "a calendar expresses the rhythm of the collective activities, while at the same time its function is to assure their regularity" (Durkheim 1915 in Ryan 2005). As a founding father of sociology, Durkheim did not study time directly, but he classified social time as an origin of thought that holds definite form in collective society, epitomized by the calendar with its strict rhythm, duration, and sequencing. This scientifically constructed system of time, also referred to as "clock time," is used to measure the passage of events and processes, but its metronomic pace contrasts that of human biorhythms (Adam 1990). According to Sorokin and Merton (1937), calendrical time itself has acquired social meaning. Participants in my study affirm the utility of the modern clock and highly structured clock time.

Along with designing the modern clock and its accelerated and precise temporal rhythm, the Industrial Revolution spurred new technologies and scientific innovations that are geared more toward linear than cyclical time. This directly connects the concepts of cyclicality and linearity to rhythmicity. The Gregorian calendar lays out the week, month, and year in a linear design from left to right; days, weeks, and (for the most part) months are given equal spacing and weight, in contrast to the natural cycling of days that vary in length, lunar phases, and the angle at which the sun casts light on the earth (Roy 2001). Cross (1994) argues that market capitalism and industrialization are the cause of this regulation of time. Preindustrial societies were defined by agricultural practice and were socially constituted by cycles because of the merging of past and present in recurrent practices (Cross 1994). In contemporary societies, the invention of the clock that counts time to units smaller than a second allows for increased segmenting of time and the commoditization of time. This is seen, for instance, in high productivity and systematization of factory production. Commoditization of time links to Max Weber's theory of rationality: the modern Western world evolved into what it is today through a "rational" mindset of efficiency, purpose, and calculability of action that serves to ensure predictability of society and life within it (Ritzer 1996). This strict efficiency, control over time, and commoditization of time encourages people to concentrate on industrial production and the future, thereby promoting linear time and inhibiting cyclical perceptions of time (Cross 1994).

Snyder (2016) explores how time interacts with "flexible capitalism," a socio-structural phenomenon that emerged in the United States after World War II. Flexible capitalism emphasizes "disruption," or an uprooting of anything that is fixed and static in the chain of production, exchange, or consumption. It prefers improvisation over planning, fluidity over fixity, and abstraction over concreteness. This "disruption culture enjoins people to have an almost paranoid aversion to the missed opportunity and engage in an almost obsessive pursuit of good timing" (Snyder 2016:8). Flexible capitalism reflects Weberian rationality in that both theories demonstrate societal fixation on an end goal; modern Western societies emphasize the importance of fixed, well-timed steps to obtain any given objective (Ritzer 1996). In other words, Americans are experiencing a fast-paced lifestyle in which they are encouraged to ceaselessly pursue the new and different, fearing the alternative of falling behind, but the method of getting there must be efficient and calculated. The American workforce, for example, is frequently pressed for time and must adapt to changing protocols, technologies, and management systems due to a cultural drive for production and completion. From Snyder's perspective, capitalism is changing the American experience of time by increasing its tempo and encouraging a mindset of linear time.

In contrast to biological and physical temporal order–or the capitalistic inverse–Zerubavel's (1981) "sociotemporal order" recognizes four forms of temporal regularity that function conventionally in any society. The first is rates of recurrence, referring to how frequently an action is repeated, like the expectation in the United States of brushing teeth twice a day or filing taxes once a year. Like Adam (1990), Zerubavel refers to this order as "rhythmicity." The second is temporal location, which pertains to the scheduling of which action should be completed at which time. The American education system, for example, schedules classes at specific intervals throughout the day in a rigid format. The third is duration of activities, including pre-designated durations like Ramadan, or unspoken durations, such as scheduling typical professional meetings for 30 or 60 minutes. The final sociotemporal order is sequential structure. This refers to the before-and-after ordering of activities as they are collectively agreed upon, such as praying before eating in the Catholic tradition or learning algebra before calculus in American education. These rhythmic forms occur at multiple levels within society, including individual understanding of time, social interactions between individuals and organizations, and across societies as a whole (Zerubavel 1981 in Ryan 2005).

Life Course Theory and Aging

An alternative method of understanding and categorizing the social experience of time is through life course theory. Life course theory was pioneered by Glen Elder in his book *Children of the Great Depression* (1974), in which he conducts a longitudinal study that follows a sample of individuals who were children during the Great Depression in the United States. Elder (1994) marks life course theory through four main themes that locate people in a social institutional context. The first theme poses lives in relation to historical moment; the socio-historical period in which a person lives or grows up has lasting effects on what they will do and who they may become, such as growing up during WWII or in San Francisco in the late 1960s. The second life course theme is the timing of lives, which is more individually oriented. For example, becoming a parent at 16 years old or 36 years old greatly affects the opportunities and challenges a person may experience throughout life. Third, linked lives, or the timing of life as it is linked with other people, greatly affects how one's life course unfolds. This could include linkages with parents, children, spouses, or other influential people in one's life. Finally, life course theory recognizes human agency. Each individual has the capacity and will to make life choices that will affect their life course, including other lives they link with and the timing of life. This last point relates back to Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration; humans have agency to determine when to act and reproduce social processes. Life course theory is what links individual and societal experience to social history as it changes over time, whether cyclically, linearly, or rhythmically (Elder 1994).

Age as a sociodemographic factor contributes to the life course and experience of time. Social age-norms dictate employability, power in a family, and expectations of behavior, dress, and taste. Stephen Fineman (2011) demonstrates the institutionalization of such social norms, asserting that "chronological age is laden with political and moral import, reflecting particular contexts and times" (3). Cultural and political expectations of age determine our "lifespace"–where we spend our time and who we interact with in those spaces–as well as the social boxes of life course from childhood to adulthood to old age (Fineman 2011). The term "age structuring" describes how "every society uses age in important ways, and the experiences, roles, and statuses of individuals are often tied to age" (Settersten & Mayer 1997:234). Age intersects with sex, race, language, profession, and other factors to form our life course, or the institutionalization of our life trajectory (Settersten & Mayer 1997).

In sum, sociological and anthropological literature characterize time with cyclical, linear, or rhythmic representations, sometimes describing time as flowing like water or beating like a musical tempo. Adam (1990) portrays time simply in the title of her introduction, "Time Is a Fact of Life;" time must be studied in social theory as a fact of all cultures and societies. Theories of cyclicality, linearity, rhythmicity, life course, and age will help guide my research about time as it is experienced over the lifetimes of older people, or, in other words, across time.

GAP IN THE LITERATURE: TIME OVER TIME

Missing from existing social time literature is an exploration of the social experience and construction of time *over time*. Existing literature explores the abstract cycles, linear timelines, and rhythms of time that people experience on a daily basis or across generations, and explains how people construct time in relation to institutional structures. My study adds the dimension of time as experienced at different points in the life course, from childhood to old age and everything in between, seen through the stories and self-reflection of older people. I chose to study time in connection with age because time is inherently not static, rendering the movement of time as important a factor as the definition of time itself. Older people have the longest-standing familiarity with time and change over time, having lived through multiple life stages, historical events, and social markers of time. In addition, today's historical moment calls for advanced study of old age because older Americans comprise an increasing percentage of the population. In 2015, people over the age of 65 numbered 47.8 million, or 14.9 percent of the total population; in 2060, they will number 98.2 million, accounting for close to 25 percent of the population and outnumbering children (US Census Bureau 2017). Understanding older people will prove useful during a time of shifting age demographics.

What is the best way to study old age and time? Old age is most commonly studied through clinical research and surveys, rarely employing qualitative methods (Bytheway 2011). Snyder (2016) asserts that sociological and anthropological studies about time employ time diaries and time-tracking strategies that treat all time as the same, looking at the quantity of hours attributed to tasks and how hours and days are filled. In his own research, he transcends this norm to study work time through "work temporality" or "the subjective experience of work time" to find out how time is *experienced* in the workplace (Snyder 2016:10). I will employ a similar approach to Snyder by assessing perception of time over the course of a lifetime. My approach will delve further into how interviewees personally think about time and how their understanding of time has changed as they have aged. These questions serve to demystify how people *experience time over time*, a question other research has yet to determine.

DATA AND METHOD

To investigate the social construction of time and how time relates to aging, I employed a cross-sectional study design with an in-depth, semi-structured interview method. I developed two requirements for interviewee participation. First, interviewees must be 65 years old or older, and second, they must live in the Boulder Metropolitan Area of Colorado (for study feasibility). All interviews were conducted by me, the primary researcher.

Recruitment

Recruitment to my study and data collection took place between June 15 and August 15, 2018, in Boulder, Colorado - a city situated at the base of the Rocky Mountains with a predominantly white, upper-middle class population of around 300,000 in the Boulder Metropolitan Area. I began with a convenience sample, recruiting participants by contacting a manager of a retirement home, which I will refer to as Mountain View, located in Boulder. The manager posted an overview of my project in the Mountain View newsletter, calling for participants who were interested in the topic of time or enjoyed telling stories. The purpose of the latter was to attract people to my study who were not solely motivated by intellectual curiosity, in hopes of including a diverse range of educational backgrounds in my sample. Several participants responded to the advertisement and asked to be interviewed, after which snowball sampling took effect; a number of participants encouraged friends to reach out to me.

Other participants emerged through the organization where I was interning during the time of recruitment and data collection. This organization was a local nonprofit whose services mainly assist older people with chronic illnesses, and several associated community members expressed interest in my study upon learning about it. This combination of recruitment efforts resulted in a total of 15 study participants.

Sample

Participants included nine women and six men.[1] As one interviewee brought to my attention, this gender imbalance is not surprising when considering that women have a longer life expectancy than men. At age 65, women in the U.S. can expect to live another 20.5 years while men can expect to live approximately 18 years (CDC 2018). The ages of my participants ranged from 70 to 94 years old, with a median age of 76. While nine out of 15 were still married, four interviewees–all women–were widowed. One interviewee had never married, and one had been married in the past but did not specify current marital status. Seven interviewees lived in one of the two retirement homes I visited, while the other eight lived in private homes. All but one interviewee pursued education after high school; seven attended college or technical school, and seven achieved a master's degree or PhD. This study is one of American society, and more specifically, Americans who are currently living in a small city of the American West. For a more accurate picture of time in American society, this study should be widened to other regions of the U.S. and a broader range of sociodemographic groups among the elderly.

Because time is a highly conceptual topic, and I am studying it through an academic lens, participants had to take a deep, intellectual approach to answer my questions. This form of non-random sampling was effective because interviewees who voluntarily participated were equipped to talk about time in the manner I desired. However, the study attracted interviewees who are white, highly educated, and upper or upper-middle class, and this lack of diversity must be understood in conjunction with the results. Recruiting from Mountain View may have contributed to the lack of diversity in my sample; by my empirical observations, few residents of

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[1] See Table 1 in Appendix A for sociodemographic characteristics of the sample.

Mountain View are people of color. Moreover, the average cost of living at Mountain View is just under $4,000 per month. Judging by their upper-class neighborhoods and expensive homes, interviewees who did not live at a retirement home were similarly well-off.

Nonetheless, the sample still offers insight into the varied temporal experiences of older people in the United States. Interviewees hail from different parts of the country, compose a variety of educational backgrounds and living situations, and each person has experienced time for over 70 years.[2]

Interviews

Each interview I conducted was semi-structured, in-depth, and informal. Interviews lasted between 40 and 80 minutes, averaging 60 minutes. I began with 21 questions and refined and adjusted them during each interview, resulting in 23 questions by the end of the data collection process.

I first asked about sociodemographic background, followed by broad questions about time that became more specific and required more introspection as the interview progressed. A non-comprehensive list of questions includes when time feels fast or slow; differences between past, present, and future; how the interviewee's thoughts about time and goals for the future have changed since childhood; and perceptions of birth and death. The order and depth to which I pursued each question varied with each interviewee based on their own flow of ideas, but I concluded every interview with one question: After thinking about time for the past hour, how would you define time in the way that you personally experience it? This question capped off each interview with big-picture thinking and united responses from all questions into one final portrayal of time.[3]

Before each interview, I encouraged participants to use my questions only as a starting point. I instructed them to talk about time in the way they personally conceptualize it and experience it; my questions were designed from my own perceptions of time and what I had found in sociological and anthropological literature thus far, so I wanted the interviewees to orient the study toward *their* perception of time. By encouraging interviewees to speak freely and demonstrating that I valued their thoughts, I created a cooperative environment, in hopes of removing any discomfort they may have anticipated before the interview. During the interview process, interviewees expressed

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[2] See Table 2 in Appendix A for interviewee characteristics.

[3] See Appendix B for full interview guide.

enjoyment of the interview and said they would continue thinking about the questions post-interview. Three contacted me afterward with follow-up ideas.

Data Analysis

After completing data collection, I transcribed each interview in full. Interviews were then coded into themes, either derived from direct questions or surfacing organically from interviewees, based on the number of occurrences and emphasis throughout the interviews. Four primary themes emerged, which I will discuss in the following section. These four themes paint a picture of how time is socially constructed over the course of an individual human lifetime.

FINDINGS

Four themes emerged from data analysis. First, I explore interviewees' reported experience of "living in the moment" over the course of a lifetime. How does it feel to be absorbed by the present, focused on the now, losing track of the progression from one minute to the next? Psychologists recognize that older people tend to temporally locate themselves in the present more than during previous life stages when the future is emphasized, and study participants reflect this sentiment (Lennings 2000). Next, I discuss a phenomenon that interviewees perceive to exist in opposition to living in the moment: a constructed system of time in our society made of ticking clocks, Weberian efficiency, and Protestant productivity, which I refer to as "industrialized time."

Third, interviewees report on the process of aging and how time is perceived differently in each life stage, raising the concepts of timing and the influence of others or external events as described by Glen Elder's (1994) life course theory. I conclude with an explanation of time as it exists in the formation of loops and lines, shown through interviewees' experience of linearity and cyclicality–or change and routine–in accordance with living in the moment, industrialization, and chronological age.

Living in the Moment

> "You know [time] is happening, and it's beyond your control. It's beyond anybody's control. Doesn't matter how smart or rich or dumb you are. You basically only have each moment. You don't have yesterday, you don't have today, you don't have tomorrow." – *Sofia*

According to Sofia, the oldest study participant, life should be lived moment by moment. Not only does the mentality of living in the present encourage you to act on your desires and help you appreciate the world around you, but the present can be considered the only time that truly exists. As humans, we have formed an idea of time split into three categories: past, present, and future. Our experience of *right now* is the only empirical understanding of time we can achieve, because experiences of the past are modified by memory and subsequent temporal observations, and we have not yet experienced what it feels like to live in the future. Eleanor, 73, explains, "The past very much informs the present. The present is full of the past. And I think also full of the future. Most of us are afraid of death, which is another word for the end of the future. And so, in that sense, the future is very much in our perception of the present."

In a more practical sense, however, people don't exclusively think about the present, even if the present is the only objective temporal experience. We reminisce about the past, we use lessons from the past to imagine a better future, and we plan for tomorrow or next season or ten years down the road. Humans weave fluidly between past, present, and future, but only one of those three classifications has the power to give us happiness, according to study participants. When asked to give advice to a younger person about time, Colleen emphasizes the present: "Enjoy the moment … Don't be hung up on the future or the past." Nine interviewees, including Colleen, articulate that they currently "live in the moment" and enjoy doing so. But what does it mean to enjoy the moment? In our busy, fast-paced American lives, how do we make sure to appreciate the *now*?

Colleen explains, "if you're really good at focusing on what you're doing, you're inherently in the moment." A sense of losing track of time– or focusing on your present action–is described across interviews as linked to "living in the moment."[4] Depending upon the person, "losing track of time" could occur when listening to music, cooking, organizing an event, sorting books at a library, or whatever induces a psychological state of "flow," i.e., complete concentration on a single given task (Csikszentmihalyi 1990). No matter the activity, study participants describe losing track of time in opposition to the scheduled busyness of most days, in which being cognizant of the clock is necessary to be on time for appointments or to stay on top of daily checklists. Participants think of losing track of time as a positive experience because the brain is actively involved in the present, whereas

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[4]"Living in the moment" and other expressions are sometimes placed in quotes because language used to discuss time can be vague and subjective.

noticing the time pass–for instance, when "watching the clock" while waiting for a tedious class to finish–is more negative.

Some study participants, like Sonya, describe this feeling with respect to age: "I lose track of time more now than I did in the past." Eleanor shares this feeling in relation to a broader life course, expressing a greater ease of losing track of time later in life when work schedules and time-specific commitments are less relevant:

> The more I'm in the now the better my life is. Another one of the pleasures of getting older is … it becomes easier to live in the now. When you're younger you have a lot of obligations to other people. You have a career, children to raise, aging parents to care for, you have civic obligations, your world is constructed. … And for most people, increasing years are combinate with the falling away of those various obligations. That makes it easier to live in the moment, which is infinitely rewarding.

Living in the moment in older years is a positive development from younger years when life must be kept to a strict schedule of deadlines and priorities. This fast-paced, demanding experience of time that most prominently occurs between adolescence and middle age is what I will refer to in the next section as "industrialized time." Living in the moment means living without worry of time, whereas its opposite, industrialized time, encapsulates time as we use it efficiently, productively, and to our own advantage.

Industrialized Time

> "I need to learn how to be comfortable not doing something productive. Because by and large, I've tried to be productive. Puritan ethic. … I'm trying to be more tolerant and waste time." – *Rita*

Western society has constructed time as a system separated from nature. It can be visualized in the form of metal scaffolding, each bar representing societally recognized blocks of time, such as the age at which kids are expected to start school or the length of time teeth must be brushed for adequate cleanliness. Alternatively, the system can be visualized in the physical form of a clock itself, with precise increments, constant movement, and societally shared notions of what each hour signifies throughout the day. The system of clock time is highly useful; it is a tool for our convenience that allows us to be at the same place at the same time and compress more activity into our days and years than ever before (Durkheim 1915 in Ryan 2005). From a less optimistic perspective, clock time can be considered an inflexible system that industrialization and the technological revolution have increasingly constrained. While the degree to which study participants align with this system varies, it is nonetheless an inescapable social system that holds great influence over Western society.

Common language used to describe time indicates the influence of industrialized time. Among many words, people "use" time,[5] "fill" time, "waste" time, and "spend" time; words that suggest control or power over time. In this regard, time is depicted in a capitalistic, consumptive, and exploitative sense, in the same way natural resources are exploited for human advantage. Eleanor states, "we're now generations into a social expectation that we *use* the world. Not that we are a part of the world. We *use* time to do things, not that we are a part of the process." Claire similarly describes "bargaining with the clock," in which she uses her knowledge of 15-minute increments to squeeze more activities into her day.

This sense of time directly reflects Weber's theory of productivity and efficient time use (Ritzer 1996), or, as Rita and Walter describe it, the Protestant ethic. People are expected to fill their days working, volunteering, spending time with family, cooking meals, traveling, exercising, practicing self-improvement… the list is endless. Especially during working years, people become masters of industrialized time, developing a perfect internal sense of when an hour-long meeting has ended or when they have reached the halfway point of the workday. Max remembers learning time from a young age: "As a little kid I didn't really notice time so much and then later began to associate with a clock in order to tell time. … I think that gets ingrained in you. At least for me or for other Western people." This ability to understand Western industrialized time is not only commonplace, but it is considered valuable and necessary. Leanne, a psychologist, explains how "it's important in my relationships and my work that I be on time." Rita describes herself in accordance with a Weberian lifestyle: "What I do is I gear my whole life around the clock and what I need to get done that day." Industrialized time, for Rita and several other study participants, is a stable and dependable structure that they acknowledge and use to organize their lives.

[5] "Time" is the most common noun (excluding pronouns) in the English language (OEC 2018), possibly due to heavy use of these expressions.

However, Rita, like others, reports decreasing satisfaction with the rigidity and predictability of the socially constructed system of time as she ages. Rita says,

> I objectify time. I make it a thing that I believe is real and true, and I can measure it in seconds or milliseconds. I believe in it, as much as I believe we're getting better in the arch of the moral universe. I believe that I know that time is a real thing and that the plane is gonna land and Japanese trains go on time and all of that. I'm not really sure that's true [anymore] and I'd like to let go of some of that certainty. … [Time is] very routine and objective and limited and limiting.

After retiring, Rita realized that the overly structured quality of industrialized time had controlled her life for too long. She now seeks more freedom and flow, and wishes to let go of the metal scaffolding that has not only defined what she does with her days, but who she is as a person. Claire, retired, similarly discusses how time's militant system has exhausted her. She now enjoys a more flexible and self-defined schedule, allowing her to relax.

Central to industrialized time is the idea of time "waste." While industrialized time outlines a way people *should* spend time, it also outlines an expectation of how people *shouldn't* spend time. Time waste can adopt multiple appearances, a common one being "loafing around," to use Colleen's expression. But what exactly is "wasting time?"

Six study participants speculate that wasted time is time spent without purpose or productive effort toward a goal. If you set out to complete a task, time spent on activities other than that task are wasted. This does not mean that activities like watching TV should be considered waste; it simply means that the goal must be relaxation or giving the mind a rest. Study participants agree that wasted time is valued differently over the course of a lifetime: Sofia says, "When I was younger, I didn't have time to waste." While in college or starting a family, people tend to have more time-intensive responsibilities and cannot allocate as much time to TV-watching or "loafing around." Time must be used productively and thoughtfully, according to Western industrialized society's constructed expectations of time use.

A cross-cultural perspective puts waste and industrialized time in the spotlight. Gus, who grew up in a German family but spent time in Latin America, describes his experience:

> I remember learning the contrast of what a German thinks about time versus what a Latino thinks about time. The whole

> notion of vocabulary we have about time in [Germany] is that time has to be spent. Wasted. Utilized. Whatever. We look at time as a commodity to do something with. … I don't think in Latino culture they think of wasting time. Or freeing time or saving time. All those words we use for time are very much reflective of our culture, that we're goal-oriented, and we see time as something that's limited. If you waste it now you won't have it later. Other cultures don't see it that way.

Gus' experience of strict German time reflects the American concept of time as well, in the sense that both countries followed the path of Western industrialization and technological advancement. Through his comparison to non-industrial societies in Latin American countries, it is evident that time in Western society is built up, or–as Rita proposes–something we do to ourselves.

A final consideration of industrialized time appears in contrast to time in the natural environment. Study participants describe how spending time in nature induces heightened awareness of their surroundings, shaking off the sense of urgency and productivity that industrialized time demands. Abigail, for instance, fondly remembers spending childhood summers on an island off the coast of Maine, when all that mattered was the sun and the sea tide. There was no 7am alarm clock, no designated lunch hour, and no bedtime apart from a dark sky. When Sonya reflects on her treks through the Himalayan mountains, she remembers feeling like "you can just slow down, just let [the experience] sink in. It becomes part of you." The frenzy disappears, leaving peace and belonging. After growing up in major metropolitan areas of the East Coast, Abigail and Walter similarly enjoy the slower pace and relaxed atmosphere of Boulder, Colorado, which they attribute to easy access to nature.

Eleanor, a philosopher and artist, offers an explanation of this experience. She says that industrialization and technology have enflamed the "increasing sense of separateness from the world in which we live… being in nature is the human way for that kind of rejoining." After spending time in nature, "you can go back to all the racket, feeling as if you're standing on more solid ground. … I think part of that experience is that it stands outside of our ordinary experience of time." Eleanor highlights the inherently unnatural construction of our system of time wherein the length of each hour and the length of each day remain identical despite seasonal fluctuation in the length between sunrise and sunset. In a more radical case, Americans determine the first day of spring based on the actions of a groundhog. This industrialized construction, as Eleanor argues, occurs separately from time as it exists in nature. Finn, Eleanor's husband, comments that we must go camping or otherwise seek out nature to experience time outside of its social construction, and Max remarks that natural time is easily ignored when the lights are turned on at night, effectively negating darkness.

Study participants show that in American society, time is constructed to be productive, efficient, and objective. We use it and do our best not to waste it. At the same time, we enjoy living in the moment, which requires setting aside this unnatural social construction. How does our use of industrialized time, as well as our ability to live in the moment, vary over the course of a lifetime? What happens to our perception of time as we grow older?

Aging

> "Mostly it's just the aging process that makes me think about time … When you're young you've always been young, and you think you'll always be young, and all of a sudden you're 73. Somebody asked me once how it feels, and I said, 'you feel surprised all the time.'" – *Claire*

Age provides a distinct lens through which to view time, and study participants report age as being one of the most overt signifiers of the passage of time. When asked to describe how they visualize time, two participants, both 89 years old, identify age. Leonard says, "What comes to mind is an elderly person. Female, actually, and she's gaunt and wasted, not very lively… Every now and then when I look in the mirror I think, 'I used to be young.'… Just recently, I've had to face the fact that, as Lee Travino said, 'The older I get, the better I used to be.'" The term "age" for some people may or may not be interchangeable with "elderly," but the process of aging is experienced by all.

Time is perceived differently during each life stage, and study participants recount distinct experiences of time between younger years, mainly childhood and young adulthood, and today, including later working years and retirement. Claire, 73, says, "I think when you're young, every year is different. You're in school, so every year is different, every experience is different, and you have a lot of anticipatory feelings about life. And then you get older and there's a sameness about everything, and it becomes difficult to even distinguish the years." Considering all stages of the American life course, more variation occurs in earlier years due to the fast-paced educational system, and expectations for career development and the timing of starting a family. Henry says, "I see time as an adult being compressed whereas as a child it seemed to take longer for an event to occur." A child may anxiously await each new event, aware of an upcoming adventure or promotion to the next level of a sports team, and that waiting period can feel like forever. An adult, however, may experience more sameness of day-to-day life not only due to a less busy stage of the life course, but also because of a sense of time compressing, wherein each moment, each day, and each year make up a decreasing percentage of the total life they have lived. As an eight-year-old, waiting one whole week for Katherine's birthday party is far more significant than waiting one week as an 80-year-old.

When prompted to consider the pace of time, 14 of 15 interviewees reported feeling that time speeds up as they grow older. Experience of the pace of time is difficult to parse together because participants deliver contradictory statements like "childhood went by quickly" and "childhood went by slowly," but the distinction that arose among interviews was the act of retrospection. Time seems to speed up with age because looking back on the years requires a mental "compression" as Henry calls it, when each distinctive memory collides with the next and the more typical or routine memories shrink the space in between. Eleanor explains,

> Time in retrospect is always faster than it is in experience, at least in my life. … Because what we call time is our invention. It's a convenient shorthand word for our experience of the flow of events. … Retrospection is necessarily a mental exercise, which is necessarily a kind of a pruning exercise, an editing exercise. Relative to experiential [time] it leaves out a lot of stuff and so it compacts and seems to be faster than it was when you were living it.

Experience of the pace of time depends on whether a person views it within a given timeframe, such as remembering what time feels like as a child, as opposed to reflecting upon childhood from an advanced age. Study participants' experience with retrospection is mirrored in William James' (1922) psychological study, in which his study participants experienced time passing quickly while actively participating in new and exciting events, but that same time period felt much longer in retrospect (James in Sorokin & Merton 1937). The act of retrospection causes the sensation of a quickening pace of time, growing faster as one ages.

Aside from pace, the experience of time is subjective, not only between different people but within an individual. Interviewees reflected Glen Elder's

(1994) four components of life course theory. First, the experience of time changes based on the historical period in which a person is born and socialized. Sofia, for instance, could not return to her family in Germany in 1937 because of the outbreak of WWII, so beginning at the age of 14 she lived and worked wherever life took her, and she viewed time solely on a day-to-day basis. Second, the experience of time changes depending on the timing of an action. Walter, 70, had three kids, each ten years apart, and he took time to support each child in whatever way he could. Walter's third child was born when he was 54 years old, which was a much different experience than when his first child was born when he was 34 years old. Time in childhood and adulthood clash when a child is born to new parents; at least three study participants express a change in their experience of time when they have a child because the timing of sleep, meals, and other habitual timed actions changed from being self-determined to being ruled by the child.

Walter also experiences the third life course factor, which is linked lives. Linkages with each of Walter's three children have taken him on unique paths and adventures that affect his life course. In Leonard's case, Leonard's son died from a sudden heart attack, and this linkage, along with experience fighting in the US military, has caused Leonard to deeply acknowledge the finite quality of human life. Finally, experience of time is affected by the agency a person takes in deciding when to pursue the next journey of the life course, like when to attend graduate school or when to deviate from age-based social expectations. For example, Sonya went on regular treks through the Himalayan mountains from age 60 to 73. It is unusual to complete such expeditions at this age, but Sonya sought out this experience because the Himalayas allowed her to live in the moment. She felt time slow down and become a part of her, unlike the comparative detachment that she experiences while living in a retirement home today, where she must reside due to health conditions. Life course theory sheds light on these factors that contribute to the experience of time and the choices made at each stage (Elder 1994).

Five study participants, including Sonya, experience a self-identified chronic health condition, and several other participants have lived with partners who currently experience, or passed away from, age-related health conditions. Deteriorating health may be one reason for the stigmatization of old age in America, and study participants vocalize how physical setbacks factor into their lives and perceptions of time. Sonya shares, "Parkinson's has definitely changed my concept of time frame. Because I don't have the choices that I used to have." Colleen and Gus, also living with Parkinson's, agree with the lack of choice that Sonya describes. Gus adds, "to make plans for ten years from now doesn't make a lot of sense for me." It can even be difficult to make plans for a week or a few days in the future, because Parkinson's and other chronic conditions are unpredictable; there is no consistent method to forecast when a person living with Parkinson's will be energetic or exhausted. Chronic health conditions may therefore detract from the ability to live in the moment. Claire, who does not currently live with a diagnosed condition, also experiences health-based uncertainty: "I feel like there's less control in the decision-making process about what happens to us at this age because it's based on health and your mental faculties."

Finn, however, connects physical setbacks to industrialized time by identifying the role of technological advancement in the defeat of, or power over, bodily deterioration. Today's healthcare innovation nullifies an increasing number of health issues; for example, Finn had shoulder surgery three weeks before the interview, and he spoke happily of being granted a new shoulder. He described the phenomenon as "getting repairs when things don't work," just like repairing a broken-down car. Health conditions impact people's perception of time, but that impact is decreasing with today's technological advancement.

Age, a process that all people necessarily go through, interacts with time in several ways. The visual semblance of age signifies passage of time while the experience of time changes between life stages. Time seems to speed up as a person grows older, it differs based on external lifetime factors like family members or historical events, and age-induced physical conditions cause some limitations to the ways in which a person can interact with time. However, age does not dictate the movement or direction of time. Age is simply a product of time's agenda, which moves fluidly and untameably in the background of human experience.

Loops and Lines

> "Linear time–from my birth to my death–is a period of time. Yet within that are all these cycles and changes that humans live with." – *Max*

Age inherently implicates progression, whether it is from one birthday to the next, one generation to the next, or the rise and fall of a civilization. What shape does this movement take? Does it form a circle or succession of circles, with repeating events that continuously curve back to a new version of their beginning? Or is time one long line that constantly reshapes and transforms into something new and different? The linear and cyclical qualities of time are not so black and white. Time moves, changes, repeats, renews, and fluidly weaves through people and events with a unique combination of linearity and cyclicality (Leach 1961; Adam 1990; Silverman 2001). As Eleanor wisely articulates, "a circle is simply a bent line," just as time forms both a cycle and a linear timeline. Study participants recount their experiences with this phenomenon, as well as connect cyclicality and linearity of time to the more commonly discussed concepts of routine and change, within their experience of living in the moment, industrialized time, and age.

When Stephen Hawking examines the "arrow of time" he is referring to linearity, or the progression of time from one moment to the next with a sense of before and after. One of the simplest ways to understand this quality of linear time is through the socially constructed sections that our society sees as a normal life course progression. We section our lives onto an expected timeline that encompasses birth through death, and most Americans, whether or not they follow it, are familiar with this timeline. According to study participants, a life course timeline can be conceptually explained in terms of age, in which a person progresses through titles of baby, toddler, child, teenager, young adult, middle-aged person, and elderly person. This timeline can also be determined by occupation, referring to transitions through school, college[6], work, graduate school, a professional career, and retirement. Changes in domestic life can also represent the linear timeline, shifting through living with parents or guardians, single living, marriage, parenting, and receiving care from others–possibly one's own children. The section in which we are located determines what Fineman (2011) terms our "lifespace," or the places and people we associate with most frequently. Rita finds that people not only perceive others based on the stage in which a person is located, but this stage also forms a person's concept of self. Rita says, "Time factors in the stories [we tell] because we say, 'This was my youthful period, this was my married period, this was my divorced period, this is when my kids grew up and left town'. So, [our] understanding of [ourselves] is very based on a chunk of time." These short and generalized descriptions of the American life course dictate our social position and personal direction.

Linear time appears in ways besides sectioning a lifetime into progressive stages. Max, for instance, relates linear time to the discussion of past versus future: "In the concept of linear time, the past always flows through the present into the future. The present moment is actually so fleeting you can't really conceive of it… at the same time, the present is all of those things. You kind of move along with the arrow of time in the

6 In 2016, 69.7% of American high school graduates enrolled in college (BLS 2016).

present sense." No matter what happens, time is always moving, and we tend to conceptualize this movement with a forward trajectory. Rita feels that time "is not repeating itself. I'm very aware that time is moving on." When thinking philosophically about our lives, we can feel each moment morph into the next, always onward. But where are we headed? Does our course have a target, an end? Like Leonard, Leanne has "a sense of the finiteness of one's lifetime." When she dies–which will be in two to eight years, according to a diagnosis of the health condition she lives with–she will have run her course with a final tick mark to stop her timeline from progressing into eternity. Fourteen out of 15 interviewees, Leanne included, report not feeling afraid of dying, and they view it with acceptance or as a matter-of-fact event for living beings.

Eleanor, however, focuses on a broader dimension of death in relation to lines and endings. "The reason that we get mixed up about time is that we think it's linear. … I think we begin to struggle with this notion of time because we see causality at work. We see that X cause has X effect later." But cycles are also at work. What kinds of cycles? "Certainly seasonal. And birth and death. And how death leads to birth. And so, in that sense, we have to remember that a circle is simply a bent line." The cycle of birth and death is a natural biorhythm (Adam 1990), forming a tempo of human life that beats from one generation to the next, and this cycle is what prevents linear time from traveling in only one direction (Leach 1961).

This dichotomy, in which death represents both an ending to a linear timeline and an instigator of cyclical repetition, relates to industrialized time. Walter shares Eleanor's perspective of cycles: "I'm well aware of [the cycle of birth and death] in nature. … It's the natural rhythm of the universe. Things come into existence, they die, and then they recycle. And what they recycle into gives life to something else." However, as humans, we somehow see ourselves as separate from that natural order. Walter continues, "We just happen to be one species in that cycle. Why do we think we're any different than any other life form? I think there's a certain amount of egocentricity involved in that." This egocentricity of human power over nature and natural cycles goes hand-in-hand with industrialized time; today, we see ourselves as further removed from the cycle of life and death than people who lived before industrialization. Finn, a retired university professor, states, "Death was much more clearly understood as a part of life because it was a part of life in a way it isn't now. … In the 16th century, 17th century, 18th century, people didn't live long. Death was always around them." Industrialization and development of healthcare renders the cycle of life and death less relevant in day-to-day life.[7] Eleanor returns Finn's comment by saying, "the more industrial or technological our lives become, the more linear overwhelms the circularity or the bends or the aberrations from the linear." More simply, this can be visualized in the historical transition from analog to digital clocks. Analog clocks allowed the time-teller to return to the same spot every twelve hours, but with increasing digitization of clocks–such technology being the next generation of industrialization–the cyclicality of time is wiped out and replaced by segmented, unnatural numbers in a linear progression (Cross 1994).

Despite industrialization and the rise of technology, temporal cyclicality still prevails. Max, in his study of physics, says, "I think of time as being a wheel. A real dimension." He incorporates this vision into his daily life by observing solstices and other seasonal fluctuations. Leonard similarly notices "the stars in the sky, even the ocean shores where the waves come in. They have a time span and repeat in a certain way." Cycles and rhythmicity are displayed most prominently in nature, but they appear in social and political organizations as well (Adam 1990). Walter worked in the nonprofit world for most of his life, founding multiple organizations in the field of substance abuse prevention. In reference to his nonprofit organizations, he says, "all of that work is on government grants, and they're all on funding cycles, so I'm very well aware of where they are in the cycle." Not only annual government grants, but three-year or five-year grants from private foundations cause Walter "to be cognizant of where [he is] in the cycle." The calendar year, albeit imprecise when overlaid with astronomical cycles (Roy 2001), institutionalizes cyclicality into the Western industrialized temporal system.

The concepts of linearity and cyclicality can be understood through the more commonplace applications of change and routine. The term "change" emerged from interviews to convey linear time, as it suggests an old forming a new, or a cause and an effect. Change also appears in cycles, but we often think of change as a transition in time or space to something fresh and different, insinuating the process of forward temporal movement. Walter, for example, feels that "*We're* advancing, *we're* changing; 'time' is just a way of referencing and understanding what our changes are." Time is a benchmark to describe when a new phenomenon occurs. Routine, on the other hand, refers to the practices that we come back to–day-to-day, month-to-month, year-to-year–either out of necessity or habit, and these practices form cycles. Rita, Gus, and others routinize their days by taking medicine at

[7] This study was conducted prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, which may have reshaped the American perception of death. Further research is required to reevaluate this perception.

a rhythm specified by their doctors; Henry experiences routine in the timing of phone calls with his sons; and Marie consciously builds routine into her daily to-do lists. Routine is utilized by the American occupational system in which service sector workers typically work nine to five, lunch break is at noon, and employees fall under annual review. In a broader career sense, however, Americans are expected to frequently change jobs [8]and pursue goals that take them onward to new challenges and advantageous opportunities (Snyder 2016).

Routine and change appear more or less frequently as a person grows older. Colleen, for instance, associates routine with efficiency required at different ages:

> I had routines when I was raising the kids especially. I would go shopping on a certain day and fix dinner at a certain time. … But that was in good part for efficiency's sake, not because I was wedded to a particular routine. … At this [age] it's sort of the opposite. I'm not doing that much, but because of the Parkinson's I get tired, so I want to be efficient in that way also.

Colleen finds routine to be necessary at some points in life but goes with the flow of change when she can. In terms of acceptance or comfort, Henry describes change as something he allowed to happen as a kid but that he began to resist over time. He says, "I think when I was younger, change occurred, and I just assumed that was supposed to happen. And I think as an older person, it's not supposed to happen. It's supposed to be routine. … Well, change always happens. And I think as we get older, I think we resist change. I think maybe *I* have." Living at a retirement home today adds to his sense of routine because activities are timed and sequenced on a fixed schedule. Alternatively, Leanne and Gus embrace change, and this has remained true throughout their lives. Leanne likes to "go with the flow" and "keep everything open" while Gus asserts, "I build change into my life." Change causes time to move quickly, and this, for Leanne and Gus, is a good thing. As individuals, we may enjoy change or routine, or we may feel that change or routine is forced upon us; either way, change and routine appear simultaneously and inescapably every day.

Change versus routine and linearity versus cyclicality also appear on a larger historical timescale. The earth warms and cools, baby names come

[8] As of January 2018, the median tenure with a current employer was 4.2 years, down from 4.6 years in January 2014 (BLS 2018).

and go in popularity, and political regimes or ideologies rise and fall. Colleen says, "I see Trump as a demagogue in the making. And history is full of demagogues. It's not a new thing at all, that's the scary part." In a similar vein, Max theorizes, "I think we can have cyclical change, certainly in politics and fashion. Although it's not identical, it's like, 'I've seen that before.' … It's like we're never, as a full society, quite content. It always has to flip the other way eventually." Cycles appear at any scale in the earth's history, and any repetition that has occurred in the past could appear again in the future. However, linear and cyclical time are not mutually exclusive; Adam (1990) describes a flower bulb that blossoms into new petals each season, and Henry concocts the metaphor of soup-making in which a chef's best soup never tastes the same twice. Each cycle, whether political, environmental, or gastronomic, forms a new and unique iteration that results in a weaving and bending of time in the shape of loops and lines.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

So, what is time in the way that you personally experience it? Maybe now you agree with Eleanor that "it certainly exists as a tool that we agree upon and is very useful" but "time doesn't reflect anything real." Maybe Max is more your style: time is simply "a continuous process that we go through." Or maybe you're perfectly content not having an answer, and, like Leonard, you think, "that's the motivation: knowing what time is."

This study does not attempt to provide an answer to the question, "what is time?" Rather, it investigates the perceptions that fifteen older Americans based in Boulder, Colorado have developed through personal experience about the workings of time over the course of a lifetime, and how time forms–or is formed by–individual human life. First, we consider time through the perspective of past, present, or future, finding that living in the present or "in the moment" generates the most joy. It is easiest to live in the moment as we grow older because we have fewer obligations, or, as Walter says, "it's gonna happen if it's gonna happen," and there's no need to worry about the past or future. Second, an absence or lack of living in the moment is linked to industrialized time, which is the contemporary transformation toward human control over nature relayed onto temporal experience. With increasing use of technology and adherence to clocks and calendars, our lives are timed and scheduled within the confines of a socially constructed system rather than a system rooted in nature. Industrialized time implicates judgement of "wasted" time in which time spent unproductively or inefficiently is frowned upon. Study participants do not overtly express discontentment with industrialized time, but they do express enjoyment of spending time in nature without a clock or taking vacations that allow an escape from strict scheduling and a fast-paced, forward-focused agenda. Both conditions encourage living in the moment, which serves as an antidote to industrialized time.

Third, chronological age affects our experience of time. Time seems to speed up as we grow older, or shifts based on our location in the life course and the people or environment around us. After stating that he is 89 years old, Leonard says, "I call it 98," playing around with the idea that chronological age is an arbitrary label used to describe ourselves or to view others, but we may feel younger or older than our birth certificate indicates. Age as a socially constructed marker of an individual's life course therefore does not syncopate with real experience of time, and chronological age does not equate social experience.

Finally, time displays itself either as moving on a linear trajectory with forward movement and change, or as cyclical repetition and routine. The industrialized system of time actively promotes a perception of linear time by emphasizing awareness of the future over the present (Cross 1994). Descriptions of the American life course based on sections of education/occupation or relationships/domestic situation also cause the human lifetime to be perceived as linear because sections are formulaic and productively organized, viewed in a similar light to Weber's industrialized time (Ritzer 1996). However, life course sections also reflect Giddens' (1984) perspective that personal decisions are backed by this socially constructed life course framework, but people have agency to choose their complacency within the system by skipping steps or switching the order of the "normal" life course in a fluid, individualized, and possibly cyclical manner. Simultaneously, nature's cyclical rhythms, like seasonal fluctuation, cause a sense of return and consistency, and personal routine engenders feelings of groundedness despite change. Study participants encountered more difficulty conceptualizing cyclicality than linearity; this may be due to the dominance of industrialized time in participants' lives or the language surrounding *before* and *after* sequencing of each life stage as they are collectively agreed upon, the latter of which is outlined in Zerubavel's fourth sociotemporal order (Zerubavel 1981 in Ryan 2005).

The purpose of this study is to stimulate discussion around the relatively unexplored social phenomenon of time, a phenomenon that applies to people of all ages, genders, nationalities, and political affiliations. The study has limited generalizability in that it only speaks to the experiences of a small sample of white, educated, upper or upper-middle class Americans born between 1923 and 1948. This select group holds unique perspectives that do not necessarily correlate with, for example, the experiences of Americans of color, Americans living in rural areas, or lower-class Americans who must work through retirement or depend on federal aid programs for daily necessities. Further study could therefore investigate the experience of time in conjunction with more diverse demographic characteristics such as ethnicity, language, economic status, religious affiliation, or people born in subsequent generations. Reactivity bias may also be present in my data (Maxwell 2013); interviewees knew I was a college student attending a prestigious institution, and consequently may have formulated their responses based on what they thought I wanted to hear. Some interviewees stopped themselves mid-statement to say, "But that's not what you're looking for." However, the sample in the present study does incorporate a wide variety of life experiences and values, reflecting theories by classical and contemporary sociologists and anthropologists.

Audiences of diverse demographic backgrounds may respond differently to my study. College students, for instance, may find the experiences of study participants to be quite alien because most college students have not yet started a family or launched a career, and these developments greatly modify a person's perception of time, according to study participants. As a college student myself, I have had to accept that my current perception of time may transform tremendously throughout my life. The experience of international readers may also deviate from the experience of study participants because each country retains its own institutions, policies, and cultural contexts that encourage or reject living in the moment, industrialized time, age norms, and cyclical or linear experiences.

Finally, this study serves to inspire further thought and action toward a positive experience of time. As Claire determines, time itself is neither good nor bad; rather, "it's what you do with it." At the end of each interview, participants offered advice about time, effectively summing up the best parts of their experience with it. Along the lines of the phrase "carpe diem," Leonard says, "Time is among the most precious things in this life. A mature person doesn't waste it." Leanne advises, "use your time according to what gives your life meaning and value." Colleen adds, "enjoy the moment and be open to whatever is going on in your life and have fun. Don't be hung up on the future or the past." Walter, smiling, says, "Don't worry about it, you know? … Things in your life that need to happen will happen. Don't push it. Sit back and enjoy the ride."

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APPENDIX A. TABLES

Table 1: Sample Characteristics (*N*=15)

Demographic Characteristic	N	%[9]
Gender		
Female	9	60
Male	6	40
Age at Interview		
70-74	6	40
75-79	2	13
80-84	4	27
85-89	2	13
90+	1	7
Marital Status		
Married	9	60
Widowed	4	27
Single	1	7
Unspecified	1	7

[9] Due to rounding, percentages do not add up to 100.

Demographic Characteristic	N	%[9]
Retirement Home Resident		
Yes	7	47
No	8	53
Educational Degree		
Advanced degree	7	47
Undergraduate degree	7	47
High school diploma	1	7

Table 2. Interviewee Characteristics

Pseudonym	Age	Birth Year	Gender	Primary Occupation[10]	Marital Status	Health Condition	Retirement Home
Rita	70	1948	Female	Housing developer	Widowed	Yes	Yes
Walter	70	1948	Male	Social entrepreneur	?	No	No
Max	70	1948	Male	Automotive agent	Married	No	No
Gus	72	1946	Male	Counselor	Married	Yes	No
Eleanor	73	1945	Female	Painter	Married	No	No
Claire	73	1944	Female	Librarian	Married	No	No
Leanne	75	1943	Female	Clinical psychologist	Married	Yes	Yes
Sonya	76	1941	Female	Schoolteacher	Single	Yes	Yes
Colleen	80	1937	Female	Clinical psychologist	Married	Yes	Yes
Finn	81	1937	Male	University professor	Married	No	No
Henry	81	1936	Male	Schoolteacher	Married	No	Yes
Marie	83	1935	Female	Schoolteacher	Widowed	No	No
Abigail	89	1929	Female	Community volunteer	Widowed	No	Yes
Leonard	89	1928	Male	University professor	Married	No	No
Sofia	94	1923	Female	Secretary	Widowed	No	Yes

[10] The Primary Occupation category has been simplified for table clarity.

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW GUIDE

"I am here with ______(name) on ______(date). ______ (Name) has agreed to participate in my study, The Social Construction of Time, and to be audio recorded. We will begin with general questions that will become more specific as the interview progresses."

1. When were you born?
2. Where are you from?
3. What is your profession?
4. Do you ever notice time passing?
5. Do you ever lose track of time? In what circumstances?
6. When does time appear to "move quickly" or "move slowly"?
7. Is it possible to "waste" time? What does that mean?
8. Do you ever feel that time is repeating itself in cycles, either in daily routine or over years? Or does time move in just one direction? What creates variation in the same tasks?
9. When you think of time in your own life, are you mostly thinking about the past, present, future, or all/none? Where is your mind located?
10. Do you have an image in your mind of what time looks like? Week, year, lifetime…
    a. What does this image look like before and after your life?
11. How do you measure passage of time?
    a. For example, do you think of your past as broken up into different life stages?
    b. How heavily do you depend on or how often do you use a calendar or other standard method of time measurement? How do you schedule yourself?
12. Has the way you think about time changed over time?
    a. After particular life events?
    b. If you had chosen a different life course or profession, do you think you would perceive time differently?
13. What current events were happening when you grew up that affected your life course choices?
14. How did you experience time during childhood as compared to today?

   a. How does age impact you? What role does memory play in your experience of time?

15. Is your experience of time attached to someone or something exterior to yourself? For example, religion.
16. What is change and what is the intersection between time and change?
17. Is the passage of the time positive or negative? Is time more of an enemy or an ally? Does this perception ever change?
18. Does your perception of time change based on movement throughout space, such as travel, or positioning in space, such as where you live?
19. What do you think about the time you have left? What goals do you have now, as opposed to when you were younger?
20. Does time have power?
21. What would you tell young people about time? Would you give them advice?
22. After thinking about time for the past hour, how would you define time in the way that you personally experience it?
23. Is there anything else that you think is important for me to know?

‘What is wrong with me?’: The impact of gender norms on women’s experiences of orgasm within heterosexual sex.

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Abstract
The study of women’s experiences of orgasm is crucial, as the regulation of female sexual pleasure is telling of both the control of their bodily sensations, and the wider control of women’s agency.

Female sexual pleasure has historically been cast as either non-existent or problematic (Gagnon and Simon, 1973). The gendered construction of sexuality, and the demeaning way in which female sexuality has been regarded, have negatively influenced women’s experiences of orgasm during heterosex. Although academic literature on this topic has been produced, it has either focused on older women’s experiences, or has been conducted over a decade ago. Moreover, it has often neglected women’s awareness of the role of gender norms, and of one’s conformance to them, in shaping their sexual experiences. This dissertation seeks to explore younger women’s experiences of orgasm, as well as their awareness of gender norms in shaping them, thus filling a gap in the literature.

Findings derived from nine semi-structured, in-depth interviews with female students aged 20 to 22 indicate that, although participants do tend to conform to gender norms during heterosex, which corroborates the existing literature, they are aware of these norms and of their implications on their sexual pleasure, and they wish to challenge them.

Keywords
gender, sex, sexuality, feminism

"Sexuality is to feminism what work is to marxism: that which is most one's own, yet most taken away" (MacKinnon 1982:515)

Gender norms refer to the "constructed meanings that shape expected behaviours of the male and female sex" (Langnes and Fasting 2017:1597). They are dependent on contextual factors such as time and place, and are thus subject to change (West and Zimmerman 1987). Gender norms are not only conveyed by structural agents, but they are also maintained by the daily actions and interactions of individuals, making them appear natural (Goffman 1975).

Heterosexual sex, which will be referred to throughout this dissertation as heterosex, constitutes a noteworthy way in which gender norms are enacted by both men and women (Gavey 2005). Heterosex demonstrates the scope and permissiveness of gender in even the most intimate spheres of life (Connell 2002). Furthermore, although recent decades have witnessed a rise in research and general attention on women's experiences of sexual pleasure, this topic is still subject to much ignorance and disregard. Such neglect may be explained by the persisting widespread adherence to a normative understanding of women's sexuality (Crawford and Popp 2003).

The research question which this dissertation wishes to answer is:

What is the impact of gender norms on female students' experiences of orgasm during heterosex?

This research project is structured around three sub-questions:

- Do female students think of their orgasms as less important than men's?
- Do female students think of vaginal orgasms as superior to clitoral orgasms?
- Do female students feel pressured to orgasm during heterosex?

Throughout this research, I adopt a feminist methodology, which aims to create a space for women's voices to be heard, as well as for them to reflect upon normative constructions of gender (McNamara 2009).

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the existing academic literature on the female orgasm and on women's experiences of them. It starts by exploring how its construction has evolved over the past hundred years, with attention being paid to the roles of psychoanalysis and sexology in that regard. It then delves into the more recent social scientific literature which has been produced on women’s experiences of orgasm in a heterosexual context, and on the role of gender in shaping them.

2.2 The female orgasm and psychoanalysis

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, attitudes and beliefs around female sexuality were largely influenced by psychoanalysis (Gerhard 2000). Prominently, Freud (1962) produced theories on the female orgasm, and established a distinction between the vaginal one, which he deemed mature, and the clitoral one, which he cast as juvenile. According to Freud’s (1962) transfer theory, a woman who developed healthily would experience a shift from the clitoris to the vagina as her main source of sexual pleasure. Therefore, he held that women who could only experience sexual pleasure from clitoral stimulation were frigid, and associated such frigidity to psychological issues, such as hysteria. Corroborating this, psychoanalyst Helene Deutsch (1944), in *The Psychology of Women*, argued that vaginal orgasms were the sign of a woman’s satisfaction with her role as mother, as well as contentment with her subordinate position in society.

Michel Foucault (1966) contended that the discourse of experts produces *truths*, which cast individuals as normal or abnormal, healthy or pathological. In that sense, psychoanalysts of the twentieth century contributed to shaping what constituted a normal and healthy Experience of female sexual pleasure.

2.3 The female orgasm post-World War II

In the second part of the twentieth century, research and publications began to challenge the psychoanalytic lens through which female sexual pleasure had been formerly studied. Primarily, Alfred Kinsey’s (1953) *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* was ground-breaking as it challenged the traditional conceptions of female sexuality which were prevalent at the time. It exposed the commonality of sexual behaviours which were often regarded as deviant, such as sexual experiences with same-sex partners and female masturbation. Kinsey (1953), through this publication, challenged the existing assumption that women are asexual, which also encouraged further research (Bullough 1998).

A decade later, sexologists Masters and Johnson (1966; 1970) provided their own contribution to the study of female sexuality. By demonstrating that the clitoral organ had to be stimulated in order for women to orgasm, they refuted Freud’s (1962) theory that the clitoral orgasm was abnormal and a sign of immaturity. However, Jackson (1984) argued that although Masters and Johnson’s studies did somewhat refute Freud’s theories on female sexuality, and that they were still deeply embedded in a reductive construction of heterosex. Their studies were built on the construction of *real* heterosex as the penetration of a vagina by a penis. Accordingly, the central aim of their research was to protect this sexual practice, by curing male impotence, for instance. Although they did acknowledge the clitoris as a major erotic zone for women, they still defined its stimulation as merely what leads to the real thing (Masters 1966; Johnson 1970).

The second part of the twentieth century was also a time when second-wave feminists contested the traditional conception of heterosexuality. In *The Myth of The Vaginal Orgasm*, Anne Koedt (1970) argued that the reduction of heterosex to vaginal penetration by a penis oppressed women by limiting their sexual experiences to an act which benefited men's satisfaction only. Hartmann (1979) corroborated this and stated that "women's discontent […] is not the neurotic lament of the maladjusted, but a response to a social structure in which women are systematically dominated, exploited, and oppressed" (p. 10). According to these feminist authors, women's discontent with sexuality did not stem from their personal maladjustment to the natural order of things, but was a reaction to a normative and androcentric discourse around heterosex, which confined women in a subordinate and unsatisfactory position within it.

Second-wave feminists wished to reclaim their sexuality, which implied reframing the clitoral orgasm as a legitimate path to sexual pleasure. Hollway (1993) explained that this came hand-in-hand with a desire to put mutuality and reciprocity at the heart of heterosexual sex. Ehrenreich, Hess and Jacobs (1986) showed that this resulted in the construction of oral sex as what would allow heterosexuality to reach this ideal, as it made its practice "more reciprocal and egalitarian" (p. 81).

2.4 The female orgasm today

Late twentieth and early twenty-first century sexology has continued to challenge former constructions of female sexuality. In 1998, urologist Helen O'Connell and colleagues were the first scientists to fully and justly produce a description of the female sexual anatomy, including the internal structure of the clitoris. This inspired a new generation of research around female sexuality (Puppo and Puppo 2015; Jones and Lopez 2013). Their work and observations emphasized the importance of the clitoral organ in understanding and improving women's experiences of sexual pleasure. Their research also contradicted the binary construction of the female orgasm as either clitoral or vaginal, as it demonstrated that any experienced sexual pleasure was, in fact, due to some sort of clitoral stimulation. It was then only in 2009 that Buisson and Foldès produced the first 3D representation of the clitoris.

Furthermore, Pauls (2015) further refuted common misconceptions around the female genitalia by demonstrating that the clitoris, and not the vagina, is the female equivalent of the penis, as they originate from the same tissue in the womb (2015; Ogletree and Ginsburg 2000). Additionally, Wallen and Lloyd (2011) demonstrated that women’s ability to orgasm through intercourse was highly correlated to the distance from their clitoris to their vagina. Their research unveiled that a shorter distance between the two dramatically increased the likelihood of orgasm during penetration, and that, while “some women may be anatomically predisposed to experience orgasm from intercourse, [...] the genital anatomy of other women makes such orgasms unlikely” (Wallen and Lloyd 2011:788). Recent decades have evidently witnessed a growing interest around the female genitalia, and these studies have confirmed the importance of the clitoris in the quest for women’s sexual pleasure.

These studies have also been supported by large-scale research projects which enquired after women’s experiences of orgasm during heterosexual sex. For instance, Herbenick et al. (2017) conducted a study with over a thousand American women aged eighteen to ninety-four, and found that only 18.4 percent of them could reach orgasm from vaginal penetration alone. Validating this, Armstrong and colleagues (2009) surveyed close to 13,000 male and female undergraduate students about their experiences of heterosex, and found that women orgasmed 32% as often as men in first-time hook-ups, and 79% as often as them in committed relationships. This was attributed to the fact that long-term male partners spent more time on clitoral stimulation than casual hook-up partners.

2.5 The romanticised vaginal orgasm

Although a growing body of evidence attest that it is normal and common for women to not experience orgasm through penetration only, the discourse which was prevalent a century ago still permeates into and feelings about their orgasms today. The existing literature demonstrates that the inability to experience orgasm through vaginal penetration is often perceived as an inadequacy by women.

Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe (2009) found that the women they studied viewed vaginal orgasms as “what real women have” (p. 101). They also found that vaginal orgasms were referred to as superior to their clitoral counterparts, because they were deemed *deeper* in both the literal and metaphorical sense. Illustratively, when the researchers asked the participants in their study whether they had problems with orgasm, they answered in the affirmative, even though they did experience it through non-penetrative means. Frith (2012) contends that vaginal orgasms have been romanticised and naturalized, making many women feel dysfunctional for not experiencing them.

Accordingly, in her 2007 study, Cacchioni found that women who were unable to have penetrative sex because of chronic pain conditions felt like failures, or, as one participant put it, like "an android" (p. 305). This was corroborated by Kaler's (2006) study, who, after interviewing ninety women who suffered from vulvar pain, reported that the inability to experience penetrative sex "invoke[d] images of gender failures, of women who were not really women" (p. 51). It thus appears that vaginal orgasms and womanhood are still somewhat conflated in the minds of women today.

Furthermore, Gavey, McPhillips and Braun (1999) hold that the social representation of penetrative sex as the *raison d'être* of heterosex, and consequently, the construction of the vaginal orgasm as ideal has been reinforced by the porn and film industry. These industries depict vaginal penetration and orgasm as the *highpoint*–the symbol of highest sexual or romantic connection between two partners. Duncombe and Marsden (1996) corroborate this and suggest that the romanticization of the vaginal orgasm is reinforced by the fact that it allows for simultaneous orgasms to occur, which have been depicted as the most ideal and romantic way for a heterosexual sex encounter to end. Illustratively, a participant in Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe's (2009) study explained that she wished she could have a vaginal orgasm, as it "matches up to all the romantic books you read" (p.103). It thus seems that the images conveyed by the media and porn industry construct an often unattainable representation of what the female orgasm should be.

In addition, Allen highlights that western sex education, by focusing on the prevention of risks associated with penetrative sex such as pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STI), contribute to the construction of this sexual practice as the only way to have sex (2007). This might lead young people to believe that vaginal orgasms are the most common and natural way for women to experience sexual pleasure and orgasm.

2.6 The mystery of the female orgasm

Many researchers have also shown that the female orgasm is popularly regarded as mysterious and difficult to achieve. Rogers' (2005) and Farvid and Braun's (2006) analyses of women's and men's magazines demonstrate that these media outlets consistently describe the male orgasm as simplistic and straightforward and that, accordingly, the male libido is framed as being always high and independent from any external factors. This is illustrative of what Hollway (1989) refers to as the *male sexual drive* discourse, which permeates the way in which men's sexuality is constructed and reduces it to an uncontrollable biological need.

Contrastingly, Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe (2009) found that, in both men's and women's magazines, the female orgasm was depicted as a temperamental and mysterious phenomenon which was difficult to achieve. By constructing women's inability to reach orgasm as natural, and to be blamed on their mysterious genitalia, this rhetoric shifted the cause of the female orgasm–or lack thereof–away from external factors, such as particular practices and knowledge of female anatomy. They found that such a construction of female sexuality in the media led women to lower their expectations regarding the frequency of their orgasms during heterosexual sex. This is echoed by Ferguson's (1983) contention that women's magazines form women's perceptions of womanhood.

Moreover, Potts (2000) suggested that women's difficulties to reach orgasm during intercourse was sometimes constructed as being the manifestation of psychological issues, which, as Frith (2012) contended, actively pathologizes this common phenomenon.

Additionally, Braun et al. (2003) found that the dichotomous construction of the female and male orgasms led women's ability to make their male partners orgasm to be "recognized less as an active gift than as a taken-for-granted expectation" (p. 249), while a man's ability to make their female partner orgasm was the proof of his caring character, as well as rare "sexpertise" (Potts 2000:66).

2.7 The female orgasm in relation to male partners

Machin and Thornborrow's (2003) analysis of popular women's magazines demonstrated that these media outlets framed the female orgasm as something to be achieved in order to secure a bond with a partner. These magazines described women's lack of orgasms as an issue to be fixed by them to protect their partner's confidence in their sexual abilities. Lavie and Joffe (2009) corroborated this and found that "women are ascribed responsibility for both their own difficulties and for men's emotional reactions to them" (p. 104). Bachechi and Hall (2015) have supported this, and hold that women's quest for orgasm is intrinsically tied to their duty to please their sexual partner by meeting an ideal of overtly expressed sexual pleasure.

Illustratively, Fahs (2011; 2014) found that one of the main reasons why women fake orgasms was to validate their partner's sexual skills and masculinity. Accordingly, Roberts et al. (1995) contended that "the demand for noise [...] indicates that heterosexuality becomes an economy in which the woman's orgasm is exchanged for the man's work" (p. 528). This is also highlighted by what Vance describes as the anxious '*did you come*' question, which, as she puts it, "demarcate[s] a new area of woman's behavior men are expected to master and control - female orgasm" (1984:12).

Lavie and Willig (2005) corroborated this, and found that women's lack of orgasm was more important to their male partner than to them. Therefore, they reported being deeply concerned about how their inability to orgasm affected their partner's sense of masculinity, and contributed to their partner's frustration. The female orgasm was thus "a symbol for men's own achievement, a measurement of their performance" (Lavie and Willig 2005:122). However, there seemed to be intense pressure on *both* parties to be performant, and to achieve the "orgasmic imperative" (Béjin 1986:201), or else the sexual encounter was cast as a failure (Tavella 1992; Potts 2000). Moreover, Braun et al. (2003) found that, while the female orgasm was framed as something given by the man to the woman, the male orgasm was *not*, in turn, defined as something given by the woman to the man. Instead, it was something which the two parties had worked for together, which contributed to making the male orgasm the *end goal* of sex.

2.8 The female orgasm, postfeminism and neoliberalism

Gill (2009) contended that the attribution of men's sexual well-being to women, through their ability to orgasm for instance, fits into a postfeminist shift from women's objectification to their subjectification. She argued that, rather than having to passively experience sexuality like they used to, women are encouraged to be active agents of it. However, she argued that this is accompanied by an increased pressure to self-monitor and self-transform to reach an ideal of *sexiness*. Part of this includes one's ability to experience and display orgasm in increasingly spectacular ways. Gill (2009) stood against the contention that this shift is empowering, as it is the sign of women's increased sexual agency. She held that it is a lure, and that this change is merely another form that the control of women's sexual behaviour has taken.

Tyler (2004) supported this, and argued that the neoliberal *performance imperative* has infiltrated sexuality, making orgasm something to *achieve* during it. Similarly, Jackson and Scott (1997) held that sexuality has become something which women have to *work on* in order to please men, and refer to this process as the "taylorization of sex" (p. 89), making orgasm its product.

Accordingly, Cacchioni (2007) referred to the measures that women are encouraged to undertake as “sex work” (p. 301). She explained that women perform three types of sex work, namely, discipline work, avoidance work, and performance work. Discipline work refers to any activity which may improve one’s performance in the sexual act, from ingesting supplements to developing new skills. Avoidance work refers to using excuses such as menstruation instead of expressing one’s wish not to have sex. Lastly, performance work refers to pretending to be experiencing sexual pleasure when one is not, which is often referred to as *faking*.

Tracing this rhetoric shift back to the post World War II era, Neuhaus (2000) highlighted that it is at that time that sex manuals went from framing the female orgasm as a skill which the man could learn to framing it as the duty of the woman. In these publications, women’s inability to orgasm was blamed not on the husband’s technique, but on women themselves. Neuhaus (2000) argued that this contributed to “the construction of female sexuality as problematic, neurotic, and faulty” (p. 450).

2.9 The issue with entitlement

Braun, Gavey and Mcphillips (2003) suggested that defining the female orgasm as a *right* which one is entitled to is not necessarily free of negative implications. Being entitled to something inevitably generates an obligation to experience it. It assumes that all women are able to, and should, experience orgasm, which creates a pressure to fit into an ideal of *normality*. Therefore, the emphasis put on the reciprocity of sexual pleasure becomes problematic if it *de facto* assumes that all women are able to experience orgasm — whether it is through intercourse or other means. Wood et al. (2017) referred to this as the “pleasure imperative” which, they argued, is a pressure that is nowadays put on individuals to conquer and master their sexual pleasure in order to reach its ultimate form (p. 2).

Allen (2012) held that “pleasure is cast as an ideal in sexual relations that young people feel compelled to achieve”, making those who do not obtain pleasure from heterosexual, phallocentric sex feel abnormal or incompetent (p. 462). Allen and Carmony (2012) argued that women may thus feel compelled to fake their orgasms or sexual pleasure in order to not be cast as frigid. Tiefer (1995) summarized this, and explained that “the societal message [...] that you have to be sexual, you have to want to be sexual, you have to be good at being sexual, and you have to be normally sexual” puts immense pressure on all (p. 129).

Moreover, the conflation of sex with orgasm has been critiqued by Nicolson and Burr (2003), who argued that it negates the pleasure and enjoyment which comes around orgasm itself, thus overlooking many women's lived experiences and imposing an androcentric model of sexual pleasure on women. Furthermore, Allen (2012) asserted that focusing on sexual pleasure as the only reason to have sex simplifies this complex practice and overlooks the multiplicity of pleasures which can arise from it.

2.10 The impact of gender on the female orgasm

Several authors have argued that the way in which women experience sexual pleasure is a product of their socialization as female. Koss et al. (1994) held that women's socialization leads them to attribute their self-worth to the success of their relationships with others. Therefore, women's dedication to making their sexual partners feel good and confident during the heterosexual act, even if it is at the expense of their own sexual pleasure, is crucial in maintaining their perceived value as individuals. Moreover, Allan's (2009) study of femininity in a same-sex primary school found that compliance was one of the most highly valued qualities in girls, which may result in their consequent compliance with sexual experiences which do not satisfy them, and their disregard for such discontent. Furthermore, Jeffrey (1996) posited that women and girls are taught to take up as little time and space as possible and that this is reflected in all areas of life, from public transport to sexual pleasure.

Jeffrey also contended that the eroticization of female subordination and male dominance, on top of allowing for sexual violence to occur, actively conflates women's sexual pleasure with their mistreatment. A 2015 survey conducted on 1001 French adults found that 21% of them believed that a woman could find pleasure in being forced during sex (Ipsos 2015). The construction of women as being naturally subordinate to men directly influences the way in which individuals are socialized, which, in turn, shapes their experiences of, and attitudes around, sexuality.

Butler (1990) held that the pressure to conform to one's gender exists because if one transgresses their gender, they are faced with negative social consequences such as shaming or exclusion. Therefore, gender is something which one does to reaffirm their normality, and it is maintained through the observance of interactions and practices which conform to one's gender.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the main themes that emerge from a review of the existing literature on the female orgasm. Its initial historical analysis allows one to grasp the female orgasm today as being the product of a specific history and culture. The review of the more recent literature on gender and female sexual pleasure demonstrates that gender norms still play a significant role in women's experiences of orgasm. The pressure to fit into one's gender, through having vaginal orgasms or through putting the male pleasure first, will be discussed further in the findings and discussion chapter of this dissertation.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the ontological and epistemological standpoints which I have adopted throughout this research, as well as the feminist methodology that has guided it. It also explains the choices I have made regarding sampling, data collection and analytical methods. Moreover, this chapter reflects on issues of reliability and validity. Lastly, it discusses the ethical considerations of this research project, its reflexivity, and its limitations.

3.2 Epistemology and ontology

The epistemological standpoint which guided this research was an interpretivist one. Throughout the research process, I was interested in understanding the social world in the subjective way that it is produced by individuals themselves. My research was influenced by Max Weber's (1968) concept of *verstehen*, which suggests that human beings cannot be studied in the same way that natural scientists study elements in the natural world. Instead, this research project was based on the contention that a social action must be studied as an action whose "subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (Weber 1968:4). Human behavior does not happen in a vacuum, and can therefore only be approached in its social context.

This research also adopted a constructionist ontological position, which contends that a single objective social reality does not exist, but that social reality is produced through interaction (Reed 2009). Consequently, I carried this particular research with the stance that "sex is not a natural act" (Tiefer 1995:5), and that it is influenced by social, cultural and political forces.

These particular epistemological and ontological standpoints guided my decision to adopt a qualitative methodology, as qualitative research allows one to delve into individuals' subjective and lived realities.

3.3 Feminist methodology

This research project used a feminist methodological approach, which holds that giving women a voice in social research is essential to prompt social change and increased gender equality (Arksey and Knight 1999). As Becker et al. (2012) explained, "feminist research would aim to add to our knowledge of discriminatory and oppressive structures, and be concerned with transforming gender relations" (p. 136). McNamara (2009) suggested that this is done by creating a space for women to question and challenge gender norms.

Furthermore, feminist methodology wishes to challenge the traditional social research guidelines which tend to establish a hierarchical relationship between the researcher and the participants. In this regard, Oakley (1981) rejected the principle which holds that the interviewer must adopt a purely detached style during the data collection. She argued that this dehumanizes the researcher, creates a power imbalance between them and the participants, and, crucially, hinders the fluidity of the data collection. Reinharz (1992) argued that rejecting these principles and adopting a feminist methodology allows for women's experiences to be heard from their perspectives rather than from the researcher's.

3.4 Sampling

Participants were recruited through a convenience sampling method. A convenience sample refers to one which is easily accessible to the researcher (Bryman 2008). As this research explores the experiences of female undergraduate students, and as I am one myself, I deemed convenience sampling most suitable for this research project.

The sample was also purposive, which means that the participants had to meet certain requirements (Bryman 2008). These were to be a female undergraduate student and had to have experienced heterosexual sex.

3.5 Data collection methods

This research project used qualitative methods, and more specifically, semi-structured interviews.

3.5.1. Pilot study

Bryman (2008) suggested that one pilot interview should be conducted before settling on a definitive set of interview questions. Following this advice allowed me to determine which questions were to keep and which were to either change or remove from the question list. Illustratively, the question '*what does an orgasm mean to you?*' turned out to be too abstract and confusing, and was therefore removed from the list. After each interview, I debriefed with the interviewee, which allowed me to get feedback on my interview questions and interviewing style. This led me to add questions in order for the interview to last longer and be more in-depth.

Furthermore, this pilot study allowed me to reflect on my experience as the interviewer. I realized that, by attempting to be non-intrusive, I had focused on practicing active listening too much and had held back from making the interview conversation-like. I decided to adopt a more conversational style in the other interviews, which proved to be effective in making the participant feel more comfortable sharing their experiences of sexuality with me. This also confirmed the relevance of a feminist methodology when interviewing women about their experiences with sexuality.

3.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

I conducted nine semi-structured, in-depth interviews with female undergraduate students at the University of Bath. The interviewees were of similar ethnic backgrounds (white British or white European) as well as socioeconomic backgrounds (middle class and in higher education), and their age ranged from 20 to 22. The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 to 45 minutes.

I selected semi-structured interviews to ensure a sense of regularity across all of them, while also creating enough space for participants to reflect upon their experiences and take the interview in directions that felt right for them (Esterberg 2002). "Sex research should raise up women's diverse voices, not impose a pre-existing paradigm through questionnaires or measurements" (Tiefer 1995: 201), and the relatively loose structure of semi-structured interviews ensured this. It allowed me to understand women's unique and subjective realities without imposing any rigid frame on them. Accordingly, this semi-structured format helped me to let go of my preconceptions and fully engage with each participant's unique experiences of, and reflections on, heterosex. Crucially, the semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed for them to feel more like a conversation to both the interviewer and the interviewee, which made discussing the intimate topic of sexuality more comfortable.

3.5.3 Setting

The time and place at which the interviews were conducted were arranged with the interviewees to suit their preferences. Some were conducted in a reserved room on the university campus, while others were conducted in the interviewee or interviewer's home. What these different locations had in common was their private nature, which ensured that the interviewees felt comfortable disclosing information without being concerned about anyone else hearing them.

3.6 Data analysis

I fully transcribed the nine interviews and then proceeded to code the data. This firstly involved sorting it into broad categories so as to make it more manageable (Bryman and Burgess 1994). This initial step also allowed for basic themes to emerge. During this phase of initial coding, it is crucial to not let my subjectivity as a researcher make the data analysis too partial, which could mean overlooking important parts of the data while focusing too much on others (Charmaz 2006). Secondly, I engaged in focused coding, which involved selecting the codes which were most crucial in order to answer my research question (Charmaz 2006). This final phase not only allowed me to choose which codes would make up themes in my findings section, but it also allowed me to define which ones would only constitute sub-sections (Boeije 2010).

3.7 Validity and reliability

Internal validity is the extent to which a research tool measures what it is supposed to measure (Bryman 2008). In this research, the internal validity was high thanks to standardization, which implies sticking to the same question list for each interview (Appendix 2). In addition, this research has high ecological validity, which refers to the extent to which the research process resembles reality (Brunswik and Langfeld 1943). This was ensured by collecting the data in a way that somewhat resembled a real-life conversation between two people, on an equal footing, and in a non-formal manner.

The small size of the sample implies that this research has low external validity, i.e., its results are not generalizable (Bryman 2008). However, one may argue that generalizability is not the aim of qualitative research, but that its goal is merely to explore the unique realities of the individuals interviewed (Payne and Williams 2005). In that sense, this research detaches itself completely from the positivist philosophy, which holds that science's aim is to unveil rules which can then predict the behaviour of the subject of study (Waterman 2013).

Lastly, the concept of reliability, which refers to the idea that one could reproduce this research and reach the same conclusions, is somewhat inconsistent with the essence of qualitative research itself (Jansen 2010). This is because, by definition, individuals' experiences are unique, and the aim of qualitative research is not to establish truths which could be observed in all individuals.

3.8 Ethical considerations

This research project followed the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (British Sociological Association 2002). Following point 16, the interviewer started by presenting each participant with a consent form (Appendix 1). On this form, interviewees could read about the main themes that would be explored during the interview, as well as a description of the ethical commitments which the researcher had taken. Following point 18 of the BSA statement, participants gave their consent to be recorded with the researcher's phone, and I reminded them of the confidentiality of the information which they chose to disclose. Participants were also reminded that their names would be fully changed in the dissertation. Lastly, following point 17, I reminded the participants that they could withdraw from the project at any point, may they want to, and that they could choose not to answer questions which they did not feel comfortable with.

Given that the topic of this dissertation is a particularly intimate and personal one, it was crucial to explicitly formulate all the ethical commitments which the researcher had taken. This was done both when asking women to participate, as well as before starting the interview.

3.9 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the researcher's ability to think critically about "implications of their methods, values, biases, and decisions for the knowledge of the social world they generate" (Bryman 2008:682). As a heterosexual female undergraduate student, I find it important to consider how my personal views on my research topic affected my research, from the design of the question to the presentation of my findings. My position as a researcher was that of an *insider* (Rabe 2004). While this position makes it increasingly difficult to limit researcher bias, it may have allowed the participants to feel more at ease discussing the intimate topic of sexuality.

3.10 Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research is that it only looks at the experiences of white, middle-class, university-level educated women. The sample itself therefore overlooks the experiences of ethnic minority women and of women of other socioeconomic backgrounds.

Furthermore, the feminist methodology used in this research, which is based on the commitment "to a social science that can help change the world as well as describe it" (Acker et al. 1983:424), can be seen as a limitation. One may argue that the somewhat ideological tonality of this methodology reduces the neutrality and objectivity of the researcher and guides the research process towards elements which confirm their pre-existing beliefs (Acker et al. 1983:424). However, one may wonder whether any research can ever be fully detached from the researcher's viewpoints and values, as they are themselves part of the social world which they aim to study.

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, the main methodological aspects of this research project were presented and evaluated. The following chapter provides a discussion of the findings, and relates these findings to the existing literature, as well as to the goals of the research project.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings derived from the analysis of the interview transcripts, in relation to the following research question: *What is the impact of gender norms on female students' experiences of orgasm in heterosex?*

The questions that subsequently emerged from the initial research question are:

- Do female students think of their orgasms as less important than men's?
- Do female students think of vaginal orgasms as superior to clitoral orgasms?
- Do female students feel pressured to orgasm during heterosex?

The findings and discussion of this dissertation are organized around four main themes. The first theme delves into the most crucial finding of this research, which is that women are aware and critical of the impact that gender norms have on their sexual experiences, though this does not necessarily influence their practices. This discrepancy leads to feelings of frustration, and of being stuck in a rigid frame of gender-appropriate behaviors. This finding fills a gap in the existing literature around women's experiences of orgasm during heterosex, which has mostly focused on the ways in which women conform to gendered expectations without exploring and acknowledging their awareness and reflection of them. The three subsequent themes support the existing literature and explore the ways in which gender norms are reflected in female students' experiences of orgasm during heterosex.

4.2 The relation between women's awareness and practices

Participants demonstrated a profound awareness of the gender norms which they adhered to during heterosex and how they had assimilated them. The dissonance between participants' consciousness on the one hand and their practices on the other was a source of dissatisfaction.

4.2.1 An internalized discourse

Participants expressed that their thoughts, feelings and behaviours regarding pleasure in heterosex had been shaped by a discourse to which they had been continuously exposed throughout most of their lives. This discourse conveyed many normative ideas. However, a central one was that heterosex consisted of penetration, and that women orgasmed through this:

> "For a long time a lot of [how] sex is sold to you is, you have to come by someone penetrating you, and it's so stuck in your mind." (Alisha)

Furthermore, participants expressed that the primarily androcentric discourse around heterosex had led them to view the male orgasm as the endpoint, and goal of sex. Some reflected on the ways in which this, combined with their gendered socialization, had led them to not contest this:

> "I feel that it's crucial that my partner comes, I don't know why. I feel like it's internalised misogyny, sexism … I wanna fight against it. I wanna be like oh, sex doesn't end when you finish, type of thing, but at the same time it is the practices I've been socialized into and the practices I've been doing." (Ana)

Here, Ana expresses having *internalized* patriarchal constructions of heterosex, in which the male orgasm is more important than hers and the sex encounter finishes when the man reaches sexual climax. She articulates the frustration that stems from the discrepancy between her wish to challenge these constructions and her actual practices. She declares that although she would like to act differently, her socialization as female and her habit of conforming to it prevents her from doing so. Ana's experience may be approached in relation to Foucault's (1998) theory, which stipulates that in modern societies, individuals have internalized norms and have become highly self-disciplined. Ana's experience also highlights Butler's (1990) contention that non-conformity to what is expected from women induces a backlash so great that it deters women from not conforming.

In the same vein, Sara reports refusing that her partner perform sexual practices on her once he has orgasmed, as this would go against what she has been told is the right procedure to follow during heterosex:

> "He's constantly 'you know let's keep going because I wanna make you feel good,' and I'll just be like no, I'm good. And I think it's that mentality of, he's done, so I'm done … it's being told by many other people that that's when it finishes." (Sara)

Here, Sara expresses that her obedience to what is the expected female behaviour during heterosex, combined with her assimilation of the androcentric construction of heterosexuality, leads her to decline practices which would be solely for her own pleasure. This mirrors Jeffrey's (1996) contention that women's socialization puts the emphasis on taking up as little time and space as possible, even if it means disregarding their own needs and desires.

4.2.2 Women's discontentment with norms

Participants expressed their unhappiness with the norms that shaped their experiences of heterosex. For instance, they articulated their discontentment in regards to the pressure they felt to overtly display sexual pleasure during intercourse, even when they might not be enjoying this practice:

> "You're having to show the pleasure but not actually feel the pleasure, which is such a weird paradox." (Tillie)

> "There's definitely a pressure to show the other person, and, it shouldn't be like that, but it is like that." (Bianca)

Participants displayed high levels of awareness of the paradoxical nature of the norms which they adhered to. However, the consciousness that something felt wrong did not necessarily imply that participants proceeded to challenge these unsatisfactory norms and expectations in their lived experiences. They expressed somewhat of a discontent acceptance of the way things were.

Another way in which participants expressed their dissatisfaction with the gender norms in the realm of heterosex was to critically analyze the goal-oriented, postfeminist discourse around sex that they felt women are now bombarded with:

> “Sex has become, like, things you need to achieve, you know, tick tick tick, what are the tick boxes that we need to do in order to achieve that final orgasm?” (Sara)

Here, Sara uses the vocabulary of work and productivity, thus reflecting on Taylor’s (2004) concept of *taylorization of sex*. She expresses feeling burdened by the increased pressure that is put on women to orgasm during sex and to follow a specific checklist in order to do so. She thus endorses Gill’s (2009) contention that, far from being empowering, the postfeminist shift which encourages women to be highly sexually agentic is merely another facet of the control of women’s sexuality for the benefit of men.

4.2.3 The conveyors of these norms

Participants reflected on the instances of socialization which had shaped their normative behaviours during, and attitudes around, heterosex. Most participants explained that porn had put vaginal orgasms on a pedestal and made them feel abnormal for not experiencing them. Accordingly, Bianca spoke about what she believes are detrimental effects of the media’s representation of heterosex on individual’s mental health and feelings of self-worth:

> “When the media and porn culture focuses so much on the penetrative side of it, and so, [it] leaves a lot of women feeling alienated and, like, a lot of women with this kind of problem feel dysfunctional.” (Bianca)

Moreover, most participants attributed their conflation of heterosex with penetration, and their expectation that this practice would allow them to orgasm, to the sex education which they had received:

> "Sex ed, it's like, if you stick your penis into a vagina, there's gonna be an orgasm." (Sara)

Here, Sara explains that the simplistic nature of the sex education she has received has shaped her understanding of female pleasure. However, for several participants, including herself, the awareness that what one has been taught is only part of the truth, did not mean that one's conception of heterosex was not influenced by this discourse.

Participants' reflexivity on the impact of gender norms on their experiences during heterosex might be attributed, in part, to the fact that the majority of them were social sciences students, and had therefore critically engaged with concepts around gender in their academic lives. Moreover, participants' relatively young age might have played a role, as it implied that they had been exposed to the recent growth of sex positive social media accounts, which encourage women to challenge the way in which gender norms negatively influence their experiences of orgasm during heterosex.

Women's awareness of the role of gender in shaping their experiences of orgasm during heterosex is an important finding, as it is not discussed in the existing literature on this topic. This finding is also interesting, as it confirms that a feminist methodology does, in fact, create a space for women to challenge normative constructions of gender. The following subsections of this chapter will explore the ways in which participants' attitudes and behaviours in regards to heterosex reflect gender norms.

4.3 The male and female orgasms are different and hierarchical

All participants described the male and female orgasms in highly dissimilar terms. This finding mirrors Roberts' (2005) and Farvid and Braun's (2006) studies, who found that the male and female orgasms were consistently framed in dichotomous ways in popular women's and men's magazines.

4.3.1 The male orgasm is a mechanical and bodily process

The male orgasm was consistently described as a naturally simple, straightforward and rapid process:

> "A guy is like, kick in, kick out, and it's done." (Alisha)

Because of its intrinsic simplicity, the male orgasm was regarded by participants as a given occurrence in a heterosexual encounter:

> “It’s implied that men just will come.” (Steph)

Participants also attributed its reliability to its visibility and tangibility:

> “You can see what you need to do, and the results.” (Rachel)

Conformingly to what participants in Nicolson and Burr’s (2003) study expressed, the male orgasm was also described as independent from external circumstances, uninfluenced by variables such as sexual practices or emotional connection. This mirrors what Hollway (1989) describes as the construction of male sexuality as a purely bodily urge.

> “It’s like, whatever I do, he’s gonna come anyway? Being in a relationship I like to think that it’s me, and he’s attracted to me. But like, it’s not me, it’s just sex.” (Steph)

> “You know a guy could suck him off and he would come, you know that kind of thing.” (Alisha)

4.3.2 The female orgasm is a disembodied, mysterious entity

Feeding into this dichotomous discourse, participants described the female orgasm in opposite terms. Some described their orgasms as residing outside of the body itself and used the vocabulary of the magical and supernatural to refer to it:

> “I just feel like, you need all the stars to align for it to be able to happen.” (Eve)

> “It’s known to be a bit of a mystery.” (Rachel)

> “I don’t know what the magic formula is, like: ‘you press this button twice, and spin around yourself, and an orgasm will appear.’” (Ana)

The description of the female orgasm as a temperamental entity, with a mind of its own and out of anyone’s control, led most participants to attribute its rarity to the natural and biological:

> "It's really hard for women to come." (Ana)

> "I like to think that it's biology." (Steph)

Therefore, participants almost never attributed their orgasms–or lack thereof–to external circumstances, such as what practices they engaged in, and ascribed it instead to their anatomy. This supports the findings of Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe's (2009) study, in which the construction of the female orgasm as mysterious and difficult to attain led women to lower their expectations for its occurrence during heterosex.

4.3.3 The female orgasm is not a requirement during heterosex

Most participants regarded their lack of orgasms during heterosex as natural, and did not view its occurrence as necessary for a sexual encounter to be enjoyable and pleasurable. This corroborates Nicolson's and Burr's (2003) study, in which participants reported feeling satisfied by heterosex encounters which did not end in an orgasm on their part. Accordingly, for some participants heterosex had never involved orgasming, and they did not feel particularly strongly about wanting this to change:

> "I've had great sex without coming and, so it's not, I've never looked at it as a major issue." (Ana)

Participants expressed that what it would take for them to orgasm during heterosex was too time or effort consuming, thus not being enjoyable for their male partners:

> "It feels awkward to be doing the same thing for like, ten minutes." (Ana)

> "Men can often, can of course continue but they have to enjoy it, and it can sometimes be a bit more difficult for them to." (Bianca)

Jeffrey (1996) contended that women's attitudes towards their own sexual pleasure is the product of their socialization, in which they are deterred from taking up too much time and space in all areas of life.

4.3.4 The male orgasm is crucial during heterosex

> Interviewer: "Would you ever say that a sexual encounter has failed if one of you hasn't come?"
>
> Bianca: "No, I mean probably if my partner hadn't come."

A recurrent theme throughout the interviews was that participants regarded the male orgasm as more important than their own. Moreover, participants viewed the male orgasm as essential for the success of a sexual encounter, and it was thus described as something which the two parties had worked towards together. This corroborates Braun, Gavey, and Mcphillips' (2003) study in which the end of the heterosex encounter was marked by the male orgasm, therefore affirming its position as the goal of sex. The vocabulary of team sports was sometimes used by participants to refer to the male orgasm during heterosex:

> "So with me, it doesn't matter as much, but when he hasn't come, I think, you kinda let the team down? I think it's definitely that you haven't won the game?" (Sara)

However, dissimilarly to what is pointed out in the existing literature, some participants reflected on this and suggested that the importance put on the male orgasm may be due to its common portrayal as a physical need, while the female orgasm is described as non-essential. For instance, Bianca critically engaged with what Hollway (1989) called the *male sexual drive* discourse, in which the male orgasm is constructed as a need for their health:

> "It's like a process to release sperm, you have to do it regularly, it's a thing that has to be done, but for women, you can do it, you can not do it." (Bianca)

4.3.5 The male orgasm is a woman's responsibility

Most participants ascribed themselves responsibility for the male orgasm. They reported blaming themselves if it had not happened, and questioning their sexual attractiveness and abilities:

> "I'm automatically gonna be like it's me, I'm not, I'm not sexy enough." (Alisha)

Moreover, participants often referred to the male orgasm as their duty, something they were in charge of. This mirrors Gill's (2009) and Cacchioni's (2007) argument that women have gone from having to be passive during sex to having to be highly sexually agentic, and experts in making men orgasm:

> "Because it's like, your job." (Barbara)
>
> "You feel like you've done a good job if your partner orgasms." (Ana)
>
> "I would get offended if a guy didn't come, because that means I'm not doing a good job." (Alisha)

This also illustrates Jackson and Scott's (1997) concept of "taylorization of sex" (p. 301), which suggests that sex has become skill which individuals are encouraged to become *good at* in order to be productive during it, making orgasm–and, most of the time, the male orgasm–the product of sex.

4.4 The critical role of the vagina in heterosex

> "I don't know what it is about the vagina, it doesn't seem to work in the way that you'd want it to?" (Sara)

4.4.1 Sex is equated to penetration

All participants referred to sex as the penetration of the vagina by the penis, while clitoral stimulation and other sexual practices, often referred to as foreplay, were not included in this definition:

> "He would go down on me until I orgasm, and then the penis comes into play, then the sex happens." (Rachel)
>
> "But it wasn't, sex, I was being fingered." (Eve)

Although this rhetoric is extremely common when referring to heterosex, whether it is in scientific or informal contexts (Jackson 1984), it is crucial to point it out as it highlights the permissive adherence to an androcentric view of heterosexuality. This rhetoric is what second-wave feminists such as Koedt (1970) have criticized, as it was seen as actively reducing heterosexuality to an act which profited male sexual pleasure only. Moreover, participants' definition of sex is illustrative of Jackson's (1984) concept of *coital imperative*, which suggests that penetration is constructed as the sine qua non condition of *real* heterosex. Gavey et al. (1999) argued that such an imperative has been conveyed by the depiction of heterosex in the film and porn industries, and Allen (2012) suggested that the curriculum of sex education in most western countries also contributes to maintaining this.

4.4.2 Women wish they could have vaginal orgasms

Participants’ conflation of heterosex with penetration influenced the way in which they viewed their orgasms. Penetration-induced orgasms were often referred to as more valuable than ones brought about by other sexual practices. Participants expressed this through their description of the vaginal orgasm as the epitome of what one should be experiencing, such as Tillie, who referred to it as:

> “The holy grail of sex.” (Tillie)

All participants declared being, or having been, frustrated and upset by their inability to orgasm during intercourse. The participants in Lavie and Willig (2005) and Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe’s (2009) studies reported feeling similarly, and described vaginal orgasms as the ultimate form of sexual pleasure for women. In my research, this was illustrated by some participants’ envy of women who experienced orgasm through penetrative sex:

> “She comes from vaginal penetration, and I’m so envious, because it sounds so good.” (Alisha)

4.4.3 Not having vaginal orgasms is a dysfunctionality

Not only were vaginal orgasms seen as more pleasurable, but they were also described as what one *should* be experiencing as a woman. Therefore, the lack of them was a source of worry, and many participants reported having thought there was something intrinsically wrong with their bodies for not having them. The idea of a *failing* body was expressed in similar ways by participants in Kaler’s (2006) and Cacchioni’s (2007) studies.

> “Every time that I don’t it’s more and more confirming that I’m like, what is wrong with me?” (Tillie)

On top of thinking that there was something wrong with their bodies, some participants attributed their lack of vaginal orgasms to their faulty minds, which supports Potts’ (2000) study, in which women attributed not orgasming during intercourse to psychological issues. This finding can also be approached in relation to Neuhaus' (2000) analysis of marital sex manuals, in which the vaginal orgasm was framed as conditional on a woman's emotional stability, which echoes Freud's (1962) linking of the lack of vaginal orgasms to *hysteria*:

> "And you're just like, oh maybe it's just my mind that's stopping me?" (Alisha)

Participants thus blamed their lack of orgasms during intercourse on themselves rather than the act of penetration itself. They deemed their inability to do something which women *should* be able to do as an inadequacy. Some participants also assumed that other women were, unlike themselves, enjoying penetrative sex, making them the rare anomaly and the defective one:

> "Because I'm sure this guy is having a whale of a time with other partners and I'm just like… Sorry, can't." (Tillie)

What Tillie expresses relates to Duncombe and Marsden's (1996) suggestion that vaginal orgasms are most desirable for they allow simultaneous orgasms to occur, which has been presented as the most ideal way for a heterosexual encounter to end. It also illustrates Farid and Braun's (2006) analysis of popular women's magazines, in which women are encouraged to become better at orgasming during sex, so that their partners will be satisfied and will not seek sexual experiences with other female partners.

4.4.4 The vaginal orgasm is important for male partners

Participants referred to vaginal orgasms as something which they sought, not necessarily because they craved them, but because having them would please their sexual partners. This supports Bachechi and Hall's (2015) study, in which women's orgasms during heterosex were pursued in order to display overt sexual pleasure in front of their male partners, confirming their position as bearers of "sexpertise" (Potts 2000:66). This idea is encapsulated by Sara:

> "Because mine just isn't as important to me as it is to him? Like maybe it's that? Because it's so important to him, that's something that I want to work on and achieve." (Sara)

Here, Sara refers to her orgasm as something which she feels she has to "*work on*," which supports Tyler's (2004) contention that sex is now experienced with the neoliberal ethos of performance in mind. However, what is remarkable here is that the effort which Sara wants to put into having an orgasm does not originate from a quest for her own sexual pleasure but results from a desire to make her partner content. Sara's wish to "*work on*" her sexuality is also illustrative of Cacchioni's (2007) concept of discipline work, which refers to the practices and measures implemented by women to get better at sex.

The next section of this chapter will explore how the pressure for women to display pleasure during intercourse is such that pretending to is a common practice.

4.5 The commonality of 'faking'

Seven out of the nine participants expressed having faked sexual pleasure during heterosex, which supports Fahs' (2011; 2014) observation that this practice is widespread among heterosexual women. Different reasons were given by participants for faking, which will now be explored.

4.5.1 Faking is performed to protect male partners from the truth

One of the reasons given by participants for pretending to be experiencing sexual pleasure was to validate their male partners' sexual abilities, which corroborates Fahs' (2011; 2014) finding that this is one of the most common causes of faking. Participants expressed a sense of care for their male partners' feelings and explained that faking was performed to ensure that they did not feel inferior or incompetent:

> "Oh you're not doing very well, but I don't wanna make you feel that so, yeah." (Barbara)

Participants cared about how their inability to orgasm might negatively affect their male partners' feelings. This can be approached in relation to Koss et al.'s (1994) contention that women's socialization leads them to put other people's needs and feelings first in order to secure their relationships with them. This finding also corroborates Machin and Thornborrow's (2003) analysis of women's magazines, in which not experiencing orgasms during heterosex was framed as a threat to women's romantic relationships.

Moreover, some participants explained that they performed faking not only to validate a partner's sexual capabilities, but also for them to have less of a passive role in the sexual act, even if it just meant being somewhat of a supporter. It also conveyed the idea that sex is something which is essentially done for the benefit of men:

> "You go team, I'm a cheerleader, you're the main player." (Sara)

This illustrates Roberts and colleagues' (1995) analogy between sex and economics, which suggests that *noise* has become the currency given by women to men in exchange for their efforts in making them orgasm. Moreover, one may associate this to Vance's (1984) argument, which holds that making women orgasm is part of the pressure which is put on men to conquer and dominate all aspects of women's behaviours, which now includes their sexual pleasure.

4.5.2 Faking during intercourse is performed to convince oneself of one's normality

Most participants reported faking to disguise a lack of sexual pleasure derived from intercourse. However, some reported having faked to disguise physical pain that stemmed from it:

> Interviewer: So you would be silent and not say that it's painful for you?
>
> Tillie: Oh yeah, definitely silent.
>
> Interviewer: And would you make noises on top to indicate some kind of pleasure?
>
> Tillie: Oh yeah, agreement, in most circumstances, yeah.

The disregard for one's pain, or for one's absence of pleasure, was often done to avoid vocalizing the fact that one was not enjoying, or was hurting from, penetration, as this would validate one's perceived *dysfunctionality*. Some described faking as a practice which helped convince them that they were, in fact, enjoying intercourse:

> "You think you should enjoy it, so you do enjoy it? It's like a self-fulfilling prophecy." (Steph)

> "I just wanted to make sure that I could experience that normal thing so I convinced myself that yeah that's normal, to have? So maybe this tiny bit of pleasure is happening?" (Sara)

Steph and Sara's experiences illustrate the power of a penetration-centred discourse around heterosex in conveying the idea that women should orgasm through intercourse. Moreover, a recurrent theme amongst participants who did not orgasm from vaginal penetration was that they did not want to give up on the idea that a vaginal orgasm might, one day, happen:

> "I'm definitely part of those women who don't orgasm through penetration, but it doesn't mean that I never will, you know?" (Ana)

> "It's always that like oh, that next time. And maybe like, I don't know, as soon as I hit 22 I might like it or, as soon as I hit 23 I might like or, maybe with this guy it'll be fine." (Tillie)

For these participants, faking was a way of not *surrendering*, per se. It was also a way for them to hide from their sexual partners something which they felt embarrassed about, i.e., their inability to reach orgasm through penetration. This finding corroborates Fahs' (2014) research, in which one of the reasons behind faking was to reduce feelings of shame and inadequacy.

4.5.3 Faking is performed unconsciously

A strong theme throughout the interviews was that faking sexual pleasure is performed without realizing that one is doing it in the moment, even though one might be, in theory, against it:

> "It's like I'm putting on a show, but you do it without realizing it? It just comes naturally? But yeah I've always made a point of not fake coming." (Alisha)

Faking was a practice which stemmed from participants' representations of what women are meant to be like, and sound like, during intercourse:

> "It's something at the back of my head as to how I'm meant to be." (Tillie)

The commonality and naturalness of faking might be partly attributed to what Gill (2009) describes as the pressure put on women to manage their behaviours during heterosex in order to fit an ideal of overt sexiness, which involves the display of sexual pleasure. It also supports Cacchioni's (2007) observation that women are, in a sexualised society, encouraged to implement different kinds of *sex work*, one of them being *performance work*, or faking. These different types of sex work are implemented, not for one's own pleasure, but so that one can meet an ideal of sexual femininity in front of a male partner.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the main findings of this research, in relation to its central as well as subaltern questions. It started by exploring participants' awareness of the influence of gender norms on their practices of, and attitudes around, sexual pleasure in heterosex. It then proceeded to explore the ways in which gender norms were reflected in participants' experiences of orgasm during heterosex, which corroborated the existing literature on the subject. The following and final chapter provides final reflections on this dissertation, and gives recommendations for future research.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the overall conclusions which can be drawn from this dissertation, as well as the limitations that are inherent to it. This chapter also considers what the findings imply for future research.

Gender norms regulate individuals' behaviours in many ways. One may initially think of sexuality as a *natural* phenomenon, and therefore, as somewhat uninfluenced by socially constructed norms. However, this dissertation has demonstrated that sex is a social activity, and that, by its social nature, it is a stage on which gender is enacted (Goffman 1959).

Crucially, this research, rather than merely pointing at women's endorsement of gender norms during heterosex, has highlighted that they critically reflect on them if given the chance. The findings' section of this dissertation aimed to challenge the construction of women as passive recipients and conveyors of gender norms. Instead, through the endorsement of a feminist methodology, this research sought to put women's own critical reflections at its core. Future research on women's experiences of gender normativity, whether it is in terms of sexual pleasure or in regard to other phenomena, may thus benefit from putting such a methodology in practice. Moreover, future research should delve more into the tension between individuals' dissatisfaction with gender norms, their wish to challenge them, and what stands in their way of them doing so.

Besides, by highlighting the role played by sex education in conveying an androcentric and normative discourse around sexuality, this research calls for increased research around the impact of sex education on young people's constructions of sexuality, and for a subsequent re-thinking of the sex education curriculum.

Nevertheless, this research is not free of limitations. Ideally, the sample would have not only been bigger but also more ethnically and socioeconomically diverse. However, because of time constraints and the use of convenience sampling, the sample was small and not representative of the general female population. Moreover, the feminist methodology which guided this research implied that it focused solely on women's experiences and neglected how gender norms affect men's experiences of sexual pleasure during heterosex. As demonstrated in the findings, norms around male sexual pleasure and behaviour in heterosex are just as present, and it would therefore be extremely enriching to replicate this study with male participants. Feminism cannot claim to be challenging gender norms if it does not consider how they affect both women and men. If one ever hopes to reach more gender equality, it is crucial to explore how ideas of *both* femininity and masculinity are conveyed, and produce rigid categories in which all individuals feel pressured to fit into.

Furthermore, this dissertation, by focusing purely on women's experiences of sexual pleasure and orgasm, has overlooked the impact of gender norms on women's experiences of sexual violence. This dissertation therefore encourages for more research to be produced on the impact of gender norms on all aspects of women's sexuality, and not merely on their experiences of pleasure within it.

Despite its limitations, this dissertation, through its application of a feminist methodology, has produced a new insight on women's awareness of gender norms and of the implications of gender norms on women's sexual well-being. This should stimulate the production of important future research in the field of gender studies for instance.

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California's Support from Incarceration to Higher Education*

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Abstract
Formerly incarcerated individuals face collateral consequences due to their stigmatized identity as former felons. These consequences include housing, employment, and educational discrimination. As they navigate these barriers in society, it is necessary to implement support systems that will guide them through these institutions. This study examines the websites and the search results of California higher education institutions and whether they mention or offer support groups for formerly incarcerated students. Findings showed that 34.1% of California higher education institutions mentioned formerly incarcerated students with 6.4% offering a student group and 17.7% offering a funded group. Of all private colleges in California, only one institution mentioned formerly incarcerated and had no data on student or funded organizations; whereas California State Universities had 13 mentions and 9 funded organizations out of the 23 universities. This study contributes to our understanding of the availability of resources within higher education for formerly incarcerated students with important directions for future research.

Keywords
higher education, incarceration, stigma, reentry

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"We have to talk about liberating minds as well as liberating society"

- Angela Y. Davis

Mass incarceration is a system of power that engenders second-class citizens as a result of criminalization. But why do we punish? Scholars have long discussed the theories of punishment: deterrence, incapacitation, retribution, and rehabilitation. Deterrence operates to deter the individual from committing the crime again. Incapacitation serves to isolate the individual so they cannot commit harm in society. Retribution focuses on punishing the individual with a punishment that they "deserve." Rehabilitation seeks to rehabilitate the individual into an upstanding member of society who no longer commits crime. However, high recidivism rates and collateral consequences highlight the flaws within these theories.

One might argue that collateral consequences deter crimes, however, this is linked to high recidivism rates. Imagine this situation; you just got out of prison and are trying to apply for a job but no employer wants to hire you because of your criminal record. You run out of money and need to find a place to stay. It is hard to find a home because of your criminal record. The only way to get out of this situation is to go back to what led you to prison because that is all you know. You get caught and end up back in jail. This is the cycle of recidivism. The stigma of a criminal history limits one's options to move forward in life. Instead of deterring a person from committing a crime, it creates a cycle of injustice.

The goal of rehabilitation is to provide treatment in order to prevent future crimes. However, many of these programs lack proper support. Stigma, lack of funding, and structural issues within the programs hinder rehabilitation. The lack of proper rehabilitation leads to high recidivism rates because the individual does not get the support that they need. Formerly incarcerated students, in particular, suffer the collateral consequences of incarceration from the stigma of having been incarcerated which is only further compounded by the various bureaucratic practices that prevent them from living a meaningful life. Housing discrimination and lack of job opportunities are a few examples of barriers they face toward upward mobility. The Ban the Box campaign was started to address government agencies and public hiring practices in cities across the nation. It sought to focus on skills-based hiring practices rather than focusing on past convictions.

Although Ban the Box has gained traction in employment, it does not address the lack of accessibility in higher education. A college education becomes increasingly difficult to attain when formerly incarcerated students struggle to find a lease for housing or a job that will fund their education. Furthermore, some college applications require a statement of past criminal history. According to the Center for Community Alternatives, across 273 institutions in the United States, 66.4% collected criminal history information and 55% of those colleges used the data as part of the admission process (Center for Community Alternatives 2010). As formerly incarcerated students navigate higher education, it is imperative that the infrastructure be in place to counter the challenges they face. They are non-traditional students who face stigma and require support groups to address individual needs (Byers, Copenhaver, and Edwards-Willey 2007).

The central question of this research is how higher education institutions in the state of California have supported formerly incarcerated students. This study was conducted in September 2018. It examines all 220 colleges and universities across California to determine which institutions mention or provide specific support groups for this population of students. These organizations are vital to formerly incarcerated students as they help lessen the collateral consequences they face when entering a college or university setting. They can foster community connections, academic assistance, and mental health services. Enabling formerly incarcerated individuals opportunities to pursue higher education can lessen the mass incarceration issue our society currently faces. However, my research shows that only 34.1% of all higher education institutions in California even mention formerly incarcerated students in their online resources; 6.4% mention having student organizations and 17.7% mention offering funded resources. I also find variation in attention to formerly incarcerated students by institutional type.

This paper proceeds as follows. First, I review the literature on the topics of the school-to-prison pipeline, reentry and higher education, stigma and the Civic Engagement Model, and support organizations. This allows readers to understand the background of the relationship between education and incarceration, its impact on individuals, and how organizations have supported formerly incarcerated students. The next part of this paper presents three case studies of support and student organizations for formerly incarcerated students found in California higher education. These case studies exemplify how organizations support this population and highlight their successes. The paper follows with my data and methods which outlines how I conducted my study and the variables I used. The results section presents the tables and figures showcasing my central findings. I conclude this paper with a discussion and conclusion highlighting my main findings, limitations, strengths, and connection to the broader sociological theme.

LITERATURE REVIEW

School-to-Prison Pipeline

The "school-to-prison" pipeline describes the criminalization of youth through punitive practices imposed in educational institutions towards students from disadvantaged backgrounds. In Victor Rios' book, *Human Targets* (2017), he writes about how youth are targeted based on their race and class. (Rios 2017). The youth control complex describes the punitive practices inserted in civil society by perceiving youths' everyday behaviors as threatening and deviant (Rios 2011). As a result, young people are funneled into the criminal justice system through this pipeline. Punitive practices by teachers and administrative staff against younger individuals may include labeling students in a category (e.g., the angry type), using metal detectors (at schools), or enforcing zero tolerance policies. As a result, there is a decreasing focus on education within schools and stronger involvement from the criminal justice system (Simon 2007). Many of these institutional practices are placed in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantages with large numbers of people of color. There is an apparent discrepancy that comes as a result of the "school-to-prison" pipeline and mass incarceration, such as inner-city schools being underfunded while prisons increase in technology and funding (Alexander 2010). The lack of upkeep within these schools positively correlates with the hyper-criminalization of youth in low-income neighborhoods.

There has been a number of studies regarding mass incarceration, the "school-to-prison" pipeline, and the criminalization of youth. However, the notion of reentry is an equally significant development that links higher education to incarceration by creating a "prison-to-school" pipeline (a point I return to in my research).

Reentry and Higher Education

Reentry is a difficult process as formerly incarcerated folks are branded with a stigmatizing identity that damages their position in society. They face housing and employment discrimination, as well as a need to follow the conditions of their release (Raphael 2011). Additionally, continuing education presents a greater challenge. In particular, formerly incarcerated youth from low-income neighborhoods face collateral consequences in educational attainment due to the lack of resources they were given in their schools, and the disruption of their schooling process. The label of being a deviant or having a criminal record hinders enrollment to a four-year university (Kirk and Sampson 2012). As formerly incarcerated individuals transition to life in society, they are faced with barriers that prevent upward mobility. As a result, recidivism is highly likely within this population. In 2005, the Bureau of Justice Statistics published data on recidivism rates of approximately 400,000 prisoners from 30 states. After a 9-year follow-up period, researchers found that of the released prisoners, 68% were arrested within 3 years, 79% within 6 years, and 83% within 9 years (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2018).

In addition, education is linked to reducing recidivism rates. According to a report published by the RAND Corporation, there is a 43% likelihood of resisting recidivism after participating in educational programming during incarceration (Bozick et al. 2013). Although my research does not focus on correctional education, this conveys the impact of educational attainment in a formerly incarcerated individual's life. Higher education is of increasing importance in our society and is the main mechanism for social mobility in the US. The Georgetown Public Policy Institute released a report showing statistics of job growth and educational requirements through 2020. This report showed 35% of upcoming job openings will require a bachelor's degree and 30% will require an associate's degree (Carnevale, Smith, and Strohl 2013). Formerly incarcerated people already experience employment discrimination due to their record, and a lack of access to higher education is an additional barrier hindering their successful reentry.

Stigma and the Civic Engagement Model

The stigma that follows a criminal record can be incredibly taxing on formerly incarcerated students. A study by Byers, Copenhaver, and Edwards-Willey (2007) discusses the stigma surrounding this identity. They found formerly incarcerated students were consciously aware of their stigmatizing identity and tended to fear the consequences of disclosure. This fear creates "more anxiety" and a "negative self-perception" (Byers et al. 2007). In turn, they concealed tattoos, were careful about relationships with other formerly incarcerated students, and feared discrimination from job markets due to the felony they committed (Byers et al. 2007). They coped by furthering themselves from the negative stereotypes associated with the stigmatizing identity while trying to deemphasize the differences between them and the majority (Crocker 1989). Formerly incarcerated people face various forms of housing, employment, and educational discrimination similar to the Jim Crow system in the late 19th and early 20th century (Alexander 2010). In order to combat the stigma and exclusionary practices they face, it is important to implement programs of support for formerly incarcerated people. In particular, programs that support higher education attainment are imperative to remove the conviction ceiling which hinders successful reintegration into civil society.

The Civic Engagement Model of reentry draws inspiration from restorative justice theories. The goal of this model is to reintegrate formerly incarcerated individuals successfully by involving the community, develop prosocial identities, and create support and assistance (Bazemore and Stinchcomb 2004). One way this goal is reached is through the concept of restorative justice. Core principles of restorative justice include "repairing harm, stakeholder involvement, and community/government role transformation" (Strong and Van Ness 1997). This means that it aims to repair the criminal's damaging actions in the community with the help of community members. The goal of restorative justice is to reduce the likelihood of committing future crimes and produce successful reintegration into the community by weakening the stigma surrounding formerly incarcerated people and mobilizing the community for support. Creating a prosocial identity from a stigmatized identity requires a goal to repair the damage and make things right by the offender. Additionally, the reintegration process necessitates community involvement from citizens and organizations to "serve as primary agents [i.e., citizens and organizations] of action in the community's response to returning offenders" (Bazemore and Stinchcomb 2004). This interaction engenders an informal social control formed by the bonds between community members and formerly incarcerated people (Bazemore and Stinchcomb 2004). In theory, this model is quite logical. However, there are significant issues that may hinder its practicality and success. For example, community members might not want to support those who commit crimes because of the stigma they hold and the fear of future crime. Additionally, returning offenders may not feel comfortable within the community because of the discrimination they face. Therefore, the Civic Engagement Model may not be as helpful in supporting returning offenders, so I turn my focus to support organizations.

Support Organizations

Organizations that serve a specific purpose, such as school-based drug and alcohol prevention programs, require a process of diffusion to spread to other schools. Diffusion is characterized as a four-stage process including the dissemination of information, the adoption or commitment to create the program, the implementation or assistance given to personnel for successful integration, and its maintenance within schools (Backer et al., 1996). This process possesses a similar formula to the Civic Engagement Model (described above) by identifying a goal for a specific group, such as students and formerly incarcerated people, as well as utilizing community members or teachers to implement the program within their community and schools.

The Civic Engagement Model is based on restorative justice where the community supports returning offenders in repairing the harm they caused through the crime they committed. These programs serve rehabilitative purposes by helping the individual to become a better functioning member of their community. However, there are barriers to the diffusion of these programs, ranging from structural changes to teachers taking full responsibility for their implementation (Backer et al., 1996). Parallel to the Civic Engagement Model, issues of discrimination, policy changes, and lack of community support hinder the successes of the goals of these organizations and negatively impact formerly incarcerated people. Although rehabilitative programs support the individual's needs for the community, they may lack the funding and structure to be successful.

Despite the challenges within the Civic Engagement Model and prevention programs, organizations that support formerly incarcerated people have become significant in California. Examples of these organizations include the Anti-Recidivism Coalition of Sacramento, CA and Los Angeles, CA, and Root and Rebound of Oakland, CA. These organizations serve formerly incarcerated people by creating legal services, career readiness programs, and an educational toolkit specific for this group of students. More attention is needed on the availability of groups in higher education institutions that support formerly incarcerated students' transition into college, as well as navigating challenges such as: academic progress, counseling, and the opportunity to connect with their community. Unlike the Civic Engagement Model and the diffusion process, these specific organizations were developed to understand the challenges formerly incarcerated people face. The goal of these organizations is not to repair the community, but rather focus on the individual and help them navigate societal forces that impede their success along with addressing their specific needs as formerly incarcerated individuals.

The idea of organizational "perviousness" describes organizations' susceptibility in creating policy or programs based on environmental influence (Grattet and Jenness 2005). A study by Grattet and Jenness (2005) analyzed hate crime policies adopted and implemented by law enforcement agencies. Each agency's perviousness to adopting these policies depended on community organizations' advocacy, demographics, and resources. In parallel, organizations for formerly incarcerated students situated in universities and colleges, also depend on organizational perviousness because there is a growing movement in the pathways from incarceration to education. In California, there is a growing need for support for this population due to stigma, reentry rates, and lack of resources. Models of reentry and programs implemented within higher education institutions could address the barriers faced by formerly incarcerated people and increasing chances for upward mobility. It is important to see what environmental factors might explain higher education institutions identifying and paying attention to the needs of formerly incarcerated students.

CASE STUDIES

Incarceration breeds collateral consequences that make it difficult to pursue higher education as a formerly incarcerated individual (Kirk and Sampson 2012). Navigating academia itself can be a difficult task, and formerly incarcerated students are a marginalized group that may benefit from extra support. The state of California is addressing the divide between formerly incarcerated individuals and their access to higher education between 2014-2017 (Mukamal and Silbert 2018). Before explaining the results of my study in detail across all colleges and universities in California, I first introduce three case studies of exemplar programs available in California to formerly incarcerated students. These case studies provide some context and variation of the types of programs offered to assist formerly incarcerated students. They provide services such as mental health counseling, financial aid services, tutoring, and peer groups. These organizations attempt to provide opportunities for formerly incarcerated students to feel more comfortable within the university and ease their transition into higher education.

Project Rebound

Project Rebound is an organization dedicated to supporting formerly incarcerated students within California State Universities. It was founded by criminologist John Irwin in 1967 to break the barrier between incarceration and education. The program started at San Francisco State University, and it has since expanded to other California State Universities in Sacramento, Bakersfield, San Bernardino, San Diego, Pomona, Fresno, Fullerton, and Los Angeles. In my research, looking through online resources provided by California institutions of higher education, I found a trend of other California State Universities starting to discuss the program with a possibility of implementing it within their own university. In other words, currently, 9 of the CSU's have Project Rebound and 2 CSU have published their intentions online to implement the program.

Project Rebound aims to help students prepare, apply, enroll, and graduate through various services. Each university aids with admissions, academic advising, financial aid services, and an opportunity to connect with other programs to further students' careers. Through this program, 97% of Project Rebound students from San Francisco State University graduated with a bachelor's degree in an average of six years (Mukamal and Silbert 2018). Students apply to be accepted to Project Rebound and must satisfy eligibility requirements. Some of the requirements include having been formerly incarcerated or involved with the criminal justice system, and the ability to commit and maintain a certain number of units during each semester. The program seeks to build a prison-to-school pipeline by breaking the revolving door of recidivism and cycling back into the criminal justice system by offering an alternative solution for formerly incarcerated individuals.

Berkeley Underground Scholars

The Berkeley Underground Scholars Initiative (BUS) was started by a group of students at the University of California, Berkeley who identified as either formerly incarcerated or system-impacted. System-impacted students are students who may not have had direct experience with the criminal justice system but have been indirectly affected by the criminal justice system usually through the experiences of their family members and loved ones. BUS has recently been integrated into UC Berkeley's Center for Educational Equity and Excellence that focuses on providing support for non-traditional students entering higher education. Its main goal is also to create an alternative pathway from the school-to-prison pipeline into a prison-to-school pipeline. In Spring 2018, members of BUS were accepted to prestigious graduate programs such as Princeton University's Public Affairs program with a full scholarship and UCLA's Ph.D. program in Anthropology (Berkeley Underground Scholars 2018). The organization continuously spotlights students' achievements to combat the stigma surrounding being formerly incarcerated.

BUS provides academic and community support through three broad strategies: recruiting, retaining, and advocating for formerly incarcerated students. Through recruitment, the organization developed a program to connect with community colleges. Through this program, ambassadors are required to start a club and encourage formerly incarcerated students to pursue opportunities after community college. Additionally, they have a program that offers community college students to take a course at UC Berkeley and another program that helps students apply to universities. Through retention, BUS offers tutoring and research opportunities. Through advocacy, the organization campaigns to break down barriers for formerly incarcerated individuals. BUS's main goal is to help formerly incarcerated students succeed by creating accessible pathways and offering support services.

Re-Emerging Scholars

Re-Emerging Scholars was created by two professors within the Sociology Department at Sacramento City College as a program for formerly incarcerated students. The program requires a two-semester commitment during which students have the opportunity to finish their first year of general education units and connect with organizations for professional and personal development. It allows students to be held accountable and gain motivation to pursue their degrees. Additionally, they gain support from faculty, mentors, and staff throughout their commitment. Similar programs within community colleges show the success of the students over time. In Shasta College's Step-Up program, students made the Dean's List with a GPA of 3.5 or higher. In Compton College's Formerly Incarcerated Students Transition program, one-third of the students maintain a GPA of 3.5 or higher as well (Mukamal and Silbert 2018). This program gives formerly incarcerated students direct guidance and accountability in starting their path towards higher education.

The three organizations vary, but all focus on the main goal to provide educational opportunities to formerly incarcerated students. Although each is housed within different types of higher educational institutions in California, they all provide similar services such as tutoring and networking opportunities. However, the programs differ in their approach. Re-emerging Scholars is a two-semester commitment, while Underground Scholars Initiative recruits students from community colleges, and Project Rebound requires specific program eligibility to be a member. They are all focused on giving students an opportunity to focus on educational attainment by giving assistance in other areas of their life such as for parole or probation. As California continues to expand its availability of resources, organizations such as The Opportunity Institute- on behalf of the Renewing Communities Initiative- are encouraging institutions of higher education to implement programs supporting currently and formerly incarcerated students. Within three years, $5 million worth of funding will be available for these programs to create a more accessible pathway to college (The Opportunity Institute 2015). These organizations are a significant resource in creating a prison-to-school pipeline.

The prison-to-school pipeline retaliates against the school-to-prison pipeline. Instead of focusing on criminalization, this is a movement of greater access towards higher education. Formerly incarcerated students continually face issues like that of background checks and continued stigmatization within their college. This engenders feelings of isolation and difficulty adjusting to classes. Collateral consequences combat the goal of deterrence and rehabilitation as formerly incarcerated students try to navigate higher education while also trying to find jobs or housing. The prison-to-school pipeline can support these students.

The New Yorker featured Berkeley's Underground Scholars Initiative and discussed students' stories. One of the founders, Steven Czifra, mentioned how a professor commented that he was like a "gang banger trying to change his life" (MacFarquhar 2016), only furthering the stigmatization that formerly incarcerated individuals face. They also face challenges with housing, finances, and employment to support their education. Support groups within higher education institutions are significant to help navigate through these barriers. While these case studies show much success, there are still major deficits in California in reaching and supporting the state's incredibly large formerly incarcerated population. I now turn to my research on the types of resources offered throughout all of California colleges and universities.

DATA

I approached my data collection through internet research. I found that this was the most accessible way to look through each school and find the resources they offer due to time limitations. I want to survey if a student were enrolled (or planning to enroll) in a particular California institution of higher education, what resources would be available for them?

To begin, I needed to identify all higher education institutions in the state of California. I used the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) by the National Center for Education System, which provides data and information on colleges, universities, and technical and vocational schools across the United States of America. Within IPEDS, I used the college navigator to obtain a list of all California community colleges (n=111), universities within the University of California (UC) system (n=9), California State Universities (Cal State) (n=23), and California non-profit private colleges (n=77). The original number of community colleges consisted of 117 institutions, but 6 did not fit my inclusion criteria. Community colleges, such as Hacienda La Puente Adult Education and Los Angeles Trade Technical College, were excluded because these were 2-year institutions that did not either provide accredited associate degrees or were technical and vocational institutions. Many California non-profit private colleges did not fit my inclusion criteria, and I reduced the IPEDS list from 104 to 77. I removed private institutions, such as Southern California Seminary and California Jazz Conservatory, because they were 4-year universities that were specific to the arts or were seminaries. All of the UC and Cal States fit my inclusion criteria for 4-year universities. I also excluded institutions that only had a single major, were trade schools, or were specialized institutions specific to design, art, or music. My criteria were attempting to identify all of the higher education institutions in California that might be the most attentive to the issues of a diverse student body from different backgrounds. These more specialized institutions do not provide the same generalist degrees and serve a more selective and less diverse student body.

In the end, my final total of higher education institutions in California was 220.

I have been interested in academic resources available to formerly incarcerated students and reading about different programs for the past year. However, my background knowledge is not typical of most prospective students wanting more information. I am not formerly incarcerated and I have access to academic resources as a student. Therefore, my data collection method tries to use the most accessible internet resources to find more information from each school. Using google.com, I searched the institution name and clicked on the link associated with it. I located the search bar on the institution's home page and typed "formerly incarcerated students." If no search bar was present on the home page, I went back to Google and searched "*college name* + formerly incarcerated students." This latter type of search was required for 6 institutions, 2 of which were community colleges and 4 of which were private colleges. I only searched through the first page of the search results to understand the accessibility of these resources. The assumption here was that if a student did not see an immediate search result, they might give up on trying to look further.

On the first result page, I looked for any mention of "formerly incarcerated students." If there were any mention, I clicked the provided links and then took note of the type of mention, such as news articles, student equity plan, club events, group name, and student government meeting minutes.

METHODS

I organized all of my data into an Excel spreadsheet (See Appendix A). After my initial tests, I created all of my variables of interest as conditional values that I could enter in Excel. Each row in the database is one California institution of higher education. I included the name and the type of institution.

The next variable was "Any Mention," which consisted of any mention of the phrase "formerly incarcerated students" on the first page of results. It is important to note that "formerly incarcerated individuals" is a different phrase and applies to a broader group rather than just students. Occasionally, I found false-positive results that pointed to academic research being done by faculty or students at the institution with no mention of institutional resources, I did not code these results. The next series of variables in my spreadsheet focused on the types of variation in the mentions of "formerly incarcerated students."

Student groups. I looked for specific student groups that were part of the institution. The criteria for student groups included a club or organization led by students, not funded by the university, mainly composed of students with maybe a faculty advisor, and specific to formerly incarcerated students. Examples included Beyond the Stats at UC Davis and System Impacted Intellectuals at Glendale Community College. I coded this variable as “y” when the criteria were met and “n” when the criteria were not met.

Funded groups. The types of funded groups included a task force created by the college or university consisting of faculty, students, staff, or administrators, a paid staff with a specific center, or an office within the university specifically dedicated to formerly incarcerated students. Examples include Reemerging Scholars at Sacramento City College and Project Rebound at California State University, Fullerton. I coded this variable as “y” if there was a mention of a group that followed the types of organizations with the characteristics I was looking for and “n” when there was no mention of the types of funded groups.

If the college met my criteria for mentions of student groups of funded groups, I then searched for the type of resources the groups offered through links to their web pages or if there were no links, a separate search. Using the college website search bar, I typed the organization name such as “Transformative through Education” and followed the links from the first page of the search results. If there were no search bar included, I used google.com and typed “college name + organization.” The next three variables are types of services student groups and funded groups offered for formerly incarcerated students. These include academic and counseling resources as well as a community connection.

Academic Resources. The keywords or phrases that I looked for within academic resources included: educational counseling, educational support, academic support, tutoring, mentoring, and peer study groups. Through the links of the search results, I was connected to the organization’s web page. If I saw the keywords on the web page, I coded the academic resources variable as “y,” and if there were no mention of any resource on the web page then I coded it as “n.” If the web page of the student group or funded group did not have any of the target keywords, then I coded this variable as “not mentioned.”

Counseling Resources. The keywords and phrases that I looked for within counseling resources included: psychological, mental health, counseling, social counseling, personal counseling, and therapy. Similar to the variable academic services (described above), I looked through the student group or funded group’s web page. If I saw the keywords or phrases for counseling resources, I coded the variable as “y,” and if there were no mention of any resource on the web page then I coded it as "n." If the web page did not have any of these keywords, then I coded this variable as "not mentioned."

Community Connection. The final variable in my database refers to whether the university offered formerly incarcerated students an opportunity to be integrated into the campus community or build connections outside of the university. The keywords for this resource included any mention of a student group that connected to resources on and off-campus, legal support, community, peer support, and support system. If I saw any of the keywords or phrases on the webpage then I coded the variable as "y," and if there was no mention of any of the keywords then I coded this variable as "n."

It is important to note that as I was searching through each school, my list for keywords grew since each group or organization did not refer to these particular resources in a similar fashion. I made notes on the type of mentions that were listed on the search page, such as senate meetings, student equity plans, events, or the name of the group or organization. In addition to those, I made notes of particular instances I found interesting, such as whether the college had connections to other groups dedicated to formerly incarcerated students at other campuses. The "not mentioned" only applied to academic and counseling resources, if there was a student group or a funded group within a particular college but did not meet the criteria for the variables. The reason why I added not mentioned was that I was unsure of whether these resources were offered or did not just follow my keywords. I did not want to code it as "n" and risk coding false negatives unless I was sure that no mention of any academic or counseling resource was mentioned using my list of keywords and phrases. Additionally, I noted any interesting findings such as connections to other groups in universities, which I use as examples in my results section.

Community College Data

I sought to analyze the relationship between the student population and campus setting (rural, town, suburban, and city) with the likelihood of mentioning and having a program for formerly incarcerated students. I limit my analysis of settings to community colleges because they vary more compared to the other higher education institutions. Using the IPEDS data, I was able to attain information for the number of students attending and the campus setting. The colleges within a city were defined as inside an urbanized area within a principal city and consist of a population between 100,000-250,000. Colleges within a rural area were defined as 5-25 miles from an urbanized area. Colleges within a suburban setting were defined as a territory outside of a principal city and inside an urbanized area with a population between 100,000-250,000. Colleges within towns were defined as inside an urban cluster and 10-35 miles away from an urbanized area. Additionally, I used a quartile analysis to calculate ranges of the student population in community colleges (but rounded the quartiles to more meaningful breakpoints when appropriate). The ranges of student population in California community colleges are 1,800 to 7,500, 7,600 to 11,400, 11,500 to 17,900, and 18,000 to 34,6000. Using these data, I examined types of resources by community college setting type and student body population (See Appendix B and C).

Reliability Check

I conducted a reliability check for my coding methods of any mention, student groups, funded groups, academic, counseling, and community connection variables. I generated a random sample of 5% of community colleges, Cal States, UC, and not-for-profit private colleges. I gave my intercoder this random sample and step-by-step coding instructions that reflected my methods when I was collecting the data. At first, there was confusion on what community connection meant as well as funded groups vs. support groups. I clarified these variables in the codebook and created a new random sample of institutions. The follow-up check produced an 85% intercoder reliability match.

After I completed my data collection and variable coding, I then conducted crosstabulations of the different types of resources available by institution type. I turn to those results now.

RESULTS

My data consisted of a total of 220 universities and colleges across the state of California. Within each table, the first column lists the institution type: community colleges (CC), California State Universities (CSU), private colleges, and Universities of California (UC). Table 1 lists the total number of schools within each type of institution: CC have 111, CSU have 23, private colleges have 77, and UC have 9. It is important to note the totals because they explain some of the variability of my findings. Additionally, the percentages underneath the labels of each table are divided by the total number of schools. The subsequent tables reflect the variables I examined and whether each school conveyed a type of support for formerly incarcerated students.

Table 1 displays results for institutions having any mention of formerly incarcerated students or no mention of formerly incarcerated students. In total, only 34% of all higher education institutions in California have any mention of formerly incarcerated students. It is important to note that after Table 1, I found that private colleges have 0% of mentions and 100% of no mentions. Overall, I found that about 50% of CC, CSU, and UC had any mention whereas private colleges skew the data because only one university mentioned this particular group of students.

Table 2 describes the mention of student groups offered by colleges for formerly incarcerated students from the initial search. From the three types of institutions, only 6.4% across California mention student groups for formerly incarcerated students compared to 93.6% with no mention of student groups.

Table 3 describes which type of institutions had funded organizations dedicated to formerly incarcerated students. Of 220 California higher education institutions, 17.7% contain funded organizations dedicated to formerly incarcerated students. CSU had the highest percentage with 39.1% of some form mentioned and 60.9% of no mention. This is due to Project Rebound (case described above), an organization founded in San Francisco State University and has been adopted throughout various CSU. CC and UC do not have this standardized type of funded group.

Table 4 describes whether there are academic resources available in higher education institutions that have student groups and funded groups dedicated to formerly incarcerated students. Overall, 18.6% of all California higher education institutions publish having academic resources for formerly incarcerated students with 10.9% not mentioned. The category, "unspecified resources" meant that there were organizations that mentioned they offered them but did not have the keywords I was searching.

Table 5 describes whether there are mentions of counseling resources available in institutions of higher education in California for formerly incarcerated students. Across California higher education institutions, 10% described offering counseling resources, and 17.7% did not have a specific mention. UC did not have any mention because many of the groups did not specify the type of resources offered.

Table 6 discusses community connection consisting of opportunities given to formerly incarcerated students to connect with individuals or groups within and outside of their campuses. These were offered by funded groups or student groups. From 220 institutions of higher education across California, 22.3% had opportunities for community connection.

Table 1. Any Mention vs. No Mention

Institution Type	*N*	*Any Mention*	*No Mention*
CC	111	57 51.4%	54 48.6%
CSU	23	13 56.5%	10 43.5%
Private	77	1 1.3%	76 98.7%
UC	9	4 44.4%	5 55.6%
Total	220	75 34.1%	145 65.9%

Table 2. Student Groups vs. No Student Groups

Institution Type	*Mention about student group*	*No mention of student group*
CC	9 8.1%	102 91.9%
CSU	2 8.7%	21 91.3%
Private	0 0%	77 100%
UC	3 33.3%	6 66.7%
Total	14 6.4%	206 93.6%

Table 3. Funded Groups vs. No Funded Groups

Institution Type	*Mention about funded group*	*No mention of funded group*
CC	28 25.2%	83 74.8%
CSU	9 39.1%	14 60.9%
Private	0 0%	77 100%
UC	2 22.2%	7 77.8%
Total	39 17.7%	181 82.3%

Table 4. Academic Resources

Institution Type	*Academic*	*No Academic*	*Not Metioned - Academic*
CC	27 24.3%	61 55.0%	23 20.7%
CSU	10 43.5%	12 52.2%	1 4.3%
Private	0 0%	77 100%	0 0%
UC	4 44.4%	5 55.6%	0 0%
Total	41 18.6%	155 70.5%	24 10.9%

Table 5. Counseling Resources

Institution	*Counseling*	*No Counseling*	*Not Mentioned - Counseling*
CC	16 14.4%	62 55.9%	33 29.7%
CSU	6 26.1%	12 52.2%	5 21.7%
Private	0 0%	77 100%	0 0%
UC	0 0%	8 88.9%	1 11.1%
Total	22 10%	159 72.3%	39 17.7%

Table 6. Community Connection

Institution	*Community Connections*	*No Community Connections*
CC	34 30.6%	77 69.4%
CSU	11 47.8%	12 52.2%
Private	0 0%	77 100%
UC	4 44.4%	5 55.6%
Total	49 22.3%	171 77.7%

Figures 1 and 2 below turn to the variation in organizational settings for California's community colleges. This analysis focuses on only community colleges because community colleges vary in the support organizations they offer for formerly incarcerated students. Figure 1 shows the relationship between the campus setting and the percent mention of formerly incarcerated students and whether funded groups and student groups are offered (See Appendix B). Using the IPEDS data, the campus setting categories included, city, rural, suburban, and town. The total number of colleges per campus setting are 48 in cities, 12 in rural areas, 46 in suburbs, and 5 in towns. The graph shows that about 25% of community colleges within a city and about 10% of colleges within a suburb mentioned formerly incarcerated students. The likelihood of student groups within a city was about 7%. Additionally, I found funded groups in about 10% of colleges located in cities and suburban areas. Based on this graph, larger populated campus settings are more likely to mention and offer support groups for formerly incarcerated students.

Figure 1. Any Mention, Student Groups, and Funded Groups by Community College Campus Setting

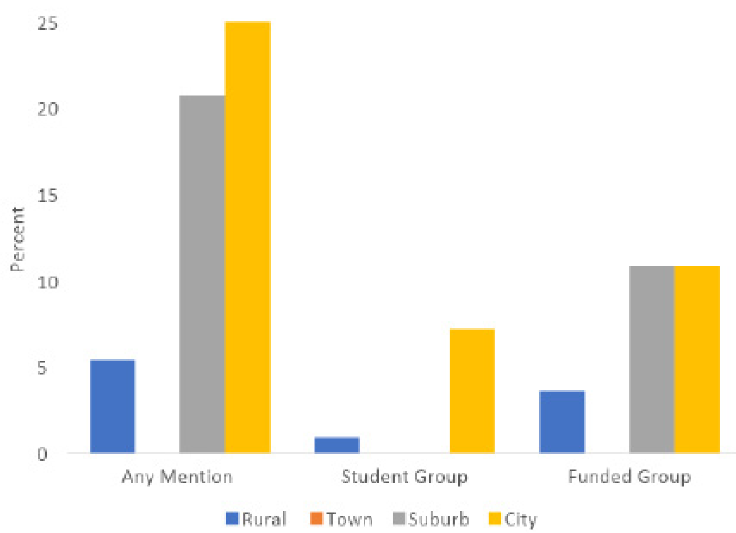
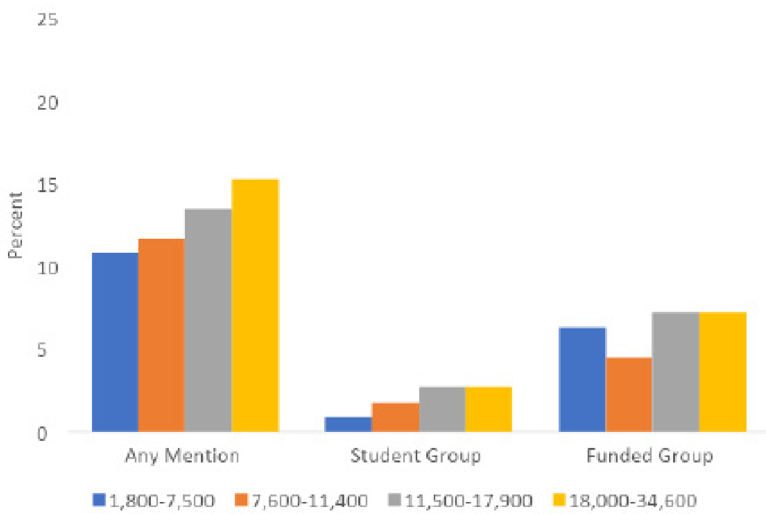


Figure 2 shows the relationship between student population size the percent mention of formerly incarcerated students and if a funded group and student group existed (See Appendix C). Using the IPEDS data, I collected data on the student population for each college. I then created quartile ranges

1,800 to 7,500, 7,600 to 11,400, 11,500 to 17,900, and 18,000 to 34,6000. The total number of colleges in each quartile is approximately equal to each other to generate the most meaningful breaks in the data—an average of 28 community colleges of each student population size. The results show a positive correlation between mentions of formerly incarcerated students and the population size. Additionally, colleges with over 11,500 students are more likely to have student groups or funded groups. However, these are small differences in percentages compared to the campus setting data (Figures 1 and 2 have the same y-axis). The student groups and funded groups are quite similar across student population size.

Figure 2. Any Mention, Student Groups, and Funded Groups by Student Population Size



Overall, these findings show that formerly incarcerated students looking for resources at California State Universities, UC, and community colleges are most likely to find mentions of their background. Private colleges in the state of California are failing this group of students with only 1.3% of mention and from only a single institution. However, it is important to note the variation in the number of colleges and universities within each institution type. For example, community colleges have the largest number of campuses compared to UC with the lowest total. Additionally, CSU is an interesting group due to the organization Project Rebound. It is more organized compared to community colleges and UC which vary on their type of resource. Furthermore, the types of resources mentioned are significant because it shows which institutions have a more holistic approach for this group of students. These findings imply that certain types of California higher education institutions display more public support for formerly incarcerated students.

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This study concludes that 34.1% of universities and colleges across California have some mention of formerly incarcerated students on their websites. A formerly incarcerated student in California looking for information about resources unique to their experience would be most likely to find public information at the CSU, a couple of UC schools, and about half of community colleges. This is inadequate considering California's large reentry population. Institutions need to acknowledge the needs of this population to offer guidance and help these students overcome the multiple barriers they face upon reentry. Across organizational types, only three of the four offered a support group to these students with private colleges ranking the worst. Furthermore, only 6.4% of all institutions feature a student organization and 17.7% had a funded organization.

I found more variation in resources offered by community colleges and UC compared to CSUs. Since CSUs have Project Rebound, they are more standardized and have a higher percentage of funded organizations. Additionally, I investigated the variation across community colleges to analyze whether the student population or campus setting were related to more student groups or funded groups for formerly incarcerated students. Findings showed that there were minor differences between student population size and percentage of mention as well as whether student groups or funded groups were offered. However, cities and suburban areas with populations of 100,000-250,000 had more mentions and offer support groups. Therefore, campus settings may drive the perviousness and variation within community colleges in supporting formerly incarcerated students. This conveys that these students have limited choices in institutions that provide specific resources to them.

The strength of this study lies in its objective and standardized data collection and analysis. There is little existing research on the topic of formerly incarcerated students in higher education. Much of the information available on this topic comes from outreach organizations rather than empirical studies. I found more information on websites such as Corrections to CA, The Opportunity Institute, organizations within colleges and universities. My contribution is a systematic analysis of the receiving end of the prison-to-school pipeline. My standardized coding permits reasonable comparisons across institutions. Additionally, my search only analyzed the first search page as I wanted to focus on accessibility for formerly incarcerated students when researching schools to apply to. This study is important because it depicts which universities, colleges, and organizations are supporting formerly incarcerated folks.

Some limitations of this study warrant mention. First, I only examined institutions within the state of California due to time constraints. This is a limitation because other states may provide a better understanding of how the country supports this population and works to create a prison-to-school pipeline. Secondly, my main criteria for each variable were limited because I sought to standardize my search across each institution. I was unable to look to prior research for studies to build on due to the serious gap in the literature on this topic. Thirdly, what a university or college posts on its publicly available website may not be the best representation of resources that exist for formerly incarcerated students within higher education institutions. Lastly, formerly incarcerated people may not have access to the internet, limiting accessibility to this information.

My research offers an important first step to future studies that could visit these universities and programs, interview the students served, and measure what is working and what is not. I hope that this study inspires future research on formerly incarcerated individuals pursuing higher education. Future research should consider in-depth interviews with people who work in these organizations to learn about their processes, their funding sources, and success rates in helping students. It would also be interesting to interview formerly incarcerated students and their experiences within higher education and whether organizations help them in their journey. Furthermore, this study could be replicated at the national level rather than just one state. Each state may show variation on their support for formerly incarcerated students and that would be important information to understand where formerly incarcerated students are most underserved.

Higher education for marginalized communities is not easy to navigate, especially those whom are racial minorities, first-generation, and/or face housing and food insecurities. Formerly incarcerated students face collateral consequences not just within higher education, but also in housing and employment opportunities. As students trying to navigate this system, they also face challenges outside of the institution.

There are major flaws to the theories of punishment when the punishment does not better the individual or society. Deterrence and rehabilitation do not work because it creates high recidivism rates. Furthermore, rehabilitation does not have the structural support it needs to be successful. Instead, they exacerbate barriers formerly incarcerated individuals face.

For these reasons, support for formerly incarcerated students is imperative. As society deals with the consequences of mass incarceration and the role of the prison-to-school pipeline, we must now look into developing and strengthening a prison-to-school pipeline. This gives opportunities for upward mobility and paves the way for a more inclusive higher education system that focuses on equity for marginalized communities. Rather than engendering second-class citizens, formerly incarcerated individuals are given an educational pathway for a meaningful life.

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APPENDIX A. UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGE

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
Allan Hancock College	CC	Y	y	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
American River College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Antelope Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Bakersfield College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Barstow Community College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Berkeley City College	CC	Y	y	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Butte College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Cabrillo College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
Canada College	CC	Y	n	y	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Cerritos College	CC	Y	n	y	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Cerro Coso Community College	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n
Chabot College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Chaffey College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Citrus College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
City College of San Francisco	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Clovis Community College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Coastline Community College	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n
College of Alameda	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
College of Marin	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
College of San Mateo	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
College of the Canyons	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
College of the Desert	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n
College of the Redwoods	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
College of the Sequoias	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n
College of the Siskiyous	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
Columbia College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
Compton College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
Contra Costa College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Copper Mountain Community College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Cosumnes River College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Crafton Hills College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Cuesta College	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n
Cuyamaca College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Cypress College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
De Anza College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Diablo Valley College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
East Los Angeles College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
El Camino Community College District	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Evergreen Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
Feather River Community College District	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
Folsom Lake College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Foothill College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Fresno City College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Fullerton College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Gavilan College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Glendale Community College	CC	Y	y	y	y	y	y
Golden West College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Grossmont College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Hartnell College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Imperial Valley College	CC	Y	y	y	y	y	y
Irvine Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Lake Tahoe Community College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
Laney College	CC	Y	y	y	y	y	y
Las Positas College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Lassen Community College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
Long Beach City College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Los Angeles City College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Los Angeles Harbor College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Los Angeles Mission College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Los Angeles Pierce College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Los Angeles Southwest College	CC	Y	n	n	y	not mentioned	n
Los Angeles Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Los Medanos College	CC	Y	n	n	y	n	y
Mendocino College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Merced College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Merritt College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
MiraCosta College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Mission College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Modesto Junior College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Monterey Peninsula College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Moorpark College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
Moreno Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Mt San Antonio College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Napa Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Norco College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Ohlone College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Orange Coast College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Oxnard College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Palo Verde College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Palomar College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Pasadena City College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Porterville College	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n
Reedley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Rio Hondo College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
Riverside City College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Sacramento City College	CC	Y	y	y	y	y	y
Saddleback College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
San Bernardino Valley College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
San Diego City College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
San Diego Mesa College	CC	Y	n	y	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
San Diego Miramar College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
San Joaquin Delta College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
San Jose City College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Santa Ana College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Santa Barbara City College	CC	Y	y	y	y	not mentioned	y
Santa Monica College	CC	Y	y	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
Santa Rosa Junior College	CC	Y	y	y	y	y	y
Santiago Canyon College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Shasta College	CC	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
Sierra College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Skyline College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Solano Community College	CC	Y	n	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	n
Southwest-ern College	CC	Y	n	y	y	y	y
Taft College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Ventura College	CC	Y	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
Victor Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
West Hills College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
West Los Angeles College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
West Valley College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Woodland Community College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
Yuba College	CC	N	n	n	n	n	n
California Polytechnic State University-San Luis Obispo	CSU	Y	n	n	n	n	n
California State Polytechnic University-Pomona	CSU	Y	n	y	y	y	y
California State University Maritime Academy	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
California State University-Bakersfield	CSU	Y	n	y	y	y	y
California State University-Channel Islands	CSU	Y	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
California State University-Chico	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
California State University-Dominguez Hills	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
California State University-East Bay	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
California State University-Fresno	CSU	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
California State University-Fullerton	CSU	Y	n	y	y	y	y
California State University-Long Beach	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
California State University-Los Angeles	CSU	N	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
California State University-Monterey Bay	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
California State University-Northridge	CSU	Y	y	n	y	y	y
California State University-Sacramento	CSU	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
California State University-San Bernardino	CSU	Y	n	y	y	y	y
California State University-San Marcos	CSU	Y	y	n	not mentioned	not mentioned	y
California State University-Stanislaus	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
Humboldt State University	CSU	Y	n	n	n	n	n
San Diego State University	CSU	Y	n	y	y	not mentioned	y
San Francisco State University	CSU	Y	n	y	y	y	y
San Jose State University	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
Sonoma State University	CSU	N	n	n	n	n	n
America Evangelical University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
American Jewish University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Antioch University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Azusa Pacific University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Bethesda University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
Biola University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Brandman University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
California Baptist University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
California Christian College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
California Institute of Technology	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
California College San Diego	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
California Lutheran University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Chapman University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Claremont McKenna College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Coleman University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Columbia College Hollywood	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Concordia University-Irvine	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Dominican University of California	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Epic Bible College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Fresno Pacific University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
Golden Gate University-San Francisco	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Grace Mission University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Harvey Mudd College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Holy Names University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Hope International University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Humphreys University-Stockton and Modesto Campuses	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
John F. Kennedy University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
John Paul the Great Catholic University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
La Sierra University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Laguna College of Art and Design	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Life Pacific College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Lincoln University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Loma Linda University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
Loyola Marymount University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Marymount California University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Menlo College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Mills College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Minerva Schools at Keck Graduate Institute	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Mount Saint Mary's University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
National University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Notre Dame de Namur University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Occidental College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Pacific Oaks College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Pacific States University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Pacific Union College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Palo Alto University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Pepperdine University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Pitzer College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Point Loma Nazarene University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	**Institution Type**	**Any Mention**	**Student Org**	**Fund-ing**	**Academic**	**Counseling Services**	**Community Connection**
Pomona College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Providence Christian College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Saint Mary's College of California	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Samuel Merritt University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
San Diego Christian College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Santa Clara University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Scripps College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Shepherd University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Simpson University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Soka University of America	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
South Baylo University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Stanford University	Private	Y	n	n	n	n	n
Thomas Aquinas College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Touro University Worldwide	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of La Verne	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of Redlands	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
University of San Diego	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of San Francisco	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of Southern California	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of the Pacific	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of the People	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
University of the West	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Vanguard University of Southern California	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Westmont College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Whittier College	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
William Jessup University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
Woodbury University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
World Mission University	Private	N	n	n	n	n	n
UC Davis	UC	Y	y	n	y	n	y
UCLA	UC	Y	y	n	y	n	y
UC Santa Barbara	UC	N	n	n	n	n	n
UC Irvine	UC	N	n	n	n	n	n
UC San Diego	UC	N	n	n	n	n	n

Institution Name	Institution Type	Any Mention	Student Org	Fund-ing	Academic	Counseling Services	Community Connection
UC Berkeley	UC	Y	y	y	y	n	y
UC Merced	UC	N	n	n	n	n	n
UC Santa Cruz	UC	Y	n	y	y	Not mentioned	y
UC Riverside	UC	N	n	n	n	n	n

APPENDIX B. COMMUNITY COLLEGE CAMPUS SETTING: ANY MENTION, STUDENT GROUP, FUNDED GROUP

Campus Setting	Any Mention	Student Group	Funded Group
Rural	5.4	0.9	3.6
Town	0	0	0
Suburb	20.7	0	10.8
City	25.2	7.2	10.8

APPENDIX C. COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENT POPULATION SIZE: ANY MENTION, STUDENT GROUP, FUNDED GROUP

Student Population	Any Mention	Student Group	Funded Group
1,800-7,500	10.8	0.9	6.3
7,600-11,400	11.7	1.8	4.5
11,500-17,900	13.5	2.7	7.2
18,000-34,600	15.3	2.7	7.2

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Camille Jonlin graduated cum laude from Carleton College, MN in June 2019 with a BA in Sociology/Anthropology and a Russian minor. Her academic interests flowed between social theory, global studies and environmental studies, all three of which came together in her favorite courses: Gender, Power and Pursuit of Knowledge, Sociological Thought and Theory, Political Philosophy and Environmental Anthropology of the Middle East. Camille also pursued a focus in Russian language, culture, history and literature, culminating in a study abroad program in Moscow during the spring of her junior year. While in Russia, she studied at Lomonosov Moscow State University and traveled to remote parts of the country including Lake Baikal, Siberia and four days on the Trans-Siberian Railway. However, the pinnacle of Camille's academic career was her senior thesis, titled Time in Loops and Lines: The Social Construction of Time. She spent over a year conducting independent research at Carleton and in Boulder, CO, and her efforts paid off with a Distinction Award in her thesis and major. While taking a break from her studies, Camille enjoys practicing gymnastics, exploring cities and hiking in the mountains near her hometown of Seattle, WA.

Jeanne de Barthès just graduated from the University of Bath, in England, where she completed her Bachelor of Science in Sociology and got a First-Class average. In her final year, she wrote a 10,000 word, or 60 pages long dissertation, which was awarded the grade of 85%. She is now applying to a Master's degree in the sociology of gender and sexuality at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and hope to then go on to pursue a PhD in the field of gender and sexuality studies.

Julienne Alexis Correa graduated from the University of California, Davis, majoring in in B.A. Psychology and B.A. Sociology. Throughout her time at Davis, she was involved in various organizations across campus as a student organizer and held positions within student government. She served as the ASUCD Ethnic and Cultural Affairs Commission Chair as well as worked at the UC Davis Cross Cultural Center. Her main goal is to uplift marginalized voices to create a more equitable institution. The idea for her paper came from her experiences working within equity-focused centers at UC Davis and interacting with individuals that were formerly incarcerated. The education and the criminal justice system impact each other in a variety of ways, from the prison-to-school pipeline to criminal background checks that hinder educational opportunities. She believes that it is significant to counter the impacts of the prison industrial complex by supporting those who are currently system-impacted through academic research and community activism. She is currently a second year at the University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law.

GUIDE FOR FUTURE CONTRIBUTORS

General

Eleven: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology accepts submissions from current undergraduate students and students who have graduated in the last 36 months, given that their papers were originally written as undergraduates. *Eleven* seeks sociological articles written for sociology courses as well as courses outside the discipline. Papers submitted by authors in different academic disciplines should foreground a rich sociological engagement to make their work appropriate for *Eleven*.

We welcome both electronic and paper submissions. We accept papers with a length of 10-65 pages, including references. An electronic submission must be in Microsoft Word 6.0/95 or later, and may be submitted as an e-mail attachment to submissions.eleven@gmail.com. Paper submissions should include: a completed cover sheet/submission form; a copy of the paper with no identifying information; an abstract or short summary of the paper (maximum of 250 words); and an academic biography (maximum of 250 words). Since manuscripts are reviewed anonymously, the author should be identified only on the submission sheet and not in the manuscript itself. Potential contributors should e-mail *Eleven* at eleven.ucb@gmail.com for a copy of the journal's submission form. For more information please visit our website at www.eleven.berkeley.edu.

Format

All manuscripts must be typed and double-spaced with 1-inch margins on all sides. The submission must include numbered pages. All text (including titles, headings, and footnotes) should be in Times New Roman, 12-point font.

In general, we recommend submissions not have too complex a hierarchy of sections and subsections. In the case of a heading, the title should be separated from the preceding paragraph by two (2) lines and one (1) line from the following paragraph. The heading should appear in 10-point boldface type, left justified. In the case of a sub-heading, the title should be separated from both preceding and proceeding paragraphs by a single (1) line. The sub-heading should appear in 12-point italicized type.

Citation and Reference Format

Submissions should follow the American Sociological Association (ASA) *Style Guide* (Third Edition). All citations in the text should be identified by the author's last name, year of publication, and pagination (if necessary). Identify later citations in the same way as the first. If there are more than three authors of a single work, use "et al." Citations should follow the following format: (Author Year:Pagenumber). If there are multiple citations, separate each citation with a semicolon (";") and a space: (Author Year:Pagenumber; Author Year:Pagenumber).

References should come at the end of the paper and should be prefaced with the heading "References" in 12-point boldface type, left justified. The reference entries themselves should be formatted according to the American Sociological Association (ASA) *Style Guide*.

"My students often ask me, 'What is sociology?' And I tell them, 'It's the study of the way in which human beings are shaped by things that they don't see.'"

- Sam Richards

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

- Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach"