Notes: Roundtable on Conceptualizing Justice in Socio-Legal Research Annual Meeting of Law and Society Association June 2, 2011

Introduction:

- Socio-legal justice project concerned about how we conceptualize and measure justice.
- What do we mean when we say that word justice and across different disciplines?
 - In criminology, it's often an outcome
 - In Law & Society, it's a process
- Concept papers were developed focusing on how scholars from different fields conceptualize justice.
- Three questions emerged:
 - 1. How and when are experiences interpreted as just?
 - 2. How and when do individuals and collectivities mobilize justice?
 - 3. What are the implications of varying practices and concepts of justice?

Musheno (Roundtable Chair):

- Need to work towards a multi-dimensional survey for general questions as well as a deeper analysis of justice
- Need a longitudinal study to examine indicators of justice and coordinate this with a 'meta-analysis' to understand the uses of justice across different fields and how it is materialized within the literature.
- Also coordinate with more qualitative instruments
 - Potential source: "What's Fair"
- Idea is to capture how justice is imagined and acted upon in the U.S.
- There has never been a nationally focused broad and deep look about how justice has been acted upon

Gould:

- We can learn from interdisciplinary projects
 - $\circ~$ Rather than try to find a common definition, learn from and incorporate each other's practices

Musheno:

- 2 tensions in constructions of justice:
 - 1. Internal
 - a. historical
 - 2. Between justice and other normative orderings
 - a. Tension between moral judgment and notions of justice that have a legal bent to them; justice in the legal form is used to carry out moral judgments (mentioned *Cops, Teachers, and Counselors*).

Ewick:

- Justice has a tensile quality to it
- Justice is used in very situational ways. Culturally justice has a very historical and transcendent identity.
- Justice as a means? Justice as an end?
- We use justice to achieve equality, or as an end in itself

Musheno:

• We now start to think about attaching methodological tools to some of these tensions

Morill:

- Survey examinations
- Qualitative methods
 - \circ Ethnographic
 - Textual analysis
 - Visual analysis (non-textual)
 - How do people map justice spatially, alternatives to justice
 - Conceptualizing justice—how have different works measured and used different renderings of justice; "taking stock"
 - Historical framing changing over time
 - Qualitative meta-analysis (narrative analysis?)

Ewick

- Justice is used as some kind of vague, empty signifier that we just invoke without understanding how it's measured.
- We need to pay attention to areas where justice is *not* mentioned, "Where there are silences."
 - Example, it wasn't in the index of "The Common Place of Law"
- The word 'justice' is often used as an "understudy to power"

Gould:

- We do a really good job at describing injustice and unjust acts, but we have a difficult time describing justice.
- What is this term that we are using and how do we not define it (justice).
 - \circ $\;$ Need to be self-reflective about the use of the word

Musheno:

- The justice/power tension/dimension
 - Power controls the construction of justice; power is implicated in injustice
 - If it didn't have this ahistorical distinction, then the power inherent in the notion of justice might be diminished
- Europe has moved forward with examining justice, but the US has not

Tyler:

- Justice has been making a lot of impact in regard to the idea of legitimacy, which is an alternative to power.
 - Notion of justice is central to legitimacy
 - Legitimacy is an alternative to power

Unknown:

• No reconceptualization of justice in the U.S. occurring as it has occurred in Europe.

Portillo

- We use the term a lot in our scholarship but rarely define it
 - Because it's so loaded Ewick's 'J-Bomb'

Ewick:

- Justice as a means to an end to secure compliance of citizens
- Justice becomes something that states refer to gain compliance from citizens, but we need to become more attuned to when justice is not the hand maiden of power.

Nielsen:

- Law and Society (law & social science) is the place to have this discussion
 - To build a research database large datasets that will be available to a lot of scholars (not meta-analysis).
 - Share data sets that have already been collected which include indicators of justice
- The goal is to look at where we have bites and begin to categorize and to hopefully create a set of indicators that we all can use.
 - Then we can come back and talk about how this concept is deployed in a variety of areas
- This is about who we think we are; about the normative and social sciences. This project is crucial to the continued definition of this field—the intersection between law and social science.

Hirsch:

- Really important to take this project on in interdisciplinary contexts
- It gets at some tensions within law and society
 - A lot of work would be U.S.-focused (literature) but we need to keep an eye open for differences elsewhere
 - Keep out eyes on the tension through a comparative analysis

Reichman:

- What does justice look like at moments in transition?
 - When justice 'flares up'
- Also there is a possibility for us to talk across methods

Weinberg:

- How do we create this larger survey considering what's already available?
 - \circ $\;$ This also points to multi-method, but multi-perspective.
 - o 'Justice 360'
- How do we understand the conflicting interpretations of justice?

Musheno:

- Justice is the afterthought or the policy implications section—need to make his central; make it *the* piece.
- Maynard-Moody and Musheno spent a lot of time thinking about what words they could use to open up conversations about justice.
 - Points to different strategies of method and making sure indicators are highly rich and can be used in various methodological settings.

Pennington:

- Interpretations of justice help create the context in which your studying
- Works with juveniles
 - How do juveniles define and interpret justice
 - Different perspective
 - longitudinal

Ewick:

- Is it always asymmetrical?
- What kinds of relationships are we more likely to see justice a constituent of?

Doran Larson:

- Elaborating on the relational aspect of justice: inmates note that those who represent justice do not have a sense of justice.
 - Cultural differences exacerbate notions of justice
- Inmates see themselves as social sources of any kind of justice within the institution.
 - Hierarchy/order based on the crime they are incarcerated for
 - Institutionally structured relationship

Weinberg:

- Not only relational, but expectations (met or unmet) and whether it is justice or injustice.
- Contrast, see disillusionment and anger with the process when expectation is not met

Reichman:

- Justice is an aspiration; it's never going to be attained or fixed; it is not a fixed state.
- We may always fall short in measuring it because it's not fixed

Portillo:

- Repeated the three questions central to the socio-legal justice project: are we missing anything from these?
 - How and when are experiences interpreted as just?
 - How and when do individuals and collectivities mobilize justice?
 - What are the implications of varying practices and concepts of justice?

Robert Dingswall:

- As soon as you talk about equality, you start competing against other social goods.
- What is justice in competition with, equity?

Portillo:

• Equity is one of those terms that we don't know what we are talking about when we're talking about it.

Morrill:

- Part of the project needs to understand the relational aspects and perhaps legitimacy as well: legitimacy undergirding justice.
 - Networks of words: freedom, equity, legitimacy
 - Aspirational ideas that sometimes engage each other and sometimes contradict one another
 - We don't often understand the tradeoffs of them

Ewick:

• Tradeoffs are example of external tensions among external values

Musheno:

• Some constructs will provide some undergirding and may create tensions as well.

Seda Kalem:

- Need to understand **why** interpret certain experiences as justice and other as unjust (motives).
- The 'why' question may introduce additional value
 - Why interpret experiences as just/not just?
 - Because of established normative explanations

Tyler:

- There's a distinction between procedural and outcome-based
 - People are often very attuned to look at process because we can't ever make the outcome work for everyone
- Law and legal institutions are about creating a framework for resolutions; to work out a solution that will be okay for everyone.
- The reality: reach a solution where justice outcomes are not clear or agreed upon

Reichman:

- We have to careful not to be so law-centric.
- Create justice by some other normative arrangement because law won't work for them
 - $\circ \quad \text{Legal justice as a piece of frame}$

Morrill:

- How much extra-legal action takes place empirically in pursuit of justice?
- 80% of people respond to injustice extra-legally
- Under what conditions do people orient themselves to legal recourse?
- Even within the legal system, still extra-legal recourse

Musheno:

- Where is the push toward law coming from for law as a mechanism of justice? The state? The bottom? The outside to the inside?
 - Temporal/sequential relationship as well

Morrill:

- Justice and law is this fiction that we construct and use in a variety of different ways.
- Justice is fiction in that sometimes it's not there, yet we persist in focusing our analysis on law.

Portillo:

• 'fiction' is not a word to use, but 'aspiration' is less cynical

Tyler:

- People will act on what they consider to be fair, moral, and just.
- Justice is subjective, this understanding is important
- We are no longer using the rational choice model
 - $\circ~$ "Justice is a fundamental way that people organize experience; it really matters to them"

Ewick:

- Justice is inter-subjective, not just subjective
 - Accounts of justice are not written out of whole cloth
 - Need to submit them to others for review
- Need to submit our understanding of justice to other understandings of justice.

Hirsch:

• Remove the term or notion of rhetorical

Portillo:

• Mobilization is continuous

Reichman:

- How is justice constructed and not just a subjective construction?
 - Does it come from within, or is it reactionary?

Musheno:

- Cannot ignore the calculation of worker interest. And how do we calculate interest to the notion of justice?
- Tyler has a point it's fair to say that rational choice was the prominent construct, but it has been challenged in the last 30 years
- How does choice play out with people's sense of judgment of good and bad, right and wrong?
- Lipsky Workers are driven by internal interest, institutional interest, internal/external tensions

Ewick:

- We really don't have a good way of studying emotion.
- We don't theorize about emotion. Emotion should be an important part of what we look at.

Portillo:

- Really difficult methodologically to measure and describe emotion accurately
- Is justice triggered by emotion, or is emotion triggered by notions of justice

Morrill:

- When people invoke justice, it is with strong and hot emotions (for freedom too)
 Need to think about how to incorporate a sense of emotional practice
- A lot of emotional suppression in institutions—do you also have justice suppression?

Ewick:

- It may be that people are hesitant to use the word because people don't have the emotion, so they use the word
 - It doesn't align with what they feel

Sterett:

- Debbie Gold's Act Up: examines comparative dimensions of what we're talking about
 Framing anger and grief
- Comparative dimensions at every level
 - Individual-level claims and social welfare/collective claims which are often excluded in U.S. scholarship

Zoric:

• Empathetic responses to injustice become depoliticized → Meghan Boler case study on the politics of emotions

Question brought up from one participant for elaboration on the three central questions undergirding the socio-legal justice project.

Portillo:

- Question 2, "How and when do individuals and collectivities mobilize justice" is most interesting because we are talking about mobilizing justice; things that were less normatively noted.
 - We haven't seen much on it because we aren't directly talking about it in these terms, we choose less normatively-loaded terms

Musheno:

- Elaborated construction, construction of justice.
 - To what extent are we going to draw upon that, elaborate, or start from scratch on notions of justice
 - Analysis of works will be strategically important
- Americans think in terms of micro-macro

Nielsen:

- Develop a scale to measure the way that people mobilize the different scales and proceedings
 - Multi-method, multi-perspective, different scales
- There's a power that different groups have to change scale rapidly
 - Change the level

Gould:

• People are not talking about mobilizing law, but justice?

Robert

• Access to justice

Morrill:

- Not sure if this group is about closing off former conceptions of justice
- This group is about opening up what justice is.
- Think about the level of operationalization
 - It becomes a mixed typology
 - Interrogation of what's come before as well as using it as a resource

Gould:

• How does question #2: "How and when do individuals and collectivities mobilize justice," relate to other work that is going on?

Reichman:

- To mobilize justice requires something more than law, but justice.
- Lawyers use law as an organizing mechanism
 - \circ $\;$ Move people from individual motion to collective voice

 Law gets them in the door, but it's too individual, when justice is a group notion

Bob Nelson:

- Take lawyers out of the center of it
 - Don't load the frame up to begin with
 - Exploration of all the ways people pursue taking care of a problem

Morrill:

- Not trying to close off former conceptions of justice
 - Rather, open them up, open up what justice is
 - Law is one process

Gould:

• How question #2 relates to what's already been done

Portillo:

• Mobilization of justice takes mobilization of law a step further

Reichman:

- There is a difference between organizing and mobilizing
 - Law organizes, but then mobilizing justice requires more than just the law

Discussion shifts when Morril asks newcomers how their work fits with the current conversation

Tamara Ellis:

- Empirical research in South Asia about access to justice in lower courts
 - Found that there are disparate notions of justice between state and non-state actors

Seda Kalem:

- Studies legal professionals perceptions of justice and law
- This roundtable has been incredibly helpful in sorting out important questions of legal consciousness
- Is justice a political or a state issue?

Laure d'Hondt:

- How to conceptualize environmental justice? What is the proper redress in these kind of cases
 - $\circ~$ Conceptualize the problem from the eyes of the victims or the NGOs, it's different

Jeff:

- To what extent do the views of political philosophers such as Rawls align with those of scholars and non-scholars of today?
 - Comparative themes are important
- What explains people's perception of justice—it may come down to culture.

PhD student:

• Seeking to understand how mobilization works in the criminal context.

Laurie Sexton:

- Prisoners and how they make meaning of their punishment.
- Justice is something that is felt to be deserved and achieved.
- Is it fictional, aspirational, or imaginary?

Terezia Zoric:

- Trying to make connections between environmental justice and social justice.
- Is there anything we can say about justice that would be different within the framework of environmentalism?

Unknown:

• Competing notions between state and local and indigenous populations

Mark:

• How does legal consciousness motivate behavior and how do we measure it empirically?

Reiter:

- Being able to put things into context
- Get people to dialog about what justice means in different contexts
 - Bring it into a more public forum

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