IDEATE

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Introduce and discuss Du Bois' notion of "double consciousness". Is the notion still relevant today?

Natasha Bristow

This essay will examine the work and ideas presented by the sociologist Du Bois, and introduce his concept, double consciousness. He first mentioned this concept in his most influential book "The Souls of Black Folk". In this book, he explains what double consciousness means and how it is relevant to other people in society. This essay will also examine if Du Bois' concept double consciousness is still relevant today. Some people still see double consciousness as a problem today and think it is still relevant to explain how some people feel. However, Du Bois' work is relatively old and was done in 1903, this may mean that his work is seen as out-dated and therefore cannot be applied to today's society because it has developed over the years and people's feelings can be explained through other ways.

Du Bois coined the concept double consciousness and explained what it meant in his book "The Souls of Black Folk'. This explanation of double consciousness looks particularly at individuals and how they feel within the society that they live in. Du Bois expresses that individuals can find it extremely difficult to have one unified identity in society, instead they feel as if they have two or perhaps many identities. 'One ever feels his two-ness' (Du Bois, [1903] 1994:2). This is a quote from the first chapter in Du Bois' book and it shows that he feels as if individuals do not feel like one person, instead they feel like two. Du Bois was able to develop his work after drawing from his own experiences in life (Misak, 2008); he was a Black American and therefore used Black Americans as an example of explaining his concept of double consciousness. He suggested that Black Americans do not feel as though they can unify both of their identities, they cannot unify both their identity of being Black and their identity of being American. Instead of seeing both of their identities as one, as a Black American, they see both of these identities as separate. They look at things from either a Black perspective, or an American perspective. Du Bois wants to be able to unify both of these identities, but did not want to lose either of them. He did not want to Africanize America and 'he would not want to bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism' (Du Bois, [1903] 1994: 9). This double consciousness also makes them feel as though they are being viewed by other people differently and feel like they have to look at themselves how others may see them, 'Always looking at one's self through the eyes of others' (Du Bois, [1903] 1994:2). This suggests that Black individuals look and think of themselves as how they think they are perceived from the outside world; how they think other people see them. For example, this could be how white people see them. This can affect them; it can damage their self-image, meaning they may not feel as though they belong within their society because of what white people think of them. If one has to look at themselves through other people's eyes, they lose sense of themselves or can become split (Misak, 2008).

It could be said that double consciousness may still be relevant to today's society and may still be relevant to explain how some people still feel today. Society today is now said to be a fair place, where everyone has a belief that society is meant to be equal for every individual. However, this may not be the case for everyone, some people may still feel as though society is not as fair as it is supposed to be to them and they may feel that there is

still some form of racism in society today and they may therefore be affected by this. An example of this may be seen through how the media represents Black people today. I think that the media shows Black men in certain stereotypical ways, which may affect people's perspectives of them. The media has a massive influence on everyone; from people reading newspapers to watching the television and the media is usually dominated by white individuals. In television, men are usually shown in entertainment and other programmes, such as dramas. I feel that these programmes seem to represent men as people, such as criminals or rappers, and this can have a negative effect on these people. This means they may feel like they have to view their identity of being black as separate to being American because they find it difficult to bring both of these identities together. Due to these stereotypes that the media is representing, black people may therefore be worried about how people are looking at them, such as looking at them in a bad way just because of the media. Therefore, they may constantly be thinking about how other people are looking at them because of this and may feel that they do not fit into society with both identities because of the racism that still exists to them.

> Double consciousness can be taken further than race and can still be applied today. An example of this could be immigrants. They may struggle when trying to form the unified identity of being an immigrant with Americans. They, therefore, are likely to keep these identities separately because their cultures from home may not fit in with the culture of America.

They may feel as though this creates a double consciousness within them and have to act like two different people. They may feel like they can only act in a certain way within their own home, this may be in a way that is recognisable to their own culture. However, outside of their home they may feel like they have to act like another person, keep their other identity separate, leave their cultural differences at home, and act more like Americans. They are, also, going to be judged and known for their immigrant status rather than being Americans, which can be damaging to them. Being known for their immigrant status rather than Americans can make them feel as though they are invisible to the rest of society (Lobban, 2013).

However, Du Bois' double consciousness may not still be applicable to today's society because Du Bois' work was published in 1903, which some people may see as out-dated and less realistic after how much the world has moved forward. Since Du Bois' work was published, there have been several policies introduced that have helped to overcome the problem of racism and some people see racism as much less of the problem now. The US Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were major acts that outlawed the discrimination against minorities. This reduced any racial incidents and changed society, meaning that individuals are much less likely to feel that they have to act like more than one person just because of their race. They may be able to find it easier nowadays. It has also been said that the history of the Black American and feeling as though they do not fit into society should be left in its history. US history does not need to define the future for any ethnic minorities, however, the history of the African American can be seen as inspiring (Gilroy, 2005).

To conclude, Du Bois' concept, double consciousness is a very influential notion. It suggests that some people find it hard to find one unified identity of them. Instead, they often have two or maybe several identities to define themselves. Du Bois was able to draw from his own experiences of being an African American and explained double consciousness in the way that he felt from being an African American. His own experiences were seen to be how

other people felt. This notion of double consciousness can still be seen as relevant in today's society by some people and say that it is still a relevant way to explain how they feel they are being treated. They think that race is still a big problem, and the media may be seen as an example of showing how race is still around. The media represents Black people in stereotypical ways and can affect the way people see Black people. Double consciousness can also be used to explain problems further than race and the difficulties other people have, such as immigrants. Immigrants may have to use two identities for different times, such as using one identity at home, where their cultural traditions would be put into place; still, they have to leave that at home when they go out. However, there have been policies that have helped society to overcome the problem of race and therefore, double consciousness is not applicable today and should stay in its history.

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Research Proposal: Is there a link between morbidity and ethnic inequality? Which "model of explanation" (biological, behavioural or socio-economic) is most significant in explaining this link?

Angella M Denman

Introduction

Sociologists have been studying health inequalities for many decades. This has been an emotive and policy changing debate, which is still relevant today. Studies of health inequalities have focused on those variables, which compromise indicators of people's social circumstances. 'Social class, gender, ethnicity and geographical locations all influence a person's access to material and social resources, living and working conditions and their social status' (Nettleton, 2013:151). Thus patterns of health are related to these variables.

As a Black African woman studying Sociology in Great Britain, I believe that it is important to highlight inequality in every aspect of society, investigate the cause of it and make recommendations for change, for the good of all members of society. I feel that although a lot of research has been done on the topic, it is far less than the research on social class and morbidity. Not enough has been done to emphasise the inequalities that ethnicity influences and their consequences to the country as a whole. Although the overall health of Great Britain has improved significantly in the past half century, there are some ethnic groups that still lag behind the rest of the population.

This research is going to focus primarily on whether there is a link/relationship between ethnicity and morbidity; and if so, why? The findings would add to the on-going sociological/epidemiological debate.

Literature Review

The research will draw on the work of Nettleton (2013), Gill et al (2007) and Salway (2007); their broad hypothesis is that there is a link between ethnicity and morbidity. They offer the biological, behavioural/cultural and socio-economic models of explanation as the main causes of health problems in the ethnic minority groups.

In 1991, ethnic minorities comprised 5.5% of the population of England and had a much younger age structure than the white group:

> 'It is important to note that almost half of the non-white group were born in the United Kingdom, which has important implications for the future planning of services' (Gill et al, 2007:238).

Biological

Ill Health: Biological factors such as genetic variations are sometimes cited as reasons for the prevalence of some medical conditions. Gill et al (2007) in their study *Black and Minority Ethnic Groups* carried out an assessment of morbidity among ethnic minorities.

They found that diabetes was 3 to 5 times more prevalent in African-Caribbean and South-Asian groups than in the rest of the population. The African-Caribbean group appeared to be more biologically vulnerable to developing sickle cell anaemia and was more likely to suffer from hypertension and to die of strokes. South-Asians (Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis) were 50% more likely to have a heart attack and more likely to die from it (Gill et al, 2007).

Mental Illness: 1 in 5 patients in mental health hospitals come from a black or ethnic minority background, around twice their proportion in the population as a whole. They are more likely to be diagnosed as schizophrenics and psychotics (Gill et al, 2007).

Death Rates: Ethnic minorities have generally higher adult and child mortality rates. This includes stillbirths of babies, deaths at birth, perinatal deaths, neonatal deaths or infant mortality (Jayaweera et al, 2007).

Nettleton argues that although genetic factors may have some influence in the prevalence of an inherited blood disorder (e.g. thalassemia; sickle cell anaemia) and may also play a role in other diseases and infant mortality rates, they are unable to account for the wider racial and ethnic patterning of the issue. These genetic factors and indeed physiological characteristics were linked and shaped by social and environmental factors. McDermott (1998) describes how the so-called 'thrifty genotype' hypothesis was developed to explain the high levels of diabetes amongst colonial indigenous societies, with the result that alternative explanations went unexamined (cited in Nettleton, 2013:174).

Behavioural/Cultural

Cultural explanations for poor health suggest that the lifestyle and "traditional practices" of some ethnic minority groups contribute to their poorer health (Nettleton, 2013).

Cultural Barriers: Salway's (2007) research, "Long Term Ill Health, Poverty and Ethnicity" found that women from different ethnic groups varied in their willingness to admit to being ill. She found that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women predominantly did not seek medical treatment or admit illness as it was considered an admittance of weakness according to their culture.

Black and Asian women diagnosed with breast cancer in the UK have poorer relative survival results than white women. 'The reasons may be due to late diagnosis through late presentation with symptoms or lower uptake of screening opportunities' (Blows et al, 2009:1).

Research published in the Asian Pacific Journal of Cancer Prevention found that some South-Asian communities in the United Kingdom viewed breast cancer as 'contagious, a punishment and a curse; stigmatising families already struggling to with the effects of the disease' (Karbani et al, 2011:1619-20). Such beliefs are seen as the reason why a majority of 'Asian women avoid the NHS cancer screening and only present themselves to the medical clinicians when it is too late' (Karbani et al, 2011:1623).

Language Barriers: Language barriers could possibly create difficulties for awareness for health promotions, and uptake for screening purposes (Nettleton, 2013). Browne (2013) points out that many asylum seekers and refugees have poor levels of literacy in the English language and often, no information in their languages is available through the NHS.

He also argues that 'Gypsies and Travellers often have low literacy levels', thus preventing them from accessing health information (Browne, 2013:486).

Dietary and Lifestyle: Asian children were found to have higher rates of rickets due to a lack of vitamin D. Ahmad (1989) pointed out that this could be explained in terms of 'inappropriate dietary practices and the wearing of clothes, which restrict the amount of sunlight that may be absorbed by the skin' (cited in Nettleton, 2013:174).

Research shows that 35% of Black Caribbean men and 44% of Bangladeshi men smoke cigarettes. This compares to 27% of men in the general population, with subsequent health consequences (Gill et al, 2007).

The problem with the cultural explanation is that, it tends to place blame upon the individuals and regarded improvements in health as lying in the choices of the individuals themselves. Therefore, positive cultural practices may be ignored, for example, the low rates of smoking and alcohol consumption amongst Asian groups. (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013).

Socio-Economic Factors

Poverty and Racial Discrimination: This explanation suggests that factors such as occupational class, income, housing tenure, a concentration of the most deprive neighbourhoods, employment in more hazardous areas and unsocial hours, have an impact on ethnic minorities' health (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013).

Nazroo (1997b) found that many people from ethnic minority backgrounds experienced substandard housing and high levels of poverty. An analysis of self-report ill health data showed that deprivation explained a large amount of ill health experienced by minority ethnic groups. Socio-economic inequalities were an important influence in health differences, but these were linked to the experience of racism as experienced by ethnic minorities (cited in Gill et al, 2007).

Blackburn (1991) argued that racism and discrimination occurred at both institutional and individual levels. She summarised that:

> People from ethnic groups particularly black people, are more likely to be unemployed, or be in low paid jobs, living in poor housing and living in areas that lack adequate social and educational resources than white people (cited in Nettleton, 2013:176).

The above circumstances lead to limited or inadequate health service access and use. This is a result of the "inverse care law", those most in need of medical care have less access because of institutional practices, which discriminate against them. For example, the "best" doctors are likely to want to work in the "best" hospital, which are usually in affluent areas (Tudor-Harts, 1971). Furthermore, whilst 2% of white groups live in overcrowded conditions, 7% of Indian households, 9% of black households, and 23 % of Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups do so (Nettleton, 2013).

Support for this comes from Nettleton's (1993) study, "How Do We Create a Healthy North? Consultation with People in the Community", which concluded that the Asian women in the North of England regarded, 'social isolation, fear and frequency of racist attacks, cold and

damp housing to be the main cause of their poor physical and mental health' (cited in Nettleton, 2013:175).

Davey Smith et al (2002) in their study, "Health Inequalities in Britain: Continuing to Increase up to the End of the 20th Century", highlighted that the mean income of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households, which were in social class 1 and 2, was less than the mean income of "White" households who were classified as being in social class 4 and 5. He claimed therefore, that it was not their ethnicity background that explained health inequality but the socio-economic factors that was experienced by those in particular ethnic groups.

It is because of this debate and that I am compelled to carry out my own research in order to find out which explanation is most significant. The research to be carried out will broadly follow the steps taken in the literature reviews.

Methodology

Definitions: For the purpose of clarity, the researcher will begin by defining the variables in this research. Morbidity will be defined as 'the extent of disease in a population.' (Browne, 2013:457). Ethnicity will be defined as 'shared origins or social background. Shared culture and traditions that are distinctive, maintained between generations and lead to a sense of identity and group; a common language and religious group' (Gill et al, 2007:228).   Health will be defined as the 'not merely an absence of disease, but a state of complete physical, mental, spiritual and social wellbeing' (World Health Organisation, 1974, cited in Haralambos and Holborn 2013:302).

Research Strategy: The research will follow the deductive theory. A hypothesis (there is a link between morbidity and ethnic minority. Biological, behavioural and socio-economic explanations are the cause of this phenomenon) has been deducted from the literature read, and then through my own research the hypothesis will be tested, confirmed or rejected.

The research methodology is influenced by the positivist epistemology and the ontological considerations are based on objectivism. Positivists advocate for the application of the methods of natural science. They assume that society has an objective reality and it does not operate at random, it is clearly patterned, thus the positivists' aim is to uncover those patterns in society through analysis (Bryman, 2012).

The purpose of the research from a scientific view is to find the mediating variable/s, biological, behavioural or socio-economic, in the causal chain of morbidity (dependent variable) and ethnic minorities (independent variable). As a result, quantitative methods and data will be used.

Research Design: I will be analysing secondary data, which will be accessed from the UK Data Archive at the University of Essex. I will be analysing the research on ethnicity and health inequalities carried out by, Understanding Society: The UK longitudinal study (2014). This study collates the social and economic circumstances and attitudes of people living in 40,000 households across the country. The study has an ethnicity strand, which among other things finds out when and how health inequalities emerge.

Advantages

- The accessibility of existing data and the practicalities of collecting it, as I am on campus for four days a week, there is a Reading room at the library, which is open for 24 hours and I can also access the library from home.
- The financial implications are negligible as the data is free, with only printing costs where necessary.
- The data is reliable and high quality as it has been collected and analysed by experienced researchers and academics.
- The University of Essex has carried out some of the research so as a student; I feel it is an advantage to actually know some of the researchers.
- As there is a large sample, the data is representative of the country as a whole.
- There are no or very few ethical considerations that apply, apart from gaining consent from the university to use its material.
- It offers material for future research, such as gender and morbidity.

Criticisms

- Secondary data analysis is time consuming and complicated.
- My lack of experience could lead to misinterpreting data, risking the research's internal and ecological validity.
- Problems with definitions of the variables may arise, as there are no agreed definitions or categories of "race" or "ethnic" groups (Gill et al, 2007). The concept of "ethnic group" has been measured by skin colour, country of birth, name analysis, country of origin, as self-identified on the census question on ethnic groups. However, 'self-identification overcomes a number of conceptual limitations' (Gill et al, 2007:229).
- The term "Asian" can include a range of different groups of people varying in nationality, place of birth, religion and language, even though researchers try to distinguish between different ethnic groups, there is still a risk of misclassification (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013).
- Researcher subjectivity may be an issue when analysing and interpreting the data (Bryman, 2012).
- Measurement errors may occur, however, an allowance will be made for this.
- Interactionists might argue that quantitative methods are not "true to life", only showing numbers, ignoring feelings and the real experiences that the ethnic minorities feel (Bryman, 2012).
- The panel study may have the problem of sample attrition through death, moving to other countries or simply withdrawing from the sample (Bryman, 2012).
- The data collected may be affected by "panel conditioning", whereby continued participation in longitudinal study affects how behave (Bryman, 2012).

Conclusion

In order to overcome or limit the potential flaws of my research, I will allow a margin of error in my findings and most importantly seek the guidance of my lecturers and to fully utilise the services provided by the Sociology Department Resource Centre. Finally the data will be correlated and coded for analysis and interpreted. The findings will be compared to Nettleton (2013), Davey Smith et al (2002), Gill et al (2007) and Salway's (2007) hypotheses, in order to reject or accept and add to it. This may also initiate further research into other variables, such as gender, age, geographical location and religion, that may be part of the causal chain of this the phenomenon.

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Outline and discuss the key principles of research ethics. Why are research ethics important?

Liberty Faygo

"Research ethics" is a clouded concept within the social sciences; its various definitions and key principles are questioned throughout the disciplines. Research ethics are considered to be the moral principles that govern research. There are no set ethical "rules" when conducting social research, but more of an agreed set of guidelines that need to be followed (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Such ethical guidelines have been produced by professional bodies, such as the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the Social Research Association (SRA), with the intent of 'protecting individual autonomy and freedom' (Scott and Marshall, 2009: 226). Diener and Crandall (cited in Bryman, 2012) proposed the following ethical principles, which should ideally be avoided during social research; harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy, and deception. I will start by exploring these key principles of research ethics, by relating to the guidelines established by the British Sociological Association. I will then discuss these guidelines and their importance by using appropriate examples of published research.

According to Diener and Crandall (cited in Bryman, 2012), any harm, physical, or psychological should be avoided. Harm entails disregarding the confidentiality of personal information. It is relatively easy to retain confidentiality when collecting quantitative data such as self-completion questionnaires. Participants are able to choose to be kept anonymous, and therefore any findings that are published do not run the risk of identifying individuals (Bryman, 2012). However, it is much more difficult to prevent harm to participants when using a more qualitative approach. Transcripts from interviews include in depth, personal responses to possible sensitive questions and issues. Therefore, it is crucial for researchers to ensure that published findings do not contain any information that would make an individual identifiable or cause them any 'physiological or social harm' (Bryman, 2012: 136). The researcher should anticipate any threat to confidentiality in advance, and take appropriate measures to avoid any breach of trusted information. If published findings would endanger or embarrass the 'participant, their family, home-life, friends or their job, it is considered unethical' (Babbie, 2008: 68). While undertaking his research, Humphreys (1970) covertly observed the homosexual activity of married men. He followed his observations by approaching these men without prior informed consent, this could have led to the men being 'identified against their will' (cited in Bryman, 2012:136). This research in particular had little social relevance to the discipline and was criticised gravely for the unethical methods used.

The Data Protection Act aims to ensure that confidential information is protected and if published, it is done so lawfully (cited in Bryman, 2012). Even though there are precautions in place to protect the researcher-respondent confidentiality, it is not always possible to do so. In some instances, the issue of confidentiality creates a dilemma for researchers, even when findings have not been published. For example, Westmarland (2001) faced difficulty when observing police violence against people being held in custody. She argued that:

> While a certain level of violence might be deemed acceptable [...] there is an issue of at what point is it no longer acceptable and the researcher needs to inform on those involved (cited in Bryman, 2012: 136).

At what point should you compromise confidentiality to prevent participants getting physically harmed? It is not always possible to protect participants from harm. However, in some situations the breach of ethical principles can be justified, given there is a feasible reason. Israel and Hay (2004) explain that if a researcher does not follow the British Sociological Association ethical guidelines, individuals will be less likely to trust them and therefore, less likely to be involved in further research (cited in Bryman, 2012: 138).

Avoiding harm to participants is undoubtedly crucial in the social research process, and ensures the respectability of a piece of research. In the British Sociological Association's ethical guidelines, it is suggested that researchers have a responsibility to 'ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not adversely affected by the research' (Sage Publications Ltd, 1992: 704). Despite its importance, in some research it is necessary to "harm" respondents in order to obtain valid data. One infamous example can be found in a research conducted in 1963, by social psychologist Milgram (cited in Pattern, 1977). He conducted an experiment to observe the obedience participants displayed towards an authoritative figure, in this case, a researcher in a white coat. The study included one true subject (the teacher) and a confederate (the learner) (Patten, 1977). The learner is asked to assimilate word pairs, while the "teacher" is told by the authoritative figure to press a button, which he is told inflicts an electric shock on the "learner", when they answer incorrectly. The participant is told that with each wrong answer the electric shock intensifies, which is untrue and deceitful. The experiment does not actually inflict any physical harm to any of the participants. Although there is no physical harm involved, the experiment shows the psychological harm the "teacher" is subjected to while thinking they are inflicting physical harm onto the "learner". This led to the participant losing their 'dignity, their self-esteem and their trust of authoritative figures in the future' (Baumrind, 1964: 421). Despite his disregard for the psychological wellbeing of his participants, following his experiment, Milgram's findings are thought to be revolutionary when explaining the obedience to authority phenomenon as it can be applied to events such as the Holocaust. His unethical methods ensured the increased validity of his findings. Had he conformed to the ethical guidelines and not been deceitful, the respondents may not have reacted as Milgram desired, and he may not have obtained relevant results to contribute to the field of social sciences.

Another key principle of research ethics proposed by Diener and Crandall (1978) is the lack of informed consent (cited in Bryman, 2012), this is inextricably linked to all other aspects of research ethics as reported by the British Sociological Association. Participants who do not have the ability to consent to research, face deception from researchers and will not have the ability to withdraw from the study thus making it unethical. However, the issue of informed consent presents more problems during social research. In order to obtain raw data that is unaffected by a researcher's presence, observations need to be covert. Covert observation prevents the "Hawthorne effect", which is defined as 'the behaviour-modifying effects of being the subject of social interrogation' (Wickström and Bendix, 2000:363). Informed consent should ideally be given for all social research projects, and participants should be aware of the details surrounding the study they are involved in. As explained by the British Sociological Association (1992:704):

> As far as possible participation in sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility on the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken and how it is promoted.

As previously mentioned, complete informed consent is not always possible. Homan (1991) stated that 'the principle of informed consent is easier said than done' (cited in Bryman, 2012:139). Proposing two main points relating to this issue, Homan suggests that it is 'extremely difficult to present prospective participants with all the information that might be required to make an informed decision about their involvement' (cited in Bryman, 2012:139). Simply put, presenting the participant with all of the details of the study could possibly prevent any significant sociological results from being obtained. Homan (cited in Bryman, 2012) advises that by slightly transgressing small details, such as the length of an interview, respondents will be more likely to participate in the research; this should not be considered as violating research ethics. He also proposes that presenting the whole sample with all the information of the study is impractical, as well as extremely time consuming. Providing participants with relevant information that would not affect the results seems more practical. However, in its ethical guidelines, The British Sociological Association (1992) uses the phrase 'as far as possible' loosely, regarding informed consent of participants in social research (cited in Bryman, 2012: 139). Therefore, covert observations cannot always be considered as unethical given the research topic and certain circumstances. 'There are serious ethical and legal issues in the use of covert research but the use of covert may be justified in certain circumstances' (Bryman, 2012:139).

Covert observations allow researchers to study certain social groups that otherwise would not be investigated; including certain studies within educational, organisational and naturalistic research environments (Lund Research, 2012). As mentioned in the British Sociological Association (1992:705) ethical guidelines, 'covert methods violate the principles of informed consent and may invade the privacy of those being studied'. It then goes on to say that only where it is not possible to use any other methodology, is this considered justified and therefore, ethical. However, in the statement it suggests that in a situation where informed consent cannot be obtained prior to the research, it should ideally be given once the research or observation has finished. This raises the question of what actually constitutes informed consent. Pearson (2009) undertook a role as a "participant observer" within the football hooliganism scene. He found that 'earlier attempts to conduct the research by interview proved unreliable' (cited in Bryman, 2012:140). He concluded that individuals, who were central to the violence, played down their role when they were aware that they were being researched. The same goes for those less likely to be directly involved with the hooliganism, however they exaggerated their involvement, creating invalid results due to the "Hawthorne effect" being present. The only way in which Pearson could obtain raw, valid results, was to deceive participants and therefore not obtain informed consent. To support his covert position, Pearson (2009) felt he had to engage in illegal activities, for example threatening behaviour (cited in Bryman, 2012). This further leads to the discussion of what is right and wrong within social research, and where the line is drawn regarding research ethics.

Further linking to the key principle of research ethics, is the invasion of privacy (Bryman, 2012). Any transgression of the invasion of privacy is said to be unacceptable in the framework of any research. However, covert methods tend to violate this personal

morality, as well as informed consent and deception. An example of confidentiality breach can be found in Vidich and Bensman's (1968) study of Springfield (cited in Bryman 2012). The researchers failed to safeguard individual's identities when publishing their research. This led to confidential information being released without informed consent (Bryman, 2012). To minimize issues in the future, informed consent forms have been formulated. This is a written agreement between the researcher and the respondents, stating the full details and processes of the study. This prevents any controversies regarding the ethics of a particular piece of research. Informed consent protects both parties' personal interests. However, it is argued that this too is impractical for investigating social activities in a natural environment, because behaviours change when the respondent is aware of the details surrounding the research. Diener and Crandall (cited in Bryman, 2012) suggest that deception is linked to the key principles of research ethics, as 'it occurs when researchers represent their work as something other than what it is" (Bryman, 2012:143) Milgram's (cited in Bryman, 2012) study can also be used to represent deception, along with Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) who 'deceived teachers into believing that particular children in their charge were likely to excel, when that had in fact been randomly selected' (cited in Bryman, 2012:143). Deception is predominant in numerous types of published research, mostly qualitative. If deviating from ethical guidelines put forward by such professional bodies is condemned, why then, do social researchers defy these principles? The answer is simple, to obtain validity within their research and to observe the true social behaviours in the natural environment, while being as objective as possible.

Research ethics are undeniably important within contemporary social research, however, as previously mentioned, their practicality is questioned. The purpose of ethical guidelines is to ensure the safeguarding of both participants and researchers against any harm whether physical, social or psychological. If ethical considerations are present within a research project, the respondents will be more likely to participate, further increasing the reliability of data collected. Prior to their study, researchers need to gain clearance from the Research Ethics committee (REC), in order to proceed with their investigations (Bryman, 2012). The ethical stance of a research proposal is critically analysed by the REC and either accepted or rejected. It is reported that these strict means of testing ethics can often reduce the quality of research and overall affect the end result. There are many ways in which there is 'potential for deception and, relatedly, lack of informed consent in social research' (Bryman, 2012:148). Despite many researchers transgressing from the key principles of ethics, they are in fact guidelines and so, in order to obtain the most valid results, it is not always practical to strictly follow these ethics. Korn (1997) supports this idea and suggests that 'some might argue that a certain amount of strategic deception is needed when researchers are especially interested in "studying up"' (cited in Hesse- Biber and Leavy, 2011: 75).

Overall the use of research ethics is key in any sociological study, however it is not always practical to strictly follow the ethical guidelines proposed by the British Sociological Association. The key principles of research ethics proposed by Diener and Crandall (cited in Bryman, 2012) are inextricably linked and intertwined, which raises further issues when examining the ethical position of a piece of research, and when making important ethical decisions. The guidelines set forward by the British Sociological Association (1992) include more broad descriptions of the principles, meaning it is more accepting of the hardship of proposing and completing social research. Ethical decisions can often be justified using these guidelines, especially in more recent studies. It is important that researchers ensure they follow ethical guidelines to a certain extent in order to protect themselves and their participants throughout the research process (Bryman, 2012). The

use of ethics within social research is increasingly important, however, the issue discussed by Haggerty (2004) of whether ethics have become overregulated is relevant (cited in Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011). Haggerty (2004) used the term 'ethics creep' to describe the 'expansion and intensification of ethical rules and regulations' (cited in Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011:75) which he argues has taken over social science research "in the name of ethics". An interesting stance on a gravely controversial issue within the world of social science.

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Why is it difficult to define the word 'race'?

Ingrid Masovn Haave

This essay will explain why it is difficult to define the word "race". It will look at different approaches to defining "race" (biologically and sociologically) and will look at three different theories associated with race: "race and citizenship", "race and colonialism" and "racialized disclosure".

Although "race" as a scientific concept has been discredited, it remains widely used in society (Giddens and Sutton, 2014). The first time the word "race" came to be used in English was during the sixteenth century when it was used to refer to types, kinds or groupings of people or things (Fulcher and Scott, 2011). The first attempt to produce a systematic classification of human races was carried out by Blumenbach (1790, cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011) at the end of the eighteenth century. The term "race" was used to distinguish differing physical characteristics (such as, skin colour) that had developed over time between populations in different areas (National Research Council, 2004). Blumenbach (1790, cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011) distinguished between five different races: the Caucasian (the white race), Mongolian (the yellow race), Ethiopian (the black race), American (the red race) and Malayan (the brown race). Cuvier (1817, cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011) made the next classification as he made the distinction between the white, yellow and black races. These anatomical classifications were often associated with the belief that some races were morally superior to the others; for example, the Caucasian race was seen as superior to the Mongolian and Ethiopian races. However, the Moscow Declaration (1964) found that:

> There was no scientific basis for conventionally identified race categories … Those variations in biological traits that do exist within and between human populations can be explained by the inheritance of genes, but they do not constitute discrete "racial" categories (cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011:192).

Variations and differences in genetic structure from one individual to another are not expressed by simple differences, such as skin colour. Skin colour is determined by a combination of minor genetic differences as well as the result of different climates and environmental factors. Differences in skin colour are also not directly associated with any genetic differences that produce other physical differences, such as blood type (Fulcher and Scott, 2011). A study by Rosenberg et al (2002, cited in National Research Council, 2004:26) found 'evidence of genetic clusters that correspond to geographically similar populations'. Rosenberg et al (2002) studied 1056 individuals from 52 different populations and identified 6 different genetic clusters where 5 corresponded to major geographic regions. As a result of this study, they determined that differences within a population accounted for 93-95 per cent of all genetic variations (cited in National Research Council, 2004). This supports the argument that there are only small genetic differences between geographically different groups. For example, there would be more genetic differences between two randomly chosen English men than between an English man and a Nigerian man. However, there has not been a set of genes identified which correspond with the social conception of "race", therefore there is no scientific basis for the human population to be identified based on biological races.

"Race" can also be defined by its social construction. People unconsciously take note of and assign significance to other people's physical characteristics such as, skin colour and hair texture. Based on the possession of those characteristics, society divides people into groups and because of this "race" becomes socially significant. Different groups elicit differing social perceptions, attitudes and behaviours from the rest of society. If people identify themselves with or are identified by others as a particular race, the person's actions are shaped by the stigma connected to that particular race. Consequently, racial classifications affect the resources an individual has access to, for example, education, health care, jobs, the distribution of income and wealth, political power and residential living patterns. This will over time create boundaries among racially defined groups, which will affect people severely, for example, the apartheid in South Africa (National Research Council, 2004). "Race" can therefore be seen as a purely social construct based on observed physical and cultural characteristics.

There are three theories associated with race: "race and colonialism", "race and citizenship" and "racialized disclosure". The theory of "race and colonialism" is particularly associated with Warner's (1936) work on the notion that the 'experiences of black African Americans had to be seen in relation to the more common experience of migrants to a new society' (cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011:197). Ethnic migrant groups often arrive with few resources, a language barrier and few connections in society, and therefore tend to enter into low and disadvantaged social positions. However, in an open society, such as the United States, their situation normally improves gradually as they build up their resources, secure a better job and an education, and remove the language barrier. The positions held by members of ethnic minorities and the rest of the population therefore become indistinguishable; the concept of "the ethnic melting pot" is summarized by this view. Despite this, this idea did not work for the former slave population of black African Americans. After their exclusion during the slave period, many migrated to the northern states expecting a change, which, according to "the melting pot", would ensure their gradual acceptance and incorporation into society. However, the negative racial attitudes from the slave period continued. Warner (1936, cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011) explained this as a clash between two value systems; one set of values was rooted in the prejudice and discrimination attached to the slavery and the other was rooted in the liberal values of democracy and equality. Black-white relations therefore show a complex pattern of "social stratification". The first set of values creates a status division; similar to a "caste" system, African Americans are unable to move up the social hierarchy and their social position is linked to their fixed "caste". Because of this, they have not had the same opportunities as the rest of the population to exercise the full civil, political and economic rights of citizenship, and can consequently be classified as second-class citizens. Optimistic views on this theory see the denial of full citizenship as a consequence of incomplete modernisation of cultural values and social institutions. Full citizenship can therefore eventually be achieved and temporary failure to do this is only a symptom of a "cultural lag" in the process of modernisation.

The second theory, "race and colonialism", looks at imperialism and the colonial encounter of black and white. This theory agrees with the first theory that race attributions are a matter of culture and status, but argue that these can only arise in certain conditions. Race-relation situations have to be seen in terms of the group's structure and not only focus on culture and values when being analysed. Rex (1970) argues that:

Racial ideas have become popular whenever groups come together through conquest into a colonial structure of coercive power with an unequal distribution of political rights and economic resources (cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011:199).

A conquest may take place in different forms, but can for example involve settlement of a territory by an economically superior group; this brings different cultures and members of those cultures in contact with each other. The racial divisions of the colonies have an impact on the home society of the colonial power as well, and the racial thinking influences the attitudes, both official and popular, of the public. In the early stages of migration, the public's attitudes towards immigrants are shaped by second-hand information (such as, family and friends), which creates stereotypes of those colonies. This causes "coloured" immigrants to be confined to low-paid jobs and limits opportunities for improvement instead of allowing them the opportunities they migrated for. This reflects that cultural differences rest on power differences.

The third theory, "racialized disclosure", focuses on the content and character of racial discourse itself and how the idea of 'race' is constructed from the ideologies of different groups. This theory shifts the attention to the cultural construction of identities and looks at "race" as *'a social construct that enters into the formation of collective identities'* (Fulcher and Scott, 2011:200). Individuals can be forged into a collectivity based on particular characteristics defined by the individual themselves or others. The traits people have in common are a result of the process of how identity is constructed; the diverse racial identities are therefore constantly being formed and re-formed. We live in a pluralistic world of competing constructions and any individual or group identity will therefore be syncretic, or "hybrid". "Hybridity", a term coined by Homi Bhaba (1994, cited in Fulcher and Scott, 2011), has therefore become a way of understanding the construction of identities from contradictory cultural sources. Social identity may thus be seen as 'an unstable synthesis of diverse ideas that can be sustained only through rhetorical and textual devices aimed at the accounts and practices through which discourses are reproduced' (Fulcher and Scott, 2011:200). Racial identity is therefore culturally complex.

In conclusion, the word "race" is hard to define. This essay looked at two different approaches to defining "race": biologically and socially. It then looked at three different theories associated with "race"; these were "race and citizenship", "race and colonialism" and "racialized disclosure".

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'Organised' crime in the UK is, in fact, largely 'disorganised'. Discuss.

Bethany McCarthy

This essay will be exploring the concept of "organised" crime and the extent to which it is occurring within the United Kingdom. In addition, it will be evaluating the criminal activity involved with regards to whether it is "organised" or "disorganised". It will also look at what is meant by organised crime in terms of the definition and examples. Furthermore, it will discuss different criminological approaches to organised crime. Organised crime is an important issue within the UK for many reasons. It has, for a long period of time, attracted the attention of governments as well as law enforcement agencies, who regard it as a major policy issue (Wright, 2006). The cost of organised crime in the UK, both economic and social, amounts to billions of pounds a year, having a major impact on the country. For example, organised fraud alone costs the UK £8.9 billion a year (Mills et al, 2013). Within the UK, organised crime is often defined as a group of individuals who intend to commit crime with the motivation of gaining money. Usually the crime is committed with elements of planning, coordination and control going in to it (Mills et al, 2013).

Defining organised crime is an important issue, as without a proper definition, it is difficult to punish the offenders. In addition, a definition is needed in order to analyse it. However, the term "organised crime" is defined in a variety of different ways, as there is no one agreed definition (Newburn, 2013). There is often a disagreement over the usefulness of the concept of organised crime. Despite this, there are some similarities that can be picked out of multiple definitions of organised crime. Many definitions emphasise the organisation of the group's members as well as the group's utilisation of violence in order to achieve goals and make financial gain (Wright, 2006).

It was the 1960's that saw the start of these long and widespread debates over the meaning of the term organised crime. Some definitions of organised crime have legal aims. These definitions seek to improve the method that both states and law enforcement agencies use in order tackle the problems the activity of organised crime creates (Wright, 2006). In 2011, the European Commission and Europol produced a list of eleven different criteria for organised crime. In order for a crime to be defined as "organised" it must contain at least six of the characteristics from the list. In particular there are four characteristics, which definitely have to be present for the definition to be put in place. This list of criteria includes being motivated by profit and power, activity that takes place over a long period of time and utilising a business-like structure (Croall, 2011). Croall (2011) suggests that this definition is useful as it provides a reliable indicator of what is seen to be the general characteristics of organised crime.

A further issue surrounding the classification of organised crime is that it does not necessarily mean crimes that have been organised (Wright, 2006). For example, a crime such as a burglary usually requires the defendant to plan and organise beforehand, however this type of criminal activity is not regarded by either criminologists, or by the law, as "organised crime" (Wright, 2006). Therefore, this makes it hard to distinguish between what crimes are to be included under the definition of organised crime and what should not be included.

The term "organised crime" largely focuses on the activities of criminal syndicates and is traditionally associated with forms of gangsterism such as "The Mafia", which originated in Italy (Newburn, 2013). This stereotype of organised crime, which was developed in the United States during the early to mid-twentieth century, has dominated both the criminological and general perspectives of what this area of crime is (Newburn, 2013). It is argued by Hobsbawm (1959) that the term "Mafia" represents three clear characteristics. First is behaviour based on both courage and toughness. The second characteristic of these groups, defined by Hobsbawm, is a boss that organises the group and provides them with a form of protection. The final trait of these groups is that they control the local community in which they live (Hobsbawm, 1959).

However as "The Mafia" is far less prominent in Britain than it is in the United States, or other European countries such as Italy, it is hard to generalise this model to Britain, because the experience of organised crime is very different (Croall, 2011). In addition it makes it difficult to analyse organised crime in Britain as the term derives from another country, making the term inapplicable to the UK (Croall, 2011).

Although the Mafia is not usually associated with the UK, other criminal syndicates have operated within Britain. Starting around the 1980's, British concerns over organised crime became "Americanised" due to the growing fears of criminal organisations emerging in Britain (Croall, 2011). This includes Chinese Triad gangs whose criminal activities involve drug dealing, violence, money laundering and extortion. Furthermore, within the UK there are Columbian groups who are also involved in the drug trade, as well as Indian and Pakistani groups involved in the importation of certain drugs such as heroin and throughout the UK are also participating in money laundering activities (Croall, 2011).

The notion of organised crime falls into three distinct categories: firstly, the supply of illicit services. These services attempt to satisfy the public demand for activities such as sex and gambling as well as money. A crime carried out to supply these illicit services often includes "loan sharking" which is the lending of money to people with a high interest rate; this interest rate is typically much higher than that permitted by law (Albanese, 2011). In addition, organised prostitution is a typical crime committed to satisfy the public's demand for sex. The second category of organised crime is the supply of illicit goods. This is where criminals supply the public with items that cannot be obtained through legitimate means. The most common type of illegal supply is the distribution of drugs; this is because of the huge demand of drugs such as marijuana, cocaine and heroin across the world. As these drugs are illegal in most countries to both possess and distribute, they are obtained illegally (Albanese, 2011). The supply of illegal goods can also include the distribution of stolen property such as mobile phones, jewellery and guns, for which there is also a high demand (Albanese, 2011). The final proposed category of organised crime is the access to legitimate business. For example, labour racketeering, which involves using force or threats in order to obtain money for ensuring jobs (Albanese, 2011:8). Each of the three categories of organised crime illustrated above, take place within the UK. This shows that organised crime is prevalent within the United Kingdom.

Although the term "organised crime" was not utilised in Britain until the 1990's (Carrabine et al, 2014), there is still a long history of organised criminal behaviour within Britain with pickpocketing being one of the earliest forms of organised criminal activity (McIntosh, 1975). After this came the eighteenth and nineteenth- century highwayman, armed robbers and travelling gangs (Croall, 2011). However, British organised crime is mainly viewed as having its roots in the "hard man" gang culture; such gangs were located in large cities such

as Liverpool, Newcastle and Leeds as well as traditional family firms (Carrabine et al, 2014). Furthermore, changes that occurred after the First World War, such as the increase in immigration, in particular refugees, meant that more people were settling into criminal economies and used illegal opportunities in order to survive within the UK.

Between the 1920's and 1930's organised crime took place in the form of illegal street gambling, the most significant, according to Newburn (2013) being horse racing. Gangs, also known as "local firms", from cities such as London, Manchester and Glasgow, controlled the racetracks and would rent out space to the bookmakers at high prices in order to gain a profit. However, the major profits that these gangs were attaining created a violent market place as rival gangs competed for control over the racecourse (Hobbs, 2013).

Likewise to the First World War, the Second World War in the 1940's also brought with it some development of organised criminal activity, in the form of black market trade of rationed goods such as food, clothes and alcohol (Croall, 2011). The way that these criminal activities were managed illustrates organisation, hierarchy and control, therefore showing that "organised crime" in Britain is, or at least was at some point, greatly organised rather than disorganised.

London in the 1950's and 1960's is the period of time and area that is most associated with high-profile gangs in Britain (Carrabine et al, 2014). Around this time, two of most famous gangs were operating entirely in London. These were the Kray twins and The Richardsons. The Kray twins, who are often described as dominating organised crime in the East End, were involved in both legal and illegal activities throughout their lives, which would always be accompanied by the threat of, or use of violence (Newburn, 2013). The Richardsons, often seen as the opposing gang to the Krays, had legitimate businesses in scrap metal as well as illegitimate dealings in long-firm fraud (Carrabine et al, 2014). The Adams family, also known as the "A Team", were a criminal organisation driven by localised interpretations of global markets. The criminals were involved in international trading such as drug and gun running as well as suspected involvement in a number of murders. The case of the Adams Family illustrates a major change in the field of organised crime as it shows the emergence of transnational organised crime (Newburn, 2013). Newburn (2013) presents the idea that each of these criminal gangs had no unifying structure to them, implying that the gangs are not controlled but are in fact disorganised as a whole.

Discovering where organised crime is occurring can be hard as the criminals often use legitimate businesses as a front to disguise their illegitimate dealings. This is because they need a way for customers to access their services; as a result they set up legitimate businesses. These legal businesses are more often than not set up in order to illegally launder money by investing in them. This therefore makes differentiating between legal and illegal businesses very hard (Croall, 1998). In addition it makes figures on organised crime invalid, as the true extent of how much organised crime is actually occurring is unknown (Croall, 1998). An example of this is Glasgow's organised crime groups, who are involved in illegal businesses such as the drugs trade but are also involved in legitimate businesses such as taxi firms and security businesses (Croall, 2011). Having these different forms of businesses arguably illustrates some form of organisation within these groups (Croall, 2011). However, it could be argued that this is an unsystematic structure and is therefore disorganised (Wright, 2006).

There are many models of organised crime that focus on the nature of organised criminal activity as well as the criminal groups themselves. The hierarchal model of organised crime is often referred to as the "corporate model" of organised crime (Albanese, 2011). The model emphasises the hierarchal structure within organised groups and states that the criminal activities are conducted by higher up authorities and carried out by those lower down in the hierarchy. The majority of research carried out on hierarchical structures within criminal groups mainly focuses on Mafia conspiracy theories and therefore views organised crime as being controlled by structured groups. Mafia families are tightly knit networks, which have a formal and hierarchical structures, each member has allocated roles and membership is limited (Newburn, 2013). However, there are several problems with this model of organised crime (Newburn, 2013). Firstly, there is little evidence to suggest that the Mafia or similar groups exist within the UK, so it could be argued that the hierarchal model cannot be applied to the UK, but can only be applied to America. Therefore organised crime may be well structured and organised within America, although this may not be the case for the UK (Albanese, 2011). Furthermore, it appears that there is little structure within these groups and they are largely fragmented. In addition, criminal organisations are more involved in violence and conflict rather than cooperation and controlled actions (Newburn, 2013).

The disorganised crime thesis argues against the control and hierarchical structure within groups of criminal organisations. It focuses on how the criminal groups operate as well as looking into the internal social relationships (Wright, 2006). Empirical studies that have looked at organised crime have found that within the groups there is a lack of control and disjointed organisational structures, thus illustrating that these groups are largely disorganised.

Contemporary criminal organisations are very different to the past organisations in that they no longer conform to the bureaucratic theory (Wright, 2006). In comparison to organised crime within the 20th century, this area of crime is far more diverse. For example, the expansion of the drugs market led to diversification amongst drug trafficking. This in turn led to increased violence and competition between groups. Changes in organised crime may lead to confusion and therefore result in disorganisation, particularly in the drugs trade (Wright, 2006). Reuter (1985) found that among organised criminal groups that he studied; the majority did not fit the hierarchical model but instead illustrated a lack of structure and were highly fragmented. This led Reuter (1985) to define "organised crime" as a "disorganised phenomenon".

In conclusion, it is evident from the information above that organised crime within the United Kingdom was once organised, with a hierarchical structure. However more contemporary forms of organised crime no longer conform to these structures and can be viewed as being largely disorganised. This debate over the nature of organised crime being either organised or disorganised is still a concern to many criminologists and as a result has not entirely been resolved (Wright, 2006). It is also clear that hierarchal, controlled and well-structured criminal groups do exist in other countries, and in particular the United States with their Mafia Families. There is however little evidence to suggest that these networks exist in the United Kingdom, and the more common criminal groups within the UK are mainly fragmented and disorganised (Wright, 2006).

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Explain and evaluate the difficulties in defining and punishing the crimes of the powerful

Amie Mills

When asked to define the typical crime, more often than not, people refer to working class street crime. However, there is a vast spectrum of crime which largely contains the aberrant crimes of the powerful, known as white collar crimes. Sutherland defined white-collar crime as a 'crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation' (1949, cited in Berger, 2011:3). This definition has been criticised by Tappan (1947) for being too loose, too vague, and for attaching the term "crime" to activities that did not necessarily break any criminal laws. He suggests that Sutherland's "white collar criminal", 'may be a boor, a sinner, a moral leper, or the devil incarnate, but he does not become a criminal through sociological name-calling unless politically constituted authority says he is' (Tappan, 1947:101). Therefore, this suggests that the definition of white collar crimes should be condensed, to include those criminal behaviours that are generally overlooked as criminal behaviour.

The evolution of the concept "white collar crime" has led to a variety of definitions and types, corporate crimes for example are defined as 'illegal behaviours that are committed by employees of a corporation to benefit the corporation, company or business' (Clinard and Quinney, 1973, cited in Payne, 2012:37). Whereas Ross (1907) draws upon the concept of a "criminaloid", meaning, 'society's most dangerous foe, more redoubtable by far than the plain criminal, because he sports the livery of virtue and operates on a titanic scale' (cited in Payne, 2012:35). Such varied definitions tend to overlap, thus making it extremely difficult to determine the true extent of white collar crime. The term white collar crime is often confused with the notion of corporate crime; however there is a very distinct difference between the two. White collar crime is concerned with the crime of an individual that benefits themselves, whereas corporate crime benefits the whole company or organisation.

When defining and punishing crimes of the powerful, Sutherland (1949) notes an issue is "establishing whether a criminal offence has actually been committed". With most crimes the main suspects and intent; or "mens rea" is obvious, for example, when a house is burgled, the offence is apparent – one person forcibly entered someone's house and seized their property. In the case of corporate crime, the offence is much more complicated, as there is usually a diffusion of responsibility such as the process of banking and transactions over a considerable period of time, which involves a whole range of networks, comprising of individuals such as, lawyers or bankers. A famous example is the major fraud scandal conducted by Robert Maxwell. This case involved a large number of individuals, and a network of companies and bank accounts which transferred assets over numerous amounts of years (BBC, 2001). This example of corporate crime therefore suggests that the framework of crime is much more complex, meaning that it is difficult to define and punish the crimes of the powerful.

Corporate crimes, in particular, are extremely difficult to define and punish. For example, if somebody is stabbed while walking down the street, it is clear who the offenders are; in such incidences the public are typically notified by the media that a crime has taken place.

In contrast, corporate crimes are carried out under the cover of normal occupational routines; this helps to hide them from the public view thus meaning they get little media condemnation. Therefore, the low visibility of white collar crimes contributes to how it is difficult to define and punish the crimes of the powerful. A prime example of one of the most notorious corporate crimes in America is the Enron scandal. Under the leadership of Kenneth Lay, Enron claimed to be making billions of dollars by 'cooking the books' (Berger, 2011:1). Lay and his executive associates were funnelling millions of company dollars to themselves through an interlocking network of some three thousand corporate subsidies. The problem was that Enron was hiding a massive debt, and in 2001, investors lost about sixty billion dollars, including pensions and retirement savings of thousands of people, among them, Enron employees who were prohibited from selling their stocks. As a result of the limited liability status of the Enron Corporation, only a small amount of the money lost was ever returned. Arguably, Lay's biggest failing was giving too much control to his fellow executives, while, employees claim 'he was out lobbying for deregulation and tending to his charitable and civic endeavours' (Berkowitz, 2002:5). The significance of tending to his charitable trusts was a notable factor in disguising Enron's transgressions of laws and regulations; this meant that they were able to commit corporate crimes with low visibility from the public.

Nonetheless, the private nature of corporate crime also contributes to its invisibility. For example, the police typically conduct surveillance of public areas and patrolling of the streets, this means it is difficult to see what is going on in the private spaces of corporate life. Levi (1987) found that 'only 538 of the UK's 120,000 police officers were dedicated to the "Fraud Squad"', this therefore suggests a reflection of the governments' priorities' (cited in Muncie and McLaughlin, 1996:252). Because of this focus on street crime, it is commonly believed that street crime has a more damaging effect on society; however, corporate crime is far worse.

The cost of corporate crimes is, without doubt, greater than the cost of conventional street crime such as violence or theft. For example, Jeffrey Reiman (2007):

> Estimates that the financial costs of white collar crime now exceed $400 billion annually […] He notes as well that far more people are now seriously harmed each year from occupational hazards than from ordinary street crime (cited in Berger, 2011:2).

Overall, it is concluded that about 55,000 workers die due to occupational related diseases and workplace hazards, whereas another 2 million get sick or injured each year. In relation to defining and punishing the crimes of the powerful, offences related to health and safety (of employees, the public and consumers) are only likely to be viewed as breaches of regulatory codes. This therefore means that corporations may be sued for damages, but are highly unlikely to face any criminal prosecution. A prime example of a corporate "accident" is the Bhopal disaster. In 1984, an accident occurred at a US-owned pesticide plant in India where some 27 tonnes of deadly gas was leaked into the atmosphere. The leak was attributed to by a poorly designed safety system that either malfunctioned or was switched off. It is estimated to have killed 5,000 people and injuring 200,000 others (Marteel-Parrish and Abraham, 2013). It had been considered that Union Carbide was blameworthy for the "accident" because they had ignored warnings from engineers following inadequate maintenance and safety equipment. A top Union Carbide executive was charged for manslaughter, but sought refuge in the United States, therefore avoiding prosecution; whereas twenty-five years later, other executives were charged for criminal negligence and

served a two year sentence. Pearce and Tombs (1993) concluded that 'despite public commitments to health, safety and environmental protection [...] Union Carbide created, or allowed to develop, the conditions whereby an accident was possible' (cited in Muncie and McLaughlin, 1996:237). This therefore suggests that the "accidental" crimes of the powerful are extremely difficult to punish. This is supported by Muncie and McLaughlin (1996:230) who suggest:

> In ordinary crime the key issue is to prove intent to cause harm; white-collar offences may result in harm, but because this was not the primary intention of the offender such actions do not usually come into attention of the criminal justice system.

This therefore serves a real problem when trying to define and punish crimes of the powerful.

In addition, the difficulty of accrediting the blame for crimes of the powerful on any particular individual becomes clear when the question of accountability for a major disaster arises. The Herald of Free Enterprise capsized in 1987 and a total of 193 lives were lost because the doors of the ferry failed to close, thus causing the car deck to flood (Owen, 2012). The disaster caused much controversy in about who was to blame; the crew members on duty, their commanding officers, regulatory authorities or the company owning the boats? It was overall concluded that even though various prosecutions were initiated following "corporate negligence", the manslaughter case could not be attributed in the application of criminal law. Therefore, this examines that a problem with defining and punishing the crimes of the powerful arises from the division of labour and hierarchal structure of the firm (in this incidence, P&O European Ferries) makes the case too complex and ambiguous. It is therefore difficult to determine who is responsible for such an offence. In relation to the Herald of the Free Enterprise, the case could not be resolved, this thus suggests that crimes of the powerful are difficult to define and punish due to lack of responsibility.

Another difficulty in defining and punishing crimes of the powerful is that a victim may be unaware that a crime has taken place. If the victim is unaware they've been victimised, then the question arises how the offenders can be punished. This is often found in incidences of health professionals as criminals, especially when a victim has consented to a crime. A potential example of this is when a doctor recommends a treatment and the victim agrees because they trust their expertise. The abuse of trust in the medical profession was demonstrated in the extreme case of Harold Shipman, who, over twenty-three years, is believed to have murdered at least 215 of his patients. In addition to this, he had been previously convicted of obtaining Pethidine by the means of forgery and deception. This kind of offending has been referred to as "medico-crime" (Hesketh, 2003, cited in Carrabine et al, 2014). This example further emphasizes that a major issue with the crimes of the powerful is that we expect to trust professionals, and on the basis of this, we expect to entrust them with our health, finances, and so on. This argument is supported by Sutherland (1949) as he notes, 'white collar crimes violate trust and therefore create distrust: this lowers morale and produces social disorganisation' (cited in Carrabine et al, 2014:247).

The issues with trying to define medical crimes as white collar crimes are that the crimes they commit within their occupation are vast ranging. Some may include professionals abusing their positions and diverting medicines for personal use, such as recreational

drugs. Medicines may also be stolen because they are of great value in the illegal trade of drugs. In recent years in the United Kingdom, health practitioners have claimed payments for home visits to patients and treatments that have not occurred from the National Health System. Statistically speaking, evidence has estimated that 'the American public was the victim of 2.4 million unnecessary surgical procedures per year, which resulted in a loss of $4 billion and in 11,900 deaths' (Coleman, 1994, cited in Hagan, 2012:297). Green (1997) refers to this type of white collar crime as "professional occupational crime"; this is defined as 'any act punishable by law that is committed through opportunity created in the course of an occupation that is legal' (cited in Friedrichs, 2002:245) In relation to this, health professionals have more "opportunity" to commit crimes due to the intimate nature of patient-doctor relationships as well as the vulnerability of people in their care. This makes it more difficult to detect and therefore punish the crimes of the powerful.

Punishing the powerful is seen to be an issue in the criminal justice system. This is often due to terms of corporate crime, they hold power to make laws and criminalize certain acts, and therefore they have the power to avoid the criminalization of their own activities. Sutherland (1949) noted:

> Corporations that engaged in harmful conduct were able to avoid the application of criminal law, and the consequent stigma associated with such application, because of their economic and political clout (cited in Berger 2011:7)

He argues that regardless of the consequence of the criminal offence, white collar criminals are less likely to be convicted in court. A difficulty in defining and punishing crimes of the powerful is the leniency of criminal courts towards white collar criminals. This is often the case because of personal appreciation and sympathy. For example, recently, Michael E. Peppel, the former chairman and chief executive officer of MCSi, pleaded guilty to conspiracy, money laundering and filing false documents. Overall Peppel was given a seven-day prison sentence because the judge ruled him as a "remarkably good man." The recommended sentence, however, was approximately eight to ten years imprisonment, based on the loss of 18 million dollars to shareholders (Henning, 2013). In support of this, Muncie and McLaughlin (1996:255) argue that the 'judge may sympathetically take into account the damage to a respectable reputation resulting from conviction and hence, impose a lesser sentence'. This statement implies that a person of lower social class is more likely to be prosecuted than a white collar criminal because they lack reputation, particularly in the forms of social capital.

Finally, it is difficult to punish the crimes of the powerful because they can use their resources to avoid detection, prosecution and to secure out-of-court settlements. Therefore in the incidence of actually facing criminal proceedings, they can afford good lawyers and skilled attorneys who will represent them as honest and respectable businessmen, thus suggesting that it is extremely difficult to punish the crimes of the powerful because of their social prestige.

To conclude, the crimes of the powerful are difficult to define and punish because the criminal law lacks sanctions for white collar crimes. For example, it has been found that 'less than two-thirds of cases are successfully prosecuted by the Serious Fraud Office' (Hope, 2008). Therefore, until a method of dealing with crimes of the powerful is devised, the criminal law will continue to demoralize, criminalize and incapacitate the poor and working class to reflect the true interests of the elite and the powerful.

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Why is it difficult to define the word 'race'?

Georgiana Nica

> The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea. It was a phase of this problem that caused the Civil War; and however much they who marched South and North in 1861 may have fixed on the technical points of union and local autonomy as a shibboleth, all nevertheless knew, as we know, that the question of Negro slavery was the real cause of the conflict. (Du Bois, 1903:13).

Even in our day, the problem of race is still accurate; there are still companies that will judge people who have a different skin colour and restaurants that will have customers who would not want to be served by people with a different skin colour. Racism is strongly connected with historical events, classes, society and political views; it can change over the years, but it is an on-going process:

> Over the past few decades, there has been a flowering of studies of racial and ethnic differences and their social meaning in various historical, social, political and economic contexts. Theoretical and political debates have raged during this time, and have sometimes led to bitter conceptual and political arguments. At the same time the analysis of race and racism has become an established field of study in a number of social science disciplines, most notably in sociology, political science, economics, anthropology, cultural studies and geography (Rex and Mason, 1986, cited in Solomos, 1993:13).

Even so, it is difficult to define exactly what race is without being recognised as a racist or anti-racist. Given that, this essay will discuss the further problem: finding the reason why it is difficult to provide an explanation for race and racism.

> Some scholars argue that the concept of race has no relevance for social analysis, while others have questioned whether racism exists as a unified category or whether it is a general term that is used to describe a variety of political and social discourses. (Solomos, 1993:14).

Robert Park (1950) defined race and racism as a type of relation between people from a society, who have different racial distinctions, especially linguistic ones. Even if he acknowledged the economic and social influences on the race issues, his focus was on the type of the relationship between races:

> Race relations, as that term is defined in use and wont in the United States, are the relations existing between peoples distinguished by marks of racial descent, particularly when these racial differences enter into the consciousness of the individuals and groups so distinguished, and by so doing determine in each case the individual's conception of himself as well as his status in the community (cited in Solomos, 1993:15).

Furthermore, Park (1950) and his supporters developed a cycle based on the differences every race had in order to define and identify racial differences. This method tried to incorporate all the different racial groups into one society with the same culture:

> The emphasis was on a "cycle of race relations", leading to the assimilation of different racial groupings into a common culture. The cycle was seen as consisting of four stages of contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation (cited in Solomos, 1993:15).

One of his followers, Gunnar Myrdal (1969) explained the history of black inequality and the racial society in the United States. He was very concerned with equal rights for everybody, despite their skin colour, and anticipated that the conflict between white and black people will eventually be diminished by assimilating black and white tradition in one community:

> Arguing forcefully for the integration of blacks into mainstream American life, Myrdal predicted that the process of integration and assimilation would eventually replace the processes of conflict and segregation (cited in Solomos, 1993:16).

Another approach to the concept of race was the one of Robert Miles (1982), who was influenced by the harshness of the political economy and the Marxian ideology. He believed that the concept of different races has no biological background and that we are all of one race. Therefore he destroyed the belief of race relations and was strongly determined to abrogate racism by eliminating the notion of race:

> I recognize that people do conceive of themselves and others as belonging to "races" and do describe certain sorts of situation and relations as being "race relations", but I am also arguing that these categories of everyday life cannot automatically be taken up and employed analytically by an inquiry which aspires to objective or scientific status (cited in Gilroy, 1987:22).

According to Miles (1984), race is just a subjective development, an imaginary form, which masks real and important economic and political relationships. He does not agree with black British writers who encourage the concept of race only to gain strength for a political movement, therefore this concept of race and racism should be dismissed not only because it is based on a political strategy but also because it can trigger a larger conflict among classes:

> The political and ideological reaction of those who remain the object of racism will be increasingly a movement towards a complete break with the struggles and institutions that arise of out production relations. Once this happens, the politics of "race" are likely to predominate amongst those excluded by racism, leading to a strategy of absolute autonomy (cited in Gilroy, 1987:23).

"Race Relations in Sociological Theory" is John Rex's most influential work in the problem of race. He believes that the idea of race is strongly encouraged by the existence of specific social conditions, such as frontier conflicts, the problem of unfree men and women, the issues of slaves, class definition and exploitation, different classes who can obtain power easily, cultural diversity, the problem of migration and finite interaction between groups of people with different cultural backgrounds:

Race relations situations and problems have the following characteristics: they refer to situations in which two or more groups with distinct identities and recognisable characteristics are forced by economic and political circumstances to live together in a society. Within this they refer to situations in which there is a high degree of conflict between the groups and in which ascriptive criteria are used to mark out the members of each group in order that one group may pursue one of a number of hostile policies against the other. Finally, within this group of situations true race relations may be said to exist when the practices of ascriptive allocation of roles and rights referred to are justified in terms of some kind of deterministic theory, whether that theory be of a scientific, religious, cultural, historical, ideological or sociological kind (cited in Solomos, 1993:19).

Rex and Tomlinson (1979) were interested in two particular questions: the first one was about how black immigrants were accepted in the welfare state and to which extend they could exert their rights; the second question was related to the connection between racial inequality, black and white working class. Therefore, they conducted research with their associates in Handsworth to discuss the level to which immigrants had the same change to a high-class position as white workers. They demonstrated that even children who came from immigrant families were discriminated against and the immigrant workers were positioned in an underclass, which was placed outside the working class:

> The concept of underclass was intended to suggest […] that the minorities were systematically at a disadvantage compared with their white peers and that, instead of identifying with working class culture, community and politics, they formed their own organisations and became effectively a separate underprivileged class." (cited in Solomos, 1993:21).

The definition of the word "race" is not simple to explain, as the theories from above demonstrate. Each of them has a different opinion about what race is and how racism should be controlled or abolished. Racism has always existed and it is still found nowadays in some societies, but the real issue is whether it is a way to mask the political power, to avoid economic problems or there is something wrong with the society.

> The failure so far to tackle the roots of racism and racial inequality means that it is difficult to be optimistic about the likely future of racial relations. The need for urgent political action on this issue is clear, but there is no commonly accepted political basis for such action (Solomos, 1993:247).

There will be no difference in what the next century will bring in terms of racism, because the issue of race can take new forms no matter what the political, economic or religious matters of a country are:

> They may shift in their underlying presuppositions (for example, from biological to cultural racism, or from racial naturalism to racial historicism). They may even jettison the language of and any reference to race itself, whether covert or altogether. In short, the successes of such social movements often given rise and voice to new expressions, new forms, new structures of racist restriction (Goldberg, 2008:373).

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Explain and evaluate the difficulties in defining and punishing crimes of the powerful.

Christina Sewell

The most powerful governing forces in today's society are the state and corporations. Both have considerable powers to determine the laws they will abide by and those they will evade or disregard altogether, as well as to create new legislation for their benefit. Mackenzie (2006) states how crimes committed by these commanding forces are difficult to define as they are 'written into the social fabric itself' and so are ambiguous and harder to identify. Street crime, on the other hand, is clear and easily definable as it violates the 'social fabric' (2006:176). Furthermore, even when a crime of the powerful is defined, it is harder still to get funding in order to pursue justice (Croall, 2011) and determine the guilty party within the complex political and corporate systems.

There are debates within criminology about how to define crimes of the powerful, and whether it is right to define them at all. Mackenzie (2006) proposes that any critique of the crimes of the powerful must move beyond definitions that they themselves have defined in order to be notable. Hillyard et al (2004, cited in Carrabine et al, 2014) suggest the use of a "social harms" definition, which would study any activity that is damaging to society and the environment. However, Green and Ward (2009) argue that 'it is debasing the currency of criminology to label failures to pursue radical egalitarian policies as "crimes"' (2009: 205-206), as fraud, corruption and inequality will always be part of any capitalist society, however minutely (Fisse and Braithwaite, 1993). Other sources also suggest unifying corporate and state crimes under one banner. For instance, Kramer and Michalowski (1993, cited in Carrabine et al, 2014) suggest that corporate and state crime are intertwined and should be described in terms of "state-corporate" crime, to reflect how the state either facilitates or initiates the crimes committed by corporations. Similarly, Mackenzie (2006) defines corporate and state crime as "systematic crimes of the powerful", a unified elite together with the International Financial Institutions. I agree that the crimes of the state and corporations are very similar in scope and their effects on society, and need not generally be separated, though throughout the essay I will separate them to examine the difficulties of definition and punishment in their different organisational structures.

Defining crimes of the state is especially difficult as they 'claim the power to determine what is "just", who is a robber and who is a tax collector' (Green and Ward, 2004: 1). Thus, actions of the state can only be defined as officially criminal if it admits to breaking its own law (Green and Ward, 2004), in which case it is 'hoist by its own petard' (Mackenzie, 2006: 164). Such cases are very rare. This system is problematic because a state can then impose laws on acts that are contrary to its own interests, while committing such acts for its benefit (Chambliss, 2009) as it can 'shield off criminal labels' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 476).

Similarly, corporations also have the ability to dictate the laws they must abide by as they have the power and resources to lobby for "favourable legislation" (Hurst, 2013). In 2014, the pharmaceutical and health industry spent $177,322,753 on corporate lobbying alone (Centre for Responsive Politics, 2014). This results in legislation that benefits them, by allowing businesses to transfer their income to overseas accounts so as to avoid paying tax

(Hurst, 2013) and prioritise profits over the well-being of consumers. For example, Guatemala banned the image of healthy babies on Nestlé formula milk, which encouraged mothers in developing countries to feed their babies formula instead of breastfeeding, resulting in high infant mortality rates from unsanitary water (Mackenzie, 2006). However, they were forced to lift the ban when a US company Gerber Foods (backed by the US State Department), made a claim that the baby was not an advertisement but a trademark (Mackenzie, 2006). This disregard for the "Nestlé's Code" (promoted by UNICEF and the World Health Organisation for the safety of the infants (Mackenzie, 2006), demonstrates that though behaviours may seem "criminal" or at least unethical to the average person (Hurst, 2013), they can be legal and even supported by the state. Gilbert and Russell (2002, cited in Croall, 2011: 335) explain how corporations can exploit the loopholes that exist within the legal system and 'breach the spirit but not the letter of the law'.

Additionally, crimes of the powerful are difficult to define as the terminology used to describe "criminal" activities of corporations and states differs greatly from the language used in respect to street crime (Hurst, 2013). As Hurst (2013: 290) states, 'crime is often defined into existence', and white collar crimes such as tax evasion, fraud or money laundering are often referred to using "sanitized buzzwords" (Mackenzie, 2006) such as "misconduct" instead of "theft", causing it to sound less criminal (Hurst, 2013). Indeed, white collar criminals do not inherit the stigma that is attached to standard criminal behaviour and generally maintain their status (Punch, 1996). Similarly, when a state orders the removal of trade barriers that exist to protect developing countries, by calling it "structural adjustment" (Mackenzie, 2006) it legitimises actions that might otherwise be considered "crimes" or at least serious "social harms" (Carrabine et al, 2014).

Many sources have drawn attention to the fact that often crimes within corporations are difficult to define because they are not recognised as such, and may even have become accepted as standard practice (Gulati and Krawiec, 2004; Hurst, 2013; Croall, 2011). The regulations within these companies are often 'vague and ambiguous leaving room for multiple interpretations' (Hurst, 2013: 292). Thus, perpetrators may not even consider their behaviour as criminal as to them, it is just "business" (Croall, 2011). Gulati and Krawiec (2004) suggest that the scandalous accounting fraud of Enron, Xerox, Tyco and other big US corporations was not only the fault of CEOs and CFOs, but also of the 'large groups of managers and employees apparently complicit or willfully ignorant' (2004: 787). As many other companies developed the same "culture" of corruption, they assert that there is a more fundamental problem that goes beyond "a few greedy executives" (Gulati and Krawiec, 2004). As businesses are under pressure from shareholders to compete with rival companies (Pearce, 2009) there may be a motive to commit illegal acts in order to achieve legitimate "organisational goals" (Hurst, 2013; Green and Ward, 2009) and obtain maximised profits and growth (Pearce, 2009). Corporate cultures also value economic "winners" very highly (Hurst, 2013) and these standards promote greed in the form of the "bonus culture" and it may seem necessary to justify such high salaries by falsifying figures (Croall, 2011). However, the "crimes" and greed of these corporations are becoming increasingly recognised by the public as the cause of economic troubles (Gulati and Krawiec, 2004).

Some crimes of the state in the West also can also go unrecognised as they blend in with the demands of a capitalist society. Chambliss (2009) suggests that representatives of the state are under pressure to maintain an economic climate and international relations in order to compete with other global powers. In this way, an illegal act against its subjects or an assassination plot can be legitimised as a necessary measure to 'preserve democracy'

(Chambliss, 2009: 52). For example, the term "torture" was redefined to mean 'intended to stress but not to cause psychological or physical damage' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 463) allowing for its use in the war on terror despite employing many techniques that would usually be considered torturous (2014). In order to not to breach the Geneva Conventions, the torture victims were renamed 'unlawful combatants' as opposed to prisoners of war (Carrabine et al, 2014: 464). However, Mackenzie (2006: 168) cautions against viewing the acts of state officials as a 'nefarious conspiracy', as they are products of an educational system in a culture that values certain economic and political beliefs, which they merely reproduce in their roles. In this way, Mackenzie (2006:169) argues, they are 'more or less well-intentioned'. This in turn suggests that, as with corporate crime, the problem lies much deeper than a lack of a clear definition of state crime and has more to do with the broken and corrupt system of values in which it finds itself.

Another way in which defining crimes of the powerful is problematic is in defining the victims of such crimes. Often white collar crimes may be "invisible" and are hardly noticeable to the victim but are very profitable to the perpetrators (Croall, 2011). For example, though the consequences of corporate tax havens are not publicised or "visible" (Hurst, 2013), they cost British taxpayers £18.5 billion a year (Croall, 2011). In other cases, even when the victim has experienced some form of harm, they may not acknowledge it as a crime but as a 'fatal accident, incident or complaint' (Croall, 2011: 337), again demonstrating the influence of the 'sanitised buzzwords' (Mackenzie, 2006:176) used by the powerful. They can however have devastating effects on the lives of the victims. In the case of the "Herald of Free Enterprise", 192 passengers died due to mismanagement and careless adherence to health and safety procedures (Croall, 2011).

Likewise, defining the victims of state crimes can be difficult because of the scale and indirect effects of some crimes, such as poverty and inequality (Hurst, 2013). The victims of state crimes are difficult to identify both because of legislation that justifies "collateral damage" and also because they may be 'socially and geographically distant' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 465). Both corporate and state "crime" on the level that result in noticeable victimisation of the vulnerable causes disillusionment with social institutions and affects the wider society, as 'the damage radiates from the immediate victims to many more' (Hurst, 2013: 290).

In regard to corporations, there are many barriers that obstruct even determining who the guilty party is. The structure of legal liability tends to immunise the corporate managers from prosecution as the corporation itself is tried and takes the punishment (Fisse and Braithwaite, 1993). Corporations are recognised as individuals rather than what Pearce (2009:113) suggests should be a "shareholder's republic", thus their 'internal life and actions [are] equally private, privileged and unregulated'. Moreover, in the United States, corporations have certain rights that limit regulation and investigation from the government as part of the constitution (Pearce, 2009). This makes it incredibly arduous and costly to determine who within the corporation, if anyone, is responsible for a crime. For example, in 1987 when the "Herald of Free Enterprise" sank, no one was held accountable as the company 'could only be found guilty if its "controlling minds" had been guilty' (Croall, 2011:344). Hurst (2009) also suggests that as corporate culture promotes opportunism and success, companies may even deliberately shield valuable directors and managers from criminal allegations. In theory, when a corporation does face a sanction, the law should ensure they use their disciplinary systems to uncover the individuals responsible, though this rarely happens today (Fisse and Braithwaite, 1993).

There is sometimes even more difficulty in determining who is guilty of a crime in the context of state crime. Green and Ward (2009) suggest that it is harder to distinguish individual and organisational crime within government agencies and the police force deviance such as bribery, which can be used selfishly at the expense of the organisation, or as a tool to achieve a legitimate organisational objective. States also have the power to deny any accusations of criminality which makes further investigation very difficult, allowing them to 'silence their critics, hide from prosecution and forget their activities' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 463). Mackenzie (2006:165) suggests that in reference to crimes such as the exploitation of developing countries through national debts, the crime should be attributed to the state and not the International Financial Institutions for 'action or inaction'.

Additionally, the cost and resources required to build a case against a corporation or state agency make it difficult to punish crimes of the powerful, and gaining funding to do so is unlikely (Croall, 2014). Fisse and Braithwaite (1993: 1) argue that individual accountability is often overlooked, as corporate liability is a 'rough-and-ready-catch-all device'. For example, the Hutton affair in the United States, in which two executives were deemed responsible for the fraud by the Justice Department, but they were not charged. This is because the court acknowledged that the prosecution would take years to complete, and they would not secure such a large financial settlement (Fisse and Braithwaite, 1993).

When crimes are committed by the powerful, be it the state or corporations, their punishment is treated differently to common crimes because of their civilised, higher class appearance and the gentle terminology used toward their "misconduct". For instance, as corporate crimes are generally subject to civil law and their cases handled by agencies (Hurst, 2013), the favourable way to deal with it is through education and persuasion, with punishment as a last resort (Croall, 2011). When corporations are found guilty, they may be subject to a fine, which is insignificant compared to the resources of most corporations and usually amounts to nothing more than a "minor tax" (Pearce, 2009). When an individual is found guilty for a white collar crime, Gulati and Krawiec (2004) maintain that longer jail times would not be effective due to the unlikeliness of receiving a jail sentence, and it would not be a strong enough deterrent. In the 1980s crisis, the executives convicted of fraud received lighter sentences than that of burglars. There have been a number of high-profile arrests since the public scandals of the CEOs of Enron and Xerox, who received sentences of 24-25 years (Hurst, 2013). Punishing crimes of the state is equally problematic, and it is very rare because of the difficulties in defining accountability. In the Watergate scandal, issuing jail sentences proved to encourage people involved to tell the truth (Editors, 1989). However, the ruling decision not to jail Oliver North (a key player in running the secret war), created the impression that justice works differently for those in a position of power (Editors, 1989).

Most sources agree that as punishment is difficult to administer and inefficient in dealing with crimes of the powerful, that prevention and regulation are more beneficial. The media and organisations such as WikiLeaks make it increasingly difficult for corporations and the state to deny offences and may regulate their behaviour as the public holds them responsible (Hurst, 2013). Gulati and Krawiec (2004) suggest greater regulation and more effective "gatekeepers". In the past, the public could trust a lawyer or accountant with a particular reputation to judge an organisation, though in recent years they have become equally as untrustworthy as the executives of these corporations. Regulation within state agencies and corporations, and a decentralisation of power from the state and IFIs would allow for greater accountability.

In conclusion, there are many difficulties facing the definition and punishment of crimes of the powerful. The overarching issue is in defining accountability within structures that are very complex and prone to using specialised language to legitimise actions that would be otherwise be considered immoral or "criminal" (Hurst, 2013). The current legal system used to prosecute corporations allows for limited liability and encourages greed and risk-taking (Gulati and Krawiec, 2004). Thus, the main difficulties in defining and punishing crimes of the powerful is the ambiguity of the current rules in place and the systems used to punish crimes when they are defined (Gulati and Krawiec, 2004; Mackenzie, 2006).

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Explain and evaluate the difficulties in defining and punishing crimes of the powerful

Hayley Wood

"Crimes of the powerful" is an umbrella term that refers to a variety of activities. These include occupational crimes, professional crimes, white collar crimes, state crimes, environmental crimes and corporate crimes, all of which overlap. This blurred distinction between the types of crimes of the powerful is one of the major reasons why defining and punishing such activities is so problematic. In this essay, I will discuss some of the attempts made to define such activities and the limitations of these definitions. I am using the term "activities" as opposed to "crimes" when referring to the "crimes of the powerful", as many of the activities engaged in are not seen as illegal in the eyes of the law but arguably should be. This ambiguity between the legal and illegal is another problem when attempting to define and punish crimes of the powerful, which will be discussed. I will then go on to look at three main obstacles that make punishing crimes of the powerful incredibly difficult. These are visibility, victimisation and diffusion of responsibility, as identified by Muncie and McLaughlin (2001).

The first problem with defining and punishing crimes of the powerful is the vastness of offences that the term encompasses and the lack of clear and distinct categories of crimes of the powerful. Arguably, the first attempt at studying crimes of the powerful was made by Sutherland (1949). He attempted to provide a broad definition of white-collar crime, an area that had been largely ignored in criminological study prior to his research. White-collar crime was defined as 'a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation' (Sutherland, 1949: 9). This definition does not attempt to measure white-collar crime based on specific offences but rather on the context that an offence is committed in. This is a major strength as it is not limited to the time of its inception and is still a widely used definition in today's society. Since 1949, developments in technology have created an entirely new sphere of crime; cyber crime. Sutherland's definition can be applied to these new technologically induced crimes, as it is not specific to certain offences. However, this strength is also its limitation as it is not specific to any types of crime. By simply stating that white-collar crime is crime committed by an individual in the course of their occupation means there is an overlap with other branches of crimes of the powerful that share very similar characteristics.

Corporate crime has been defined as 'illegal acts or omissions [...] which are a result of deliberate decision-making or culpable negligence within a legitimate or formal organisation'. (Tombs and Whyte, cited in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 81). This definition appears fairly restrictive to certain types of crimes such as financial crimes, crimes against consumers and crimes against the environment. That is until organisational and professional crime is defined; 'offending or deviance committed by or within organised structures, groups or associations' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 238). When both of these definitions are compared to Sutherland's (1949) definition of white-collar crime, very few distinctions can be made. Evidently financial crimes, crimes against consumers and crimes against the environment are not exclusive to corporate crime, organisational and professional crime or white-collar crime, but rather span the boundary of all three. It is therefore difficult to establish a universal definition of crimes of the powerful because of

the broad range of crimes that are included. Could a single definition of crimes of the powerful be applied to such a vast range of offences? Furthermore, if a concrete definition of crimes of the powerful was developed, would the punishment for the broad spectrum of offences be the same? For example, would individuals or companies face the same punishment for both petty fraud and health and safety negligence resulting in death? It is unlikely that such a consensus will be achieved due to the complexity of defining and punishing crimes of the powerful.

A second issue when defining and punishing crimes of the powerful is the ambiguity of legal and illegal activities included when we refer to "crime". Tax avoidance is a prime example of this ambiguity. Although tax avoidance is not technically illegal in the United Kingdom, it is massively damaging to the economy and lowers the funds going into public services such as the NHS and the police. The financial damage caused by tax avoidance is grossly larger than the damage caused by most conventional crimes such as burglary or petty theft, however it is not criminalised. Sutherland's work on white-collar crime was confronted by criticisms for using the term "crime" in reference to activities that do not necessarily break the law (Tappan, 1947, cited in Carrabine et al, 2014). Should activities that are seen as morally criminal, such as tax avoidance and weapon manufacturing be criminalised? There is great debate surrounding this issue. Tombs and Hilliyard (2004) argue, only activities that break the law should be considered a crime whereas others argue that the concept of harm should be an indicator of criminality (cited in Croall, 2011). It is evidently extremely difficult to establish a definition of crimes of the powerful and to prosecute individuals or companies when there is such dispute over the legal and illegal nature of crimes.

There are many problems with the definitions of crimes of the powerful, as identified briefly above, which create problems when attempting to prosecute crimes of the powerful. However, even if an agreed universal definition of crimes of the powerful was developed, prosecuting these crimes would still be incredibly problematic. There are three main obstacles faced when punishing crimes of the powerful.

The first problem is visibility. Crimes of the powerful are most often concealed within legitimate businesses or careers and are therefore difficult to detect (Muncie and McLaughlin, 2001). Often crimes of the powerful are committed within the private sphere as opposed to highly criminalised conventional or "street" crimes. Conventional crimes are often committed in the public sphere where activities such as burglary or car theft are inherently obvious; there is a victim, possible witnesses and surveillance. Crimes of the powerful however, are the polar opposite of such street crimes as they can be virtually invisible. Companies may use their respectable reputations as a disguise to conceal any criminal behaviour (Muncie and McLaughlin, 2001). The recent tax scandals of Starbucks, Google and Amazon are robust examples of this. Starbucks (2014) claim to 'do business responsibly and help communities thrive' and they are connected to 33 individual companies, charities and organisations that help them to achieve this. This mission statement suggests that Starbucks is a hugely philanthropic and ethical company. However, according to BBC News (2012), since 1998 Starbucks made over three billion pounds and paid less than 1% corporation tax. Their reputation therefore concealed their tax avoidance for arguably over 15 years. An interesting point to add to this is that tax avoidance is not illegal in the eyes of the criminal justice system, which again is a massive issue when attempting to punish companies for arguably moral crimes as opposed to illegal activities.

The idea of visibility is closely linked to labelling theory, specifically Lemert's (1951) theory of primary and secondary deviance. If an individual or group of individuals engage in certain activities that remain undetected, for example, embezzling money from the company they work for, they do not consider themselves as criminal and neither does society (primary deviance). However, if this behaviour is detected, an individual or group will be labelled as a thief, untrustworthy or criminal by society (secondary deviance) (cited in Rock, 2012). The application of labelling theory in this context is heavily supported by the media representation of crime. Reports of violent crimes in the media are heavily overrepresented whereas crimes of the powerful are virtually invisible. This suggests that secondary deviance is only evident in conventional crimes and crimes of the powerful are simply primary deviance; they have therefore not been criminalised by society.

The second problem with punishing crimes of the powerful is victimisation. Often when corporate, environmental or white-collar crimes are committed, there is no direct relationship between the offender and the victim. Therefore, victims are often unaware of their victimisation (Nelken, 2012). Equally, there may be no victim at all. With no victims to report these crimes or victims being unaware of their victimisation, how will these crimes be detected? Health and safety violations are a robust example of this. If a manager neglects to follow health and safety procedures and an employee is injured, there is no direct relationship between the manager and the employee. The employee may not know they have been a victim of a crime at all and may blame themselves. Evidently this is a major problem with trying to punish crimes of the powerful and is one that is incredibly difficult to overcome.

This leads on to the third problem of punishing the crimes of the powerful which is diffusion of responsibility. Who is to blame for crimes committed by and within organisations? With almost all companies working within a hierarchical structure, at what level of this hierarchy should blame be placed? A good example that illustrates this diffusion of responsibility is the capsizing of the Herald of Free Enterprise in 1987 (Ship Disasters, 2012). The bow doors of the ferry were open when it began to sail and the ferry consequently began to flood and capsized, killing a total of 187 individuals. Mark Stanley was the individual in charge of closing the bow doors and was asleep at the time the ferry left the dock; he accepted responsibility for the incident. However, should the blame be put on this one individual? The chief officer who informed the captain the doors were closed saw a man in orange overalls doing checks on the ferry and assumed the doors were closed. The captain could not see the bow doors from where he was but proceeded to leave the dock regardless. The ferry had been overloaded and weighed more than regulations stated it should (Ship Disasters, 2012). At first glance, the captain, the chief officer and the individuals that loaded the ferry could all be held responsible for the capsizing of the ferry. With further investigation, it may be assumed that the blame could climb the hierarchy of P&O ferries and be placed at the very top. However, it was only seven crew members that were charged with gross negligence manslaughter. This is only one example of an incident involving a ferry and I have already identified numerous complications with assigning blame. This challenge grows when large scale, transnational companies commit crimes that span many years. How does the criminal justice system begin to assign blame to individuals of such a complex and large scale structure?

The media play a large role in assigning blame to individuals. In the report of the Herald of Free Enterprise disaster, the term "unlawful killing" was used to describe the deaths of 187 people, which seems to dehumanise these deaths. As pointed out by Wells (2001), many events that result in deaths, are described as "incidents" or "disasters" as opposed to

murder (cited in Croall, 2011). There is evidently an entirely different language surrounding crimes of the powerful that allow individuals or companies to deny blame entirely by using different terminology than the language used to describe conventional crimes. "Murder" is rarely used to describe crimes of powerful as this implies blame, unlike violent crime where an entirely different language is used to imply blame. In the Guardian article about the James Bulger murder, verbs such as "mutilated", "battered" and "violently attacked" were used to describe the incident (Sharratt, 1993). Evidently, crimes of the powerful often result in far more deaths than any violent or street crimes such as the Herald of free enterprise capsizing (Ship Disasters, 2012) and the Rana Plaza Bangladeshi textile factory collapsing (Parveen, 2014). However, their portrayal in the media often does not reflect this fact and adds to the argument that the powerful are not criminalised for far more damaging crimes.

The idea of the crimes of the powerful being almost impossible to define and punish is linked closely to Marxist theory. Pearce (1976) argues that the criminal justice system serves the interests of the ruling class by criminalising the crimes of the powerless (cited in Croall, 2011). By the criminal justice system and the media focusing on the crimes of the powerless, attention is diverted away from the crimes of the powerful and social order and control is maintained. This is illustrated by the earlier example of the media over representing violent and street crimes and the crimes of the powerful being almost invisible. This suggests that crime is therefore a social construction and Marxists would argue that crime was constructed by and for the powerful.

To conclude, this essay has only touched the surface of the many difficulties in defining and punishing crimes of the powerful. There are many factors influencing how crimes are defined such as the ambiguity of current definitions and the blurring between legal and illegal activities. There are also many factors influencing whether crimes of the powerful are punished or not such as visibility, victimisation and responsibility. One could argue that there is an overriding issue that links all of the factors together. This overriding issue is that crimes of the powerful are being defined and punished by the powerful. The criminal justice system, the government and law enforcement agencies are arguably all run by the powerful individuals that I have discussed throughout this essay, supporting the idea that crime is social construct. How can we ever expect society to criminalise crimes of the powerful in the same way that crimes of the powerless are criminalised if the people making and enforcing the laws are part of the former group?

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The Impact of Reading Fashion Blogs on Consumption

Sabrina Bullert

Introduction

Fashion blogs are a fairly miscellaneous topic area; typically associated with identity, consumption and social networks. Blogs themselves are a relatively recent development and can be defined as an online diary which seeks to establish communication with its followers (Walker Rettberg, 2014). I decided to conduct my research on the mentioned topic since I personally belong to the target audience of fashion blogs, embracing mainly young women. Also I noticed that there are only a limited number of scholarly papers addressing fashion blogs.

Existing literature mostly focuses on the bloggers perspective and neglects the blog readers. My purpose is to contribute to outline a reader based perspective in terms of how they perceive bloggers, how they communicate with them and how it impacts their consumption.

Literature Review

In sociological literature the concept of fashion is commonly associated with issues surrounding culture and identiy. Davis (1992) states fashion is based on social structure and culture and stimulates the psychological need of expressing identity; and is generally satisfied through consumption. Georg Simmel (cited in Sasatelli, 2007) differentiates between fashion – the need for both differentiation and for cohesion; and style which is the manifestation of internal perceptions.

As mentioned in the introduction, most literature about fashion blogs addresses the bloggers themselves especially links the personality of bloggers to their published content or their motivation driving their blog. Gill et al (2009) for instance describes how the personality of bloggers influenced the linguistic of their texts. Liu et al (2007) investigated motives of bloggers saying most of them were of intrinsic nature. Chittenden (2010) has undertaken a similar approach by focusing her research on teenage bloggers that seek to increase their social and symbolic capital by blogging.

Another theme originating in the blogger perspective stance tackles the effectiveness of fashion blogs. Sedeke (2012) evaluated basic characteristics of effectively perceived blogs, arguing that the most attractive bloggers are those the reader can personally relate to. Furthermore she claims that the strong network structure of blogs can be utilised as effective marketing tool for promotion based on the word-of-mouth principle.

Marketing and advertising is another branch within the fashion blog literature and has for instance been advocated by Matikainen (2012) who evaluated the attitude and feelings of readers towards heavy advertising in blogs. Her research inquiry pointed out that readers favoured an honest disclosure regarding sponsored products and also acknowledged a difference in perception depending on the readers' age.

Several scholars compared blogs with traditional media, for example Rocamora (2012) found that fashion blogs seem to gain an advantage over the magazines with the hypertextuality, the interconnection of information; however they still depend on the expertise and material provided magazines. Mackay and Lowrey (2007) compared the level of trust readers had in different form of media, with the result that trust in blogs in conditioned by being accustomed to them. Further it has been demonstrated that personal blogs are generally perceived to be more trustworthy than commercial blogs.

Another noteworthy research aim to compare blog readers' motivation with their responses has been the centre of Huang et al´s (2008) regression analysis. Overall one can derive the assumption that trust, associated with opinion acceptance, can be achieved through attracting readers by interacting with them and offering both entertaining and informative useful elements in the blog.

Findings

In order to establish a base for the underlying themes of the research inquiry – trust, communication and consumption behaviour; it is necessary to investigate the readers' general attitude towards fashion and their reasons to engage in it. A main concern for the research participants appeared to be improving their outer appearance, to be "well presented" as Participant B stated it. They both agreed on that this can be achieved by selecting an appropriate outfit and applying make up. They acknowledged that outfit-creation is a time consuming factor, for instance when planning to attend an important event Participant B admitted to "spend like a week before I go out" to organise her outfit.

A second element they pointed out was that fashion enables them to express their identity; Participant A explained "I try to like express myself as much as I can" by choosing clothes that "complements and suits the personality". Participant B further reinforced this argument "I think it's important for people to be individual, be themselves and show their personality through their clothes". Mentioned finding is consistent with scholar theories claiming individuals use fashion to symbolise their self and to communicate it to others (Davis, 1992). Wide attention has been achieved for the work of Georg Simmel who claims that signalising identity embraces both a need for cohesion on the one hand, and the need for differentiation on the other hand (Sasatelli, 2007).

As demonstrated above selecting the right clothes can be perceived as a rather difficult issue; I will argue based on the analysed interview data that blogs significantly assist in finding a solution for it. Several times I found hints within the data, whether explicitly articulated or not, that blogs serve as a source of inspiration for their readers, which can be seen in statements like "I always like to look for quirky styles and I find the blogs that have authentic styles". However Participant A expressed conflicting views about inspiration she gains from blogs, on different occasions during the interview. Initially she denied it – "I wouldn't say that their…. style sort of inspires me", whereas later on she reversed this statement saying "I go to blogs for sort of inspiration". This apparent contradiction could be interpreted that readers are not always fully aware of the dimension fashion blogs actually inspire them. Alternatively it is possibly that she tends to be resistant about the idea of being inspired based on a belief that deriving ideas from others is less socially desirable than being actively creative herself.

The degree of influence over the blog readers can only be comprehended if we make comparisons with the appreciation of other inspiration sources, and thus their respective

impact on the consumption behaviour. While both interviewed blog readers mentioned they feel inspired by people of public interest from the entertainment industry, for instance by members of their favourite band or socialites like Kim Kardashian, their further inspiration diverged. Participant A predominantly favoured people with an explicit fashion background, such as designers, models and also fashion magazines; that can further be reflected in her blog selection, as she states most of them have such a fashion background. Participant B on the other hand said she regarded ordinary people like "people on the streets" from those she can gain inspiration "in terms of experimenting" unlike from bloggers who are "quite set in their style". However she regards this as benefit since she and the other readership can rely on finding their preferred style on particular blogs.

As implied in a the former paragraph Participant A occasionally reads fashion magazines, Participant B on the contrary dismisses them as "unrealistic" based on their high pricing level of the presented clothing; and as "impersonal" and cold" since she believes everything illustrated is staged, and therefore less authentic. This issue of the phenomenon fashion blogs compared to fashion magazines has been discussed by Rocamora (2012), stating that there is a shift toward decentralisation regarding which media impacts fashion tastes. She further advances that fashion blogs that are in an advantaged position due to their new visibility, where '… independent blogs are often seen as the one space where real fashion, fashion as worn by real people, can be seen' (Rocamora, 2012: 102). This claim is matched by the impression articulated by Participant B "coming from the blogger I know that it's more realistic, and so it makes it more feasible, that I would actually recreate it as well".

The previous paragraph has illustrated that the degree to which readers can personally relate themselves to bloggers is significant to the overall impression they have of certain bloggers and thus the likelihood to follow them. Aspects which have been brought up by the interviewees were for instance social status, age and language. Although the term social status has not explicitly been mentioned itself, it has nonetheless been implied that the affordability of presented items on fashion blogs is an appealing criteria for the readers; and financial power can be regarded an associated element of social status. Participant A suggested that age is an additional determining factor to indicate how readers can relate to fashion bloggers – "my aunt […] actually runs her own blog as well, but I don't read it, she is already in her forties, fifties, so her perception of fashion is a bit different from mine for example".

The probably most essential point underlining the process of personal relation to the blogger lies within the blogger's overall identity and their lifestyle. Readers enjoy reading fashion blogs as they will be introduced to the blogger's personal life: "it's nice to see how each blogger develops in their life…and I think it's interesting to see how I can relate to that". Besides an interest to peek into other people's life, readers are looking for suitable role models among the bloggers with whom they can identify themselves. Participant B reports about a blogger she is following who encourages her readers to be loyal to themselves and admits her own weaknesses which "gives a lot of confidence to the society" compared to fashion blogs which promote "that particular idea of perfect". Overall the point of personal association with bloggers confirms Sedeke's (2012) findings that effective bloggers are the ones reader can identify themselves with.

The previous argument guides this analysis to the topic area of blogger communication, which divides the opinions of the research participants. Participant A indicated that she perceives communication by bloggers as "bit fake, because, I don't know, they just don't care about you" and further denied energetically having ever interacted with a blogger.

Participant B on the other hand regards communication and interaction as crucial for bloggers, in terms of" a lot of their success is based on how they talk to their fans, and I find while replying to their readers, they keep people interested". For her it enhances the feeling of being integrated in the blogger's life and to be part of a community, she even claims that "it's quite personal, a lot of them speak to their readers as if they were friends". The same as she likes blogs which appear to be approachable to their readers, she distances herself from bloggers who are the opposite and who she feels have "an aura of superiority".

In terms of interaction it has emerged the significant role of other social media platforms, such as Twitter and Instagram, but also YouTube. The interviewees indicated that these sites served as a platform to identify potential blogs they are interested in, but also as communication tool "if I *really* like something I will just reply to the Tweet".

Before moving to implications on consumption behaviour, the next section will evaluate whether readers trust fashion bloggers and their communication. Since trust emerges from social interaction, it is the belief that the other will thoughtfully consider you and will not act in any way to damage the relationship (Weber and Carter, 2003). A crucial aspect for fashion blogs is hereby the presence of advertisements. A study about advertising in fashion blogs has shown that readers overall hold a slightly negative biased opinion about adverts, but are willing accept it if the bloggers are being honest about what has been sent to them for promotion (Matikainen, 2012). However the interviewees outlined that they have understanding for the need of advertisements on blogs, to support the blog financially. They did not assume that advertisements impact the writing of bloggers and believed that most of them were honest about items which have been sponsored by corporations – "cause 9 out of 10 they give an honest opinion, whether they've been financed an item or not, so I know that… I can try it". This demonstrates that advertisement have no major impact on the credibility of blogs.

As previously concluded fashion blogs are sources of inspiration to support readers expressing their identity through fashion; expression of one's style through clothing has to be translated in a purchase eventually. Consequently fashion blogs indirectly impact consumption behaviour by offering inspiration. Occasionally fashion blog content might trigger concrete desire to possess a certain items presented, for example "when I find a blogger wearing something I find really really really good looking and it's very flattering, it looks unique. Sometimes I try to find something similar" and "thought it looked great, so I went to the shop and tried it on, and it looked alright, so I thought 'you know what? I'm gonna get it!' Besides effecting direct and indirect purchases through inspiring outfits, blogs impact consumption behaviour and decision making by posting reviews or recommendations. While Participant A gives evidence about feeling attracted to a product based on a review - "if you leave a super good review, and obviously I'm going to check this out … but I need to sort of check from myself"; Participant B shows that blogs not only encourage readers to a purchase, but additionally might discourage it "a lot of times I've come across a post where I think "ah yeah yeah I wanna know what this is like!" and read it and it's been a bit disappointing, and I think 'no, ok I won't go and spend 50 pounds on that'".

Last but not least it has been brought up that the impact of fashion blogs varied comparing different age groups, one participant explained that she used to be less self-reflective reading reviews when she was a teenager, compared to today when she perceives to be

"matured enough to develop my own opinion". Matikainen (2012) presents similar findings, concluding younger readers react more positively on advertisements.

Reflection

I regard my choice to use semi-structured interviews as research design as suitable approach to address my research question. It allowed the participants more freedom to express what they perceive to be important, for example they introduced interesting topics I have not considered in my apriori codes before, such as social media as extended communication tool for bloggers.

This underlined my phenomenological stance I intended to take to fully embrace the research participants´ perspective (Bryman, 2012). Since I emphasised the rapport building with the participants prior and at the beginning of the interview by having an informal conversation with them, they have generally been quite open with me and provided me with rich information.

However I sometimes felt that Participant A seemed to avoid speaking about blogs relating to her personally by predominantly speaking about them with an expert voice, directing the conversation in a different direction or over-emphasising her own individual decision making. This personal distancing could be based on social desirability in terms of not appearing like a "fashion victim", as somebody who spends too much time or money on fashion (Barnard, 2002).

I also ascribe it to my inexperience as interviewer that I could not always redirect the participants' attention to my initial point of inquiry. Another mistake which occurred to me in a few situations was to ask leading questions, which might imply to the interviewees that one particular answer is expected (Bryman, 2012). Nonetheless I do not think it impacted the quality of the data since itbhappened only in a non-essential context; I belief the fact that there was no power distance between me and my participants, since we were both students at the same age, prevented a bigger impact of leading questions.

One adjustment I would suggest is to use a bigger sample to get more generic results.

Conclusion

Overall I believe that my research added value to the existing repertoire addressing the readers' perspective on fashion blogs.

Regarding my research objective I found that closeness of relationship between blogger and reader is a significant indicator whether blogs are seen as trustworthy. While Participant A dismisses personal interaction with bloggers and regards it as "fake", she does not build up a relation to them and thus has a lower level of trust in blogs. Participant B on the contrary enjoys the interaction with bloggers which she almost regards to be on a friendship-base; she has higher trust in the opinion of bloggers. Advertisements only have a minor impact on a blog's credibility, under the condition bloggers declare if items have been sponsored.

Blogs still impact readers in many ways in terms of consumption – they inspire to indirect purchases or actively develop desires to direct purchases.

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Appendix A - Interview guide

To start off: Can you tell me a bit about yourself/ about your personal background?

- age, nationality, interests…?

Why do you read fashion blogs?

How do you integrate reading fashion blogs in your daily life?

- How frequently do you read them?
- In what situations do you read them?
- How does your browsing behaviour look like (check certain blogs regularly or does it vary randomly/ depending on your topic interest? Read posts carefully or just skim through?

How do you decide which blogs to read?

- How do you usually find these blogs?

What is your personal attitude towards fashion?

- Would you say you have your own personal style?

Can you describe your considerations before a purchase?

- On what would you base your decision on?
- Would you ask anyone for their opinion/ to give you advice?

Overall where do you get most inspiration from about fashion?

How would you compare the inspiration you get from bloggers with the inspiration you get from people of your "offline environment"?

Are there any other sources you might use to get information about fashion?

- Do you read fashion magazines?
- How would you compare fashion blogs with fashion magazines?
- Is there anything you like or don´t like about fashion blogs in contrast to fashion magazines?

What characteristics of a blog do you appreciate/ will animate you to continue reading a particular blog in feauture?

- structure (text-picture ration, design…)
- quality content (how to define this?)
- personal aspects
- language? (especially if your first language is not English)

Can you tell me a bit about bloggers, the people who are writing the blogs you read?

- what do you know about their identity? (life: age, nation, location, social group, education, beliefs/ norms, e.g political opinion)
- Would you say there are any similarities between them and your identity?
- Do you feel close to them? Can you personally relate to them?

How do you perceive the communication from the bloggers directed at you as a reader?

- Can you think of a situation when you interacted with a blogger?

Did you ever want to buy/ possess an item presented by a blogger?

- Can you think of an example?
- Did you ever actually purchase an item after having seen an item on a blog

Would you say you overall trust the opinions blogger express?

- If so why? If not, why not?

Moving to a quite up to date discussion: do you know Zoella?

- Have you heard about the recent news about her?
- How do you feel about that?

Are you generally aware of advertisements on blogs?

- What kind of?
- What is your attitude towards them?
- How do you think they impact you?

Are there any points bloggers should improve in order to be more trustworthy?

How would you all together interpret your consumption behaviour with reference to the context of blogging?

- Did your consumption behaviour change?
- Do blogs impact your opinion?

Any other aspects you think are important to mention about fashion blogs?

Thank you for your participation! ☺

To what extent do Anglicans aged 18-25 perceive secularisation to have affected their beliefs, practices and identity as Christians?

Robin Brooker

Introduction

There has been a discernible decline in the influence of Christianity in England and Wales over the past decade. This decline is a central feature of the general process of secularisation; that is, the change in religious belief, practice and affiliation over time (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Significant amounts of research have been consummated into the nature of secularisation and its effects on the general population. However, there is a lack of qualitative research into the effects of secularisation on young adults, particularly those who ascribe to Anglicanism. The *British Social Attitudes Survey* found that 20% of the British population affiliate with an Anglican Church, thus making Anglicanism the largest religious denomination by affiliation in Britain (National Centre for Social Research, 2012). Henceforth, the research sought to identify the extent to which secularisation in England and Wales has contributed to a change in the religious beliefs, practices and identity of young Anglicans (aged 18-25).

Literature Review

It is firstly necessary to address previous literature on secularisation and its effects on religious belief, practice and religious identity, thus grounding the research in it. Davie (1994) explored the changes of religious belief and practice in Britain. Davie ascertained that secularisation is manifested in the privatisation of religious belief and practice. In this view, there has been a marked decline in church attendance and affiliation, but the persistence of religious belief.

In addition, Bruce (2011) argued that there has been a growth in 'societalization'. Bruce defines this as the process whereby close-knit communities lose power and transform into modern states and cities that are organised by objective bureaucracies. Bruce explains that in communities, the church legitimises local life, and is reaffirmed by local residents. However, as the community transforms, the connection between the individuals within the community are weakened and the church's hold on local life is reduced. This is stimulated by religious diversification, whereby fewer people are connected through their religious faith.

Peter Berger (1967) contended that secularisation has contributed to a removal of religious interpretations from people's world-view. Berger defined this as the 'secularisation of consciousness' (1967: page numbers 108). In his postulations, Berger professed that the secularisation of consciousness is strongest for the middle-aged. Similarly, Chaves (1993) ascertains that societal secularisation, has contributed to the 'internal secularisation' of protestant denominations (1993: 43). In turn, this has contributed to personal secularisation. Based on Chaves conceptions, and content analysis of evangelical magazine, *Christian Today,* Thomas (2013) argues that moral values held by

the individuals are largely 'secularised'. Thomas states that increasingly, individuals base moral conduct on humanistic and liberal sources, as opposed to religious scripture.

Furthermore, quantitative research has identified inconsistencies and changes in religious belief and practice. In 2010, the parochial church electoral rolls figured at 1,214,100 people (Archbishops Council, 2012: 18). However, in the same year, average Sunday parochial church attendance was at 924,000 people (Archbishops Council, 2012: 14). Thus, there is significant disparity between the number of those affiliated with the Church of England, and those who attend church. Moreover, it is found that there has been a gradual decline in Anglican Church attendance over time. In 2000, 1,058,000 people attended parochial Sunday services on average, compared with 924,000 in 2010 (Archbishops Council 2010: 14). Furthermore, attendance at Easter and Christmas is significantly higher than average Sunday attendance, year on year. In 2005, 2,786,000 people attended Church on Christmas day, while 2,298,000 people attended on Christmas day in 2010 (Archbishops Council, 2012: 14). Similarly, 1,394,700 people attended Church of England services on Easter day in 2010 (Archbishops Council, 2012: 17).

Findings

Following interview transcription, thematic analysis was used to identify the congruity and aberration between the responses sets (Bryman, 2012). This allowed for the identification of particular themes that were recurrent throughout the data. In addition, a coding framework was generated through the data, thus allowing for the identification of more specific and refined themes. Furthermore, the research involved an element of participatory photography, which aimed to identify challenges to the participant's Christian beliefs, practices and identity. These images were presented to the participants during the interview stage, with the intent of eliciting further in-depth responses and discussion.

'Tom' is currently aged twenty years and lives with his parents in a small rural town of Suffolk. Similarly, 'Sid' lives in a small rural Suffolk community and is aged twenty-one years. The interviewees affiliate with the Church of England.

In interpretation of the transcripts, it was found that respondents have a privatised conception of the position of Christianity in their lives. Respondents infrequently attend Church and attribute limited reverence to it. 'Tom' asserted that:

> [On church attendance] It's not important at all ... religions something for the individual now, it's more of a private thing, than a group thing.

This can be related to the conceptions devised by Davie (1994) who argued that religious belief and practice in Britain have become highly privatised. According to Davie fewer people pay reverence to church attendance, but continue to hold Christian beliefs. Further evidence, supporting the privatisation of continued religious affiliation and belief, but reduced church attendance can be found in statistical evidence. In 2010, the parochial church electoral rolls figured at 1,214,100 (Archbishops Council, 2012: 18), while parochial church attendance was at 924,000 (Archbishops Council, 2012: 14).

However, respondents paid reverence to church attendance on particular events in the Christian calendar, such as Christmas and Easter services. Although, there were various events which each participant paid reverence to, where the other did not; 'Tom' affirmed that he regularly attends church during the harvest festival period, while 'Sid' paid

reverence to attending church for wedding services and christenings. Furthermore, respondents ascertained that Christianity has no place in the public sphere, although they differed on their sentiments towards this. 'Tom' argued that in a religiously diverse country such as Britain, it is not fair to attribute more importance to Christianity. In contrast, 'Sid' stated that if Christianity held a central position, society would be more orderly. The reverence attributed to Christmas and Easter church attendance by the respondents should be acknowledged in association with broader statistical evidence. Church attendance at Easter was 1,394,700 people in 2010, while Christmas eve/day attendance was 2,298,400, thus showing a significant increase compared to the 924,000 person average Sunday attendance (Archbishops' Council, 2012). However, the reasons for only attending at Christmas and Easter given by respondents are not generalizable to the entirety of the population who only attend at Easter and Christmas, due to the unrepresentative sample.

The respondents contend that when they were 'younger', their Christian faith was not isolated to a private sphere. Respondents stated that they frequently attended church and engaged in family prayer prior to meals, when they were younger. In addition, respondents ascertain that their local church held a central position in community life. 'Tom' asserts:

> I mean from what I can tell everything used to be based around the church. The parades, the fetes, everything. And everyone used to go … all of my family. My friends, everyone was there … just … not anymore. Last time I went there must have been about … err … 8 people there, at most.

In comparison, 'Sid' found that the church still maintained the number of events that it held compared to when he was younger, however these were now isolated to church property, and were no longer held in central public places. 'Sid' proclaimed:

> We used to have this summer fair, with tombola's and a raffle and a BBQ and … umm … dancing, animal corner, circus skills and stuff. Everyone used to go, and I used to help out doing something. It was good. It used to be on the village green, but … and things were happening along the road adjacent to the green. It still happens, but it's much smaller. Barely anyone goes, and it's now held on this little patch of grass immediately in front of the church.

Thus, this illustrates the declining prominence and significance of the church in community life.

Moreover, 'Tom' generated an image, which he exclaims denotes the growth in population size:

Photograph #1 ('Tom')

In explanation, 'Tom' accentuates that the growth in population has contributed to a decline in the notion of community. 'Tom' furthered his explanation by asserting that because of the end of community spirit, the church has limited involvement in people's lives, thus they do not receive a Christian education:

> It's supposed to show the growth in population, which kind of, has contributed to the end of community … and because of that, fewer people are taught Christianity, and fewer people hear about Christianity.

Furthermore, in reference to this image, 'Tom' states that the demise of the community is synonymous with the death of the 'Christian community' as Christianity was central to community life. In light of this, 'Tom' exclaimed that the death of the community contributed to the change in the way he practiced his beliefs.

This relates to Steve Bruces' (2011) conceptions of the decline in community, as a result of societalization. Communities reproduce and reaffirm religious sentiment through parish events and its centrality in social life. However, the transition into a society or town, marked by individualism and lack of unity, means that the reaffirmation of Christian values and centrality of social life ceases.

In addition, a key theme that was recurrent throughout the interviews was the challenge presented to Christianity from multiculturalism and religious diversity. 'Sid' provided an image of 'kingdom hall' (Jehovah's Witnesses place of worship):

Photograph #3 ('Sid')

'Sid' explained that the growth in religious diversity, has contributed the growth in alternative faiths, thus reducing Christianity's monopoly of English and Welsh society. 'Sid' Stated:

> … I think, there are so many more religions out there now, and some people prefer them to Christianity, so some people started to believe in their God and there, I don't know, own Jesus.

Furthermore, the respondents accentuated that various Christian beliefs have been subject to altercation since they were younger. 'Tom' exclaimed that although he was educated into believing that biblical narratives were factual, such as the 'creation story' and the story of the 'Ark', he has since rejected these as false. 'Tom' ascertained that scientific education, obtained largely from Secondary school, provided more reasonable conflicting

explanations, such as 'the big bang theory'. Similarly, 'Sid' suggested that contrary to biblical education from his parents and his church, he does not regard some scripture as truth, for example:

> Well, there are some things that I was taught that I find it hard to, well … I don't really believe as true. I mean, they're good stories, and they have some purpose in encouraging or teaching kids Christian values, but, umm … or they have some metaphorical meaning, and shouldn't literally be taken as truth. But, the virgin birth and some of the stories of Jesus' miraculous happenings are not necessarily, one hundred per cent accurate. They are just too far-fetched and probably scientifically impossible.

Furthermore, it was found that respondents held principally secular attitudes towards commonly taboo topics, contrary to their Christian upbringing. Their views on engagement in sexual intercourse prior to marriage, and the participation in, or viewing of, pornography were accepting and liberal. Respondents ascertained that this was contrary to the Christian teachings ascribed to them by their parents, the Church and primary education. Furthermore, 'Sid' professed that although his parents and church emphasised homosexuality as immoral and 'unchristian', he did not share these postulations and his views were considerably more liberal.

It is arguable that the growth in liberal attitudes and the limited bearing of Christian beliefs on the respondent's world perceptions can be attributed to Berger's (1967) secularisation of consciousness. Furthermore, the challenges to Christian beliefs and practices attributed by the respondents, such as community decline and multiculturalism, are in accordance with the societal secularisation discerned by Chaves (1993), thus supporting his assentation. Likewise, the liberal conceptions about pornography, sex before marriage and homosexuality, support Thomas' (2013) ideas of a modification in moral authority away from religious institutions, to secular alternatives.

Reflections

The research proved successful in highlighting the extent to which secularisation has affected the Christian beliefs, practices and identity of respondents. Semi-structured interviewing was appropriate in highlighting respondent's self-perceived conceptions and ideas that would otherwise not have been visible through alternative methodologies. Likewise, the subject of the interviews was often concerned with childhood religious beliefs and practices thus were discussed retrospectively. It would have been difficult to identify these past experiences through ethnographic research. Similarly, quantitative methodology is unlikely to have generated accurate knowledge of the experiences' and expressions of respondents (McGuire, 2008). Although, the interview guide provided a degree of structure, it allowed for alternate themes and questions to be pursued as they formed (Bremborg, 2014). In addition, the use of semi-structured interviews allowed for the clarification of meaning and richer responses, through the use of probing questions, especially when ambiguous answers were provided (Fielding and Thomas, 2008). Moreover, to avoid the interview appearing as an interrogation, through the use of closed-ended background questions, the respondents were initially prompted to 'tell me about your life' (Bremborg, 2014: 315).

In one instance, the interviewee sought to ascertain my religious affiliation. To avoid deception and strengthen trust with the participant, an honest answer was given.

Furthermore, respondents appeared anxious about providing answers that could be construed as politically incorrect or racist, with responses such as "[On Jehovah's witnesses] it's not an attack on this particular one or anything". In hindsight, it would be appropriate to emphasise that the participant's responses will not be subject to judgement, and all answers are appropriate.

Issues relating to sampling did arise during the early stages in the research process. Initially, no one opted to participate in the research. However, a local Anglican church was approached, whereby one individual agreed to participate. Following this, snowball sampling allowed for identification of a further participant (Bryman, 2012). However, the small sample size relative to the number of affiliates to Christianity, mean that the findings of this study cannot be generalised to the Christian population of England and Wales.

The location of a 'café' was effective in ensuring that the respondents felt comfortable and secure. Although, there were numerous interruptions during the interview. For example, 'Sid' was approached by a friend during the interview. However, 'Sid' proceeded to inform the friend that he was being interviewed and the friend departed. This contributed to a loss of rapport. Furthermore, in some places the audio recording was difficult to comprehend, due to background noise distorting the audio. In future research, it will be appropriate to use a quiet and private location, thus minimising the likelihood of interruptions (Bryman, 2012).

The participatory photograph element was successful in enriching data, through the use in eliciting responses during the interview, and providing a ground for further discussion (Bryman, 2012). The respondents were instructed to take a maximum of ten photographs. However, they proceeded to produce three in total. Although this is less than expected, it was sufficient in allowing for further elicitation and grounding during the research process. No features of the photography reveal the participants location, thus anonymity of participants has been maintained. Consent forms (see appendix 1) were provided to participants during the initial meeting, prior to the participatory photography stage, and immediately prior to commencement of the interview. Thus, fully informed consent was obtained.

Conclusion

The research demonstrates that secularisation has contributed to change in the religious beliefs, practices and identity of respondents. Science contributed to the biggest altercation in beliefs of respondents, while the conception that religion is a 'private thing' and 'individualism' has contributed to the privatisation of their religious practice. Thus, although statistical findings demonstrate that a certain number of people affiliate with Christianity, and a certain number do not, the picture is more elusive.

If an individual states that they affiliate with Christianity, this does not necessarily mean that they adhere to a strict code of practice and have specific beliefs. Further research should be carried out, exploring specific beliefs and practices of a more generalizable cohort of the Anglican population.

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Appendix 1

Consent Form

<u>Project</u>: To what extent do Anglicans aged 18-25 perceive secularisation to have affected their beliefs, practices and identity as Christians?

<u>Researcher</u>: Robin Brooker, Undergraduate Student, Department of Sociology, University of Essex.

<u>Telephone</u>: 07816598675

<u>Email</u>: rdbroo@essex.ac.uk

Please Circle Yes or No

- I have been provided with adequate knowledge about the study and its purposes.
  Yes/No

- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and request further information about the study.
  Yes/No

- I understand that the study will involve me being interviewed and recorded.
  Yes/No

- I understand that the study will involve me taking photographs.
  Yes/No

- I have been given time to consider participation in the study and I agree to take part in it.
  Yes/No

- I understand that I am free to refuse to answer any questions.
  Yes/No

- I understand that I have the right to terminate the interview at any point.
  Yes/No

- I understand that the responses I give during the interview may be quoted in publications, research reports, web pages and other forms of research output.
  Yes/No

- I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any material related to this project, including interview responses and photographs produced to the Robin Brooker.
  Yes/No

- I understand that any information given will be treated in strict confidence, and any personal details, including name, and current residence will remain anonymous.
  Yes/No

Participant Signature………………………………………………………………

Name Printed………………………………………………………………………

Date…………………………

Researcher Signature……………………………………………………………

Date………………………………

Appendix 2

Photograph #1: Taken by 'Tom'.

Photograph #2: Taken by 'Tom'

Photograph #3: Taken by 'Sid'

'FGM is not cultural, it is criminal; it is not tribal, it is torture.' Keith Vaz MP. Discuss.

Christopher Cunningham

Abstract

A discussion on the concept of 'FGM' (Female Genital Mutilation) raises questions of terminology, definition of practice, and value of interpretation; all within a social, historical, geographical and economical context. Bound within this concept are the workings of power, exercised through channels of culture, gender, sex, kinship, and identity. Through the frameworks of anthropological analysis, the political functions of the concept of 'FGM' can be used as a tool to examine relationships within the sphere of humanity, shedding some light on the continuous ever-changing culture of our global social structure.

Introduction

Determining what 'FGM' and who Keith Vaz MP (Member of Parliament) is, are the founding questions of this examination. Although they may appear to be somewhat simplistic lines of enquiry, they offer base to the discussion of ideology which is to follow, which contemplates the validity of the claim that: the practice of 'FGM' is not cultural but criminal, and not tribal but torturous. The discourse uses methods of interpretation which draw on a wide range of evidence such as case studies and social anthropological theory, to gain insight to the notions of culture and criminality; and tribalism and torture. These interpretations of ideology, which discuss ideas such as: cultural relativism; universalization; social structure; creation of culture; sexuality; gender roles and relations; myth and rituals; symbolic actions; and political institutions; are presented within the contextual framework of 'FGM'. The paper aims to demonstrate that: by understanding 'FGM' as a socially constructed concept, it is possible to deconstruct it. The use of an interpretative and comparative methodology reveals a multitude of relationships, which when interwoven become its core. An analysis of these relationships is an act of anthropological investigation which escapes the confines of the discussion of a single concept; rather, it becomes a discussion of the culture and social make-up of *humanity*.

The fact that the terminology and definition of 'FGM' is often used and determined by people who themselves have not witnessed it as a lived experience (Johansen, 2002), is evidence of the underlying power relations affiliated with this concept. It is these power relations which are the feature of analysis. In effort to examine 'FGM' in varying social, economic, political, geographical, and historical realms; cross-cultural case studies will be used to compare and contrast attitudes and actions surrounding 'FGM'. Similarly, articles discussing this topic will be used as a means of addressing existing opinions.

Conscious of a major principle of anthropological research: 'we see the lives of others through lenses of our own grinding' (Geertz, 2002, cited in Obermeyer, 2003); this discussion will attempt to adopt an objective approach, in as much that: it is not the purpose of this paper to reach judgment on whether or not the view of Keith Vaz MP is correct or not; neither is the focus on the ongoing debate surrounding the idea of 'FGM'. Rather, the purpose of this essay is to determine why this view is held, and what

implications it holds. To aid thoughts of conclusion, a balance of reflexivity will be applied which gives consideration to the 'lenses' through which this author writes. With this in mind, and motivated by the belief that the concept of 'FGM' can be analysed within a global social setting, the authors own lived experiences can be considered as 'evidence from the field'; although caution must be taken, as to avoid the trappings of power relations discussed. Yet, the potential benefits of careful anthropological analysis appear to outweigh any fear of 'trappings'; as Margaret Mead proposes in her epilogue of *Blackberry Winter*: 'we could add immeasurably to our knowledge of who we ourselves are' (Mead, 1972: 294).

This discussion now begins with an interpretation of what 'FGM' is, using the identity of Keith Vaz MP as a vehicle for analysis.

What is 'FGM' and Who Is Keith Vaz MP?

'FGM' is an acronym for Female Genital Mutilation. Shell-Duncan (2008), suggests that this is a terminology used by 'activists' against the practise, and is described as 'involving a variable degree of alteration of the external genitalia' (2008: 226). The WHO (World Health Organisation) defines the practice in four criteria:

> Type I – partial or total excision of the clitoris or its prepuce or both (often referred to as *clitoridectomy)*.

> Type II – partial or total excision of the clitoris in addition to labia minora or majora or both (commonly referred to as *excision* in English-speaking countries).

> Type III – excision of part of the external genitalia and adhesion of the labia minora or majora or both to enclose the vulva (also called *infibulations*).

> Type IV – all other unclassified procedures, including pricking (sometimes referred to as symbolic circumcision), piercing, and stretching. (2008; cited in Shell-Duncan, 2008: 226).

Since the creation of this definition, these practices have been condemned by the international community, and targeted for elimination by a number of governments throughout the world (Shell-Duncan, 2008).

As Chairman of the Home Affairs Committee in the UK, Keith Vaz MP is at the fore of this fight to eliminate the practices described. In November 2014 he gave a keynote speech at the Black Women's Health and Family Support (BWHAFS) conference, entitled 'Breaking Barriers to End FGM' (Vaz, 2015).

His claims that: 'FGM' is 'criminal', is true in the case of the UK legal system. The Government state that: 'It's also illegal to take a British national or permanent resident abroad for FGM or to help someone trying to do this' (HM Government, 2015).

Intolerance towards these practices have come from many angles throughout the international community, with the most influential including medical experts, lawyers, ethicists, feminist researchers, and even anthropologists adopting a moral advocacy position (Obermeyer, 1999). Initially described as 'female circumcision', the term 'female genital mutilation' was adopted with the aim of raising awareness through powerful

discourse, and bringing forth eradication (Obermeyer, 1999). Initially, the fight against 'FGM' was approached from the stance of the negative health implications associated with the practice, yet with unsubstantiated evidence, activists shifted to a human rights approach as a means of intervention and eradication (Obermeyer, 1999; Shell-Duncan, 2008). Following the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, 'female genital mutilation' was officially categorised as a form of violence against women (VAW), and became illegal under international law.

Although 'criminal' under international law, Radhika Coomaraswamy, former UN Special Rapporteur on VAW, acknowledges the difficulty of tackling violence within the realms of 'customary practice', as 'culture comes under attack' (Shell- Duncan, 2008: 227). This is certainly the point of contention with regard to Keith Vaz MP's statement, and is a major platform for debate within this paper. Indeed it calls into question his second claim: that FGM is torture. Breitung (1996) suggests that 'applying the label of "torture" to a social custom valued by most practitioners may be viewed as an attack on culture and may be more likely to cause resistance than to help the end of the practice' (cited in Shell-Duncan, 2008: 228).

Although it has been ascertained that FGM is 'criminal' in the terms of UK and international law, it is essential to determine the 'criminality' of the practice within a cultural context. Therefore a debate of theory will pursue, exercised in the terms of culture.

Culture

As mentioned by Breitung (1996; cited in Shell-Duncan, 2008), and argued by Shell-Duncan (2008) in discussion of the concept of 'FGM'; portraying what is arguably a 'valued social custom', as an act of "torture", can be seen as an attack on culture. An effort to mask his attack may be the reasoning behind Keith Vaz MP's denial that 'FGM' is a social custom of 'culture'. By distancing himself from the cultural aspect and focusing on the legal definitions of which he has influence, he is able to pass judgement and shape the actions of others, within the frameworks of international political institutions. Yet the objectives of these political institutions are questionable, and can be viewed as applying an ethnocentric approach to international order (Darby and Svoboda, 2007; Obermeyer, 1999; Shell-Duncan, 2008; Yount and Carrera, 2006; Gruenbaum, 1997; Gruenbaum, 2006; Christoffersen-Deb, 2005; Bell, 2005).

To discuss whether the motivations of Vaz's 'masking' was conscious or unconscious is an intriguing feature of this debate, as is the interpretation of case studies relating to practices of 'FGM' to determine whether or not they are indeed social customs of culture. In order for this discussion to move forward, a historical, geographical analysis of 'FGM' will be presented, but it is first important to try and establish what 'culture' is, and what role it plays in the debate surrounding the concept of 'FGM' within the international community.

In *An Evaluation of the work of Bronislav Malinowski,* Richards (1963) states that:

> Malinowski as well as Radcliffe-Brown seems to have believed that culture had to be maintained as a whole, and one of his definitions of the function of a custom or institution is in terms of the part it plays in relation to the culture as a whole (Richards, 1963: 17).

The concept of culture was central to Malinowski's comparative method in anthropology, and the beliefs presented above provide firm ground for theoretical discussion, in particular, the idea of culture 'being maintained as a whole'. The opposition of 'FGM' by international organisations does not at first investigation appear to be directed to a particular country or regionally specific culture. Without the specific analysis of case studies, it is difficult to ascertain the role of the custom of 'FGM', and how it relates to any specific culture as a whole. Rather, what appears from Malinowski's belief, in context to what this paper has discussed thus far, is the role of institutions of the international community. If, as suggested by Merry (2001), that greater focus should be applied to an anthropological analysis of the 'culture of human rights', through a de-territorialized ethnography (cited in Shell-Duncan, 2008); then it is possible to see, drawing on ideas of structuralism discussed by Levi-Strauss, how 'the essential characteristic of culture is to put order through the intervention of the group where there is chance (Levi-Strauss, 1969: 30-32, cited in Rossi, 1974:110). This places 'human rights' as a mechanism, or rather 'custom' which achieves order within the culture of the globalised society, through the operation of international institutions.

If one is to accept that institutional organisations based on the ideology of human rights, are operators of custom, and the maintainers of culture within a global society; then it is important to try and establish why the practice of 'FGM' still continues. If the concept is analysed in a reverse fashion, then there becomes a 'fight *for* the continuation of 'FGM'', a 'fight' within which this practice is highly valued to the extent that 'criminality' is committed. Indeed, Obermeyer (1999) recognised the importance of this point:

> That genital surgeries remain prevalent in a number of countries in the 1990's and are found among groups of educated women is more than an interesting piece of information. It undermines a key presumption: that the spread of formal education, mass media, and "modern" health care entails a convergence in worldviews toward biomedicine and the particular ways in which "universal" values are defined, either implicitly or explicitly, in international human rights documents (1999: 89).

When analysing the culture of the 'global whole' to establish why acts of criminality are committed, the 'crime ridden' areas must first be pointed out for comparative analysis can be advanced.

Case Study Analysis

In Egypt, the practice of what Yount and Carrera (2006) describe as 'FGC' (Female Genital Cutting) is widespread, with around 97% of ever-married women being 'circumcised', with the average age being 10 years old. Using the WHO definition of practice, studies show that Type II is the most common (64%), followed by Type I (19%), Type III (9%), and Type IV (8%) (Yount, 2002; cited in Yount and Carrera, 2006: 188). Following debates about health implications, influenced by international institutions, there has been some move towards medicalization, before being banned in 1994 and reinstated in 1997. From their study in Minya governorate, Yount and Carrera (2006) have established a slight decline in practice, although they state that:

> Over 80 percent of ever-married women aged 15-54 have stated that the practice benefits girls, and many have asserted that FGC is essential for marriage and enhances the sexual relations of spouses (2006: 189).

This case study demonstrates that even within one country there is a variation of 'surgeries' performed. These variations which sit within the definitional frameworks of international institutions are still restricted from fully recognising variation, for example the WHO definition of Type IV, lists 'all other unclassified procedures'. Obermeyer (1999) suggests that describing practices as a 'single category', such as 'FGM' restricts interpretation and facilitates opinions of 'rejection and contempt'.

The shift towards a medicalization which has been influenced by international organisations, such as the brief example from Egypt, echoes remnants of colonial practices of the 1920's and 1930's in Kenya and Sudan (Christoffersen-Deb, 2005). Ironically, appeals to medicalize the practise as a form of 'mediation' within the debate, has been strongly opposed by anti – FGC activists, who prefer a zero-tolerance stance (Shell-Duncan, 2008). Bruni (2004, cited in Christoffersen-Deb, 2005) mentions that Italian medical officials proposed an 'alternative' form of circumcision known as 'pricking', to be carried out within Italy, as means to curb tensions arising from the 'co-existence of cultures'. This 'pricking', has also become popular within Kenya, where it is described as 'psychological circumcision'. Although this can be described as a pathway to eradication (Christoffersen-Deb, 2005), it is argued that 'changing and conflicting ideologies of gender and sexuality have led young women to seek their own meaning through medicalized practice' (Christoffersen-Deb, 2005:402).

Issues of gender and sexuality are widely considered concepts within the debate surrounding 'FGM'. It was mentioned in the case of Egypt (Yount and Carrera, 2006), how the 'enhancement of sexual relations of spouses' through 'FGM' is an important factor for women. This view is echoed in the case of Sudan, where women's attitudes are shaped by 'men's sexual preference for infibulated women' (Gruenbaum, 1996). Similarly, in Somalia, the value placed on the husband's right to be the first to 'open' his wife is intrinsic to the social make-up of society (Talle, 1993). Canessa (2012) reinforces the importance of this relationship between gender, sexuality, and society, when he states that: 'it is precisely in intimate spaces where social identities, citizenship, and nationhood are produced' (2012: 26). Gender can be seen as a 'metaphoric vehicle' (Talle, 1993) through which the relationships of value underpinning society are established and maintained. Gender is itself a socially constructed concept, and practices of 'FGM', such as infibulation, serve as a means to symbolise society. For example, when discussing agnation in Somalia, Talle (1993) suggests that 'the sewing metaphor evokes images of intimacy cohesiveness and permanence' (1993: 93). Furthermore, infibulations can be seen to symbolise 'birth into society', with the girl becoming a woman, who is then able to 'play her part' in the strengthening and continuation of the social system through marriage and reproduction (Talle, 1993). The importance that these practices hold, where they are arguably, drawing from Malinowski and Levi-Strauss, a 'custom of culture which create order', offers explanation as to why some women autonomously opt for adaption rather than eradication of 'FGM', such as in the case of 'psychological circumcision'.

Cultural Relativism

The adaption of a cultural custom in order to maintain the status quo, in line with changing ideas on the concepts of gender and sexuality (Christoffersen-Deb, 2005), can be seen as part of the 'fight' to maintain order through culture. This modern day 'fight' in Kenya is reminiscent of the colonial struggle, in which girls circumcised themselves after the practice was banned by the British colonial authorities (Leonard, 2000). This example highlights the importance of the act as a symbolism of age sets, demonstrated by the older

women re-circumcising the girls to ensure order was maintained (Leonard, 2000). Similar acts of self-circumcision have been suggested, such as un-infibulated girls in Somalia (Talle, 1993); yet rather than enforcement of age sets, this act appears to be motivated by peer pressure from friends who have undergone 'surgery'. It is the *meanings* behind these acts which are the focus of anthropological discussion, and it is clear from evidence presented, that although some degree of universality can be compared, each culture carries varying forms of interconnected meanings. Benedict (1959), in her *Patterns of Culture*, explains this using an example of marriage:

> Marriage in each case must be understood in relation to other traits to which it has become assimilated, and we should not run into the mistake of thinking that 'marriage' can be understood in the two cases by the same set of ideas (1959: 43).

Just as the institutions which facilitate the functions of international organisations, through concepts such as human rights, maintain order within the 'culture' of the global whole; so too do other 'cultures' require frameworks of order. Moves by the international community to universalise ideas surrounding 'FGM' show no desire to find meaning in culturally specific existence; rather a universal meaning is *constructed* – one of 'mutilation'. Concepts of gender can be constructed to act as networks of power relations; so too is the social construction of 'FGM' a facilitator of power, exercised in varying social, political and economic realms.

Although the morality of 'female genital cutting' is an appealing topic for debate; this paper aims to find meaning in the social construction of 'FGM'. Historical, geographical, and political influences all play their role in this construction, and become evident through analysis of male circumcision. Evidence which supports the notion that 'male circumcision' is 'accepted' by the 'global whole'; where-as 'female circumcision' is 'rejected'; is widespread throughout scholarly discourse (Bell, 2005; Darby and Svoboda, 2007), government policy (HM Government, 2015), and public opinion (Canessa, 2014). Comparing similarities between these practices has been discussed by previous anthropologists such as Darby and Svoboda (2007), who call for a gender neutral approach. When assessing the cause of this 'unequal' approach to 'circumcision', it is crucial to keep in mind Obermeyer's (1999) warnings about singular categorizations. Whilst conscious of the varying practices of 'genital cuttings', all with their own symbolic meaning within the framework of social construction; it is reasonable to suggest that the inequality of 'circumcision approach', within the context of 'global culture', is rooted in ideas of sex and sexuality. Interestingly, 'global culture' appears to favour 'western' ideals of sex and sexuality, in its relation to power (Bell, 2005), rather than the ideals of 'intimacy cohesiveness and permanence', suggested in the Somali case of symbolism (Talle, 1993).

Shell-Duncan (2008) discusses how the institutions of human rights can be criticised for adopting an ethnocentric 'western approach', which does not consider that human rights are embedded within other cultures. Women who were earlier presented as the carriers of cultural customs which underpin their social structure through the continuation of order; are portrayed by the international community as 'helpless', which creates a sense of inferiority. These two examples of *inferiority construction* can be compared with Canessa's (2012) study in Bolivia, which describes how gender and identity are constructed by relations of power. An acceptance that 'global culture' views 'circumcision' though a 'western lens of sexuality', leads to an examination of western ideas of sex.

Thomas Laqueur (1990) writes of the 'one sex model' in European thinking during the renaissance, which determines sex though a scale of heat. Times of Enlightenment saw a shift to 'biological' thinking, where male and female were understood to be 'different'; rather than being varying degrees of the same (Laqueur, 1990). This European perception of sex can be related to case studies discussed previously. For example, in the case of Somalia, the clitoris is associated with the penis, and so 'creation' of a female requires the removal of this masculine feature (Talle, 1993). It is this creation of sex, similarly witnessed in the case of the Massai of Kenya, and discussed by Llewelyn-Davies (1981), that highlights how: although difference may be recognised at birth, gender which creates order, and serves as a functioning mechanism of society, is created through social acts. Circumcision in these cases can be said to symbolise this act through custom or ritual, and suggests some alignment with the 'one sex model'. Post-Enlightenment thinking on the other hand, suggests an inequality which is given at birth (Laqueur, 1990), and therefore requires different methods of sustainability. These methods can be explained in terms of sexuality.

The 'one sex model' believed that both the sexuality of the male and female was needed to produce heat, which in-turn created a child. Following the enlightenment thinking of 'biology', women's sexuality became a separate entity set apart from reproduction, with an understanding that only men need to become sexually aroused for impregnation to take place (Lacqueur, 1990). Writing in the early 1900's, Freud proposed ideas of women's sexuality residing within the vagina; Bell (2005) continues with her description of *Western Discourses of Sexuality,* by suggesting that: 'it was precisely this focus on the vagina as the source of sexual satisfaction and reproductive action that allowed the clitoris to be desexualized' (2005: 133). The Victorian era witnessed both the 'nonsexual' attitude toward the clitoris, with clitoral massages applied as a cure for hysteria in women; and acts of clitoridectomy as a means of medical treatment for weaknesses in women – such as epilepsy, hysteria and insanity (Bell, 2005). However it is also suggested that clitoridectomies were practiced in Australia and the United States as a means to curb masturbation among young women (Bell, 2005). The de-sexualisation of the clitoris, brought about by Freud and founded in ideas of biological difference proposed during enlightenment, became motivation for feminist movements of sexual liberation during the 1970's. *The Hite Report,* strongly argued for reinstatement of clitoral importance to women's sexuality, raising questions of 'why clitoral stimulation was not seen to be a normal part of sex, when it is so important to a woman's sexuality' (2005:134).

The importance of the clitoris to women's sexuality is a major factor in the 'fight' against 'FGM'. It is claimed that male and female circumcision cannot be compared, due to the clitoris being equivalent to the penis; yet, Bell (2005), suggests that this *phallicization* of female sexuality fails to understand it in its own terms. In-depth comparative analysis of male and female circumcision sheds interesting light on complexities surrounding the concept of 'FGM' (Bell, 2005; Darby and Svoboda, 2007), and can be briefly concluded by a proposal that: male circumcision is accepted and practiced in the 'global whole' because it is an accepted genderization of sexuality within 'western culture'; where-as female circumcision is not. Genderizing sexuality can be explained as an institutional action which maintains order within the social structure. This power network both creates and shapes identities and can clearly be seen within the concept of beauty.

A study of American, British and Dutch women who were considering labial reduction surgery shows that 'emotional discomfort regarding self-appearance and social and sexual relationships was found to be the most frequent and prominent motivation' (Zwier, 2014). This demonstrates how ideas of beauty which are enforced through social interactions are projected to the individual in both a psychological and physical way. This projection of society is synonymous in the case study of Somalia, where infibulations are seen as a symbol of society (Talle, 1993). The parallelism of these projections; which both involve the cutting of female genitals; are presented at opposite ends of the morality spectrum, depending upon the geographical, political, and economical context in which they are practised or judged.

With cultural relativity in mind, this paper now continues with recognition of the assumptions recognised by Ahmadu (2000), when discussing the universalization of human sexuality (cited in Bell, 2005). Ahmadu (2000) notes a key feature of universalized human sexuality is the assumption that 'human bodies are "complete" and that sex is "given" at birth (cited in Bell, 2005:138).

Construction of the Social; and Symbols and Culture

Talle (1993)'s study in Somalia (following on from the recognition of Ahmadu's assumptions), demonstrates how sex is 'made' through infibulations, and suggests that it acts as a 'birth' into society. This custom of culture which lies at the heart of the agnatic kinship structure in Somalia can be explained as a symbolic ritual which acts as a *rite of passage*. Similar *rites of passage*, symbolised by circumcision, can be seen throughout the world; for example, Xhosa circumcision, in which a 'boy' of 18 years old becomes a 'man'. The 'African context' of circumcision, promoted by Caldwell, Orubuloye, and Cadwell (1997, cited in Bell, 2005), suggests that 'the conceptual separation underlying western treatments of male and female circumcision is alien to many Africans, who consider these operations to be fundamentally related in both their functions and effects' (Bell, 2005: 128). This fundamental relationship between rituals of similarity which vary in social, geographical, political, and economic locations can be explained in the structural theory of Levi –Strauss. Diamond (1974) suggests that in *L'Homme Nu*, Levi Strauss reasons:

> Since no primitive myth is generic to any given culture, all myths are, in essence, translations from one culture to another and therefore constitute a series of linked but shifting perspectives (1974: 294).

However, keeping within the 'African context', it appears fitting to note the perspective of African social anthropologist, Schapera. As Gluckman (1975) argues, Schapera suggests:

> That all men are alike in some respects and unlike in others; and that all cultures are alike in respects and unlike in others (1975: 36).

Viewing acts of 'circumcision' through the lens of the 'Africa context', reveals them to be customs of culture which both form and uphold the social structure. This evidence discredits Vaz's claims that 'FGM' is not culture. The physical act of 'cutting' has been *constructed* to form a concept known as 'FGM', which perpetuates the realities of social, economic, and political inequalities among specific contexts within the global sphere.

Ideas of 'culture', and the *meanings* attached to the power relations operating within their respective ideologies have been the key debate of this discussion. The very idea of 'culture' is in itself a social construction. Acts of symbolic ritual, such as circumcision, act as a framework to its fabric; this is synonymous to the frameworks of institutions operating within the culture of the 'global whole'. It becomes evident that this debate is not so much about 'cutting'; rather about culture. It is about how the individual is able to identify with 'the self' within changing social contexts, and whether they value cultures of 'tradition', or cultures of 'modernity'. This is recognised by Johansen (2002) who studied *an analysis of pain associated with infibulations among Somali immigrants in Norway.* The paper notes a changing perspective of the practice, once the women had changed their social setting; they then *felt it* as a *lived experience.*

It has been discussed how identities are shaped by interactions, which confirm how the individual places value on people, objects, and actions. As Globalization, and its culture of 'universality', battles with the culture of 'relativity', new cultures are created in the wave of merging ideologies; one example of this 'creation of culture' was discussed by Leonard (2000) in the case study of *Adopting Female "Circumcision" in Southern Chad: The Experience of Myabe.* Just as the cultures of 'universality' and 'relativity' are 'battling'; so too do the cultures of 'individual' and the 'social' battle. Symbolic rituals are performed by individuals who are unaware of the extent that the *social* influences their *action*. Things considered *ordinary,* are the very symbolic rituals being discussed, and can be seen in actions as simple as a hair-cut. As I have argued elsewhere:

> It is for the individual to discover their own "culture" from *within*, shaped by their own values gained from personal experiences and interactions; a cultural construction which requires *self-knowledge* (Cunningham: 2014)*.*

This promotion of the *cultured-self,* suggests an infectious spread of anthropological perspective, where the individual finds *meaning* in the *self*, through an understanding of the *meaning* of the *other.* Margaret Mead summarises this point wonderfully: 'A knowledge of how culture works gives to human beings a greater control over their own future than they have ever known before' (Mead, 1959; cited in Benedict, 1959, p. x).

Conclusion

Through discussion of the constructed nature of 'FGM', this paper has recognised it as a form of genderization of ideas of sexuality, within the frameworks of 'western' values. These values are projected throughout 'global culture' in ways which discredit and undermine the autonomy of cultures where acts of 'female genital cutting' are cultural customs which make up the social structure. The views of Keith Vaz MP are a reflection of the values of the society within which he associates himself. This society can be explained in a multitude of ways, such as: a constituency, a county, a nation, a country, or indeed a globalized society. Therefore, debates surrounding the 'fight' *for* and *against* practices of 'FGM' are based on concepts of societal association. It is suggested here, that the individual has a 'human right' to determine their own values, relative to the society with which they associate themselves. For cultural customs, such as infibulation, to be imposed on those to whom its value is not symbolic, and is therefore redundant within that individual's social structure; could be described as an act of aggression. Similarly, by recognising 'human rights' as a cultural custom of 'western' value, its imposition can also be seen as an act of aggression. This paper concludes with reflection to 'the lenses of our own grinding' discussed by Geertz, (2002, cited in Obermeyer, 2003), mentioned in the introduction to

this paper. In consideration of the information presented, it is reasonable to suggest the adoption of a *kaleidoscopic* approach to culture within global society; providing the individual with autonomy to establish their own culture of values, rather than those imposed on to them.

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Is there a need to recruit more male teachers?

Kirby King

Introduction

The research set out to investigate whether the lack of male primary school teachers was a problem. Primary teaching still remains a female profession; in 2013 only 21% of the students registered in teacher training were males (Department of Education, 2013). This seems to be a concern for the government; current UK policy is focused on recruiting more men into becoming primary teachers due to a fear that children are missing out if they only have female teachers (Department of Education, 2012). The media backs up this view; there is widespread concern that boys may be missing out due to their being a lack of role models (Paton, 2013).

As a result, this research set out to look at questions such as: whether the feminization of education is a negative problem? How do teachers feel their gender and the opposite gender impacts their teaching? Is there a negative impact on boys due to not having a male role model in the schooling environment? The objective of the study was to see if there was a need to recruit more male teachers or whether the government should choose to just focus on recruiting the best teachers regardless of their gender. These questions were addressed through the use of semi-structured interviews.

Literature review

Driessen (2007) suggests the topic has sparked so much discussion over the past few decades, you would expect there to be empirical research to justify the government policy. However, he suggests research has been carried out between boys and girls in terms of how they behave and interact in the classroom, and research has been carried out looking at the differences between female and male teachers, but the link between these two topics of interest, the effect the sex of the teacher has on attainment, has not been studied in great detail. Furthermore, he also criticises that much of the research which has been carried out is in secondary education, and research in primary education is rare. For example, Ehrenberg et al (1995; cited in Driessen, 2007) analysed data of 3000 pupils in the eighth and tenth grades and found with regard to the grade they attained, the results showed the sex of the teachers did not have an effect on the pupils. However, the age of these students would mean they were in secondary school and so the results may not apply to that of the primary age. As a result, I made sure that my research was carried out at primary level (year one) to see if the findings were similar to that of the research carried out on secondary education.

Although, some research which has been carried at primary level is that of Francis et al (2008). They carried out research in 51 different year 3 primary school classes; the research was based on individual interviews with three girls and three boys from each of the classes. The interviews asked pupils about 'their views of the class teacher; and their opinions on gender and teaching' (2008: 23). They found when students were asked if they thought it made a difference if they had a female or a male teacher, the majority of the pupils said it did not and that they viewed their teachers as the same. This would indicate pupils do not see the gender of their teachers as important (2008: 24). As a result, this

suggests the government policy to recruit more male primary school teachers is not justifiable. However, it could be argued the pupils asked were very young and so they may not understand the concept of gender, suggesting the results may be invalid as gender issues may be present but the children are just unaware of it. Therefore, I chose to carry out my research using teachers instead of children, as you can be confident that the teachers will be aware of gender and what the impact is. Furthermore, using teachers brings up less ethical issues as children are seen as very vulnerable participants.

On the other hand, Mills et al (2004) found that there is significant evidence to suggest there is a need for more male primary school teachers; this is on the basis that the education of boy is suffering due to a 'lack of male role models' (2004: 355). They argue that this may have a big effect on boys who are brought up in a single-mother household, in the absence of a father figure; they suggest the male teacher may become influential as they are seen as father-like figures to the boys. This highlights an important issue that the lack of male teachers may have a worse effect on those without a father figure at home. As a result when conducting research I made sure to ask the teacher's opinions on this. This is because the research carried out is now over 10 years old and so gender views may now have changed, with many people feeling you don't need a father figure at home and so I was interested to see what people's views are now on this topic.

This argument is linked to Connell (1996) who chose to look at issues with masculinity; he looks at the issues of role models from a different perspective. He argues the school is not the only institution that plays a part in shaping boys behaviour, and often teachers raise the issue that they are trying to fix problems that are caused outside of school. As a result, this suggests the government policy may be looking at the wrong factor and instead of looking at the school; the government should be trying to improve home factors and should try and help parents to give children a stable, positive role model. Therefore, I chose to analyse this issue in my semi-structured interview as well.

Findings

When analysing my transcript, I found a number of themes, which were relevant to my research questions. One finding was that both participants agreed that boys are more likely to see a male as a role model; they both highlighted that it is easier for a male to relate to the boys because 'they may be more likely to relate with them with like sports and activities' (Teacher A). They also agreed with the problems this causes, due to there being few male teachers in the school. Teacher B furthers this view and suggests this is particularly a problem when the father figure is not present and so agreeing with the findings of Mills et al (2004) that role models are especially important when the home environment is not stable.

However, where participants differed is with what they saw as the main reason for why boys underachieve. Teacher A did place emphasis on the lack of male role models; she highlighted an example where a student did not behave when they were with a female one-to-one, however his behaviour improved when he was given a male one-to-one, indicating that gender may play a part thus contradicting the findings of Francis et al (2008) and Ehrenberg et al (1995; cited in Driessen, 2007). On the other hand, Teacher B highlighted an interesting factor: 'but then in high school, there are more male teachers and boys still underachieve so I think there could be other reasons'. As a result, she highlighted other factors, which could be for blame including teaching techniques and lad culture.

Additionally, another similarity with the participants was how they thought the pupils reacted to the gender of the teachers, finding that with male teachers the pupils 'seem to be more relaxed' (Teacher B) and they were 'engaged and focused most of the day with this male teacher whereas when I observed the same class with a female teacher, the boys messed around more' (Teacher A). This finding would support Kindler and Thompson (1999) who found 'the presence of men can have a tremendously calming effect on boys' (cited in Mills et al, 2004: 360). This would suggest the government policy to recruit more male primary school teachers is beneficial.

Moreover, an additional finding is that participants differed in their response as to whether the age of the child affects how they respond to the gender of the teacher. Teacher A thought younger pupils would find it harder for them to respond to a different gender, as she felt the older children would have developed the skills for them to be able to relate to any gender. Whereas, teacher B thought older children would find it harder as they were now able to have a meaningful conversations and thought they would prefer to have these conversations with the same gender. I feel, if this issue were to be explored further, it would benefit government policy as you could see if the need for teachers is required at a particular age group, as there is obvious confusion over what age deals better with the differing gender of teachers.

As well as this, I found that the respondents differed with their responses when asked why they think there is so few male teachers. Teacher A places emphasis on there not being many male teachers when she was younger as boys didn't think it was the norm to become a teacher, whereas teacher B emphasises that teaching doesn't earn much money and so males would 'rather do something else like where they can earn more money'. Although, a similarity did occur where they both suggested males do not become teachers because 'it comes more naturally to woman because they are more caring (Teacher A)' and 'its sort of about nurturing and caring which I don't think stereotypically boys aren't programmed to do that' (Teacher B). This response seems to emphasise that males lack the qualities to become a male teacher. This response is similar to that of Gill (1993) who found when males were asked why there were few woman DJ's, they also chose to blame the lack of qualities as the reason. This suggests that traditional gender roles may still be present in society.

Finally, both participants seem to acknowledge that the government policy was a good idea with them both placing emphasis on it, especially helping children who come from a troubled background or with those who have behavioural problems. However, teacher A highlighted the need for them to look at external factors, away from the school. Thus, this view agrees with the findings of Connell (1996) who also placed emphasis on looking at factors away from the school.

Reflections

One strong advantage of my research was that access was very easy to obtain due to me volunteering at a primary school: 'These links or contacts can become very important for not only gaining access, but also status and rapport' (Puwar, 1997: 5). Therefore, I felt my participants were very comfortable, as I had already built rapport with them. This meant I was able to use purposive sampling allowing me to obtain participants who were relevant to my research. As a result, I used the snowball method and so I was able to obtain participants who teach the same age group (year one) and who were the same gender (female). Although, I feel this lacks generalizability as it only allows my findings to be

generalised to females as males may have had a different experience (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, if I were to carry out my research again I would hope to also interview males allowing for my results to be more generalizable.

Moreover, I feel my choice to carry out two semi structured interviews was the right choice to make as it allowed me to have flexibility whilst following my interview guide (35 questions) which allowed me to follow up any topics which seemed important. I feel this enabled them to have a voice and so minimised my input. Furthermore, I feel this choice of method allowed me to have a non-hierarchal friendly relationship and so the participants felt comfortable (Puwar, 1997). Finally, this method enabled me to do a cross-case comparability (Bryman, 2012) However, I feel ethnography may have been beneficial, as it would allow me to see in a real life environment, how children react to different genders, although this would bring many ethical issues that would potentially outweigh the benefits.

On both occasions my interviews were conducted in the teacher's classroom, once school had finished. I felt this was a particular advantage as it enabled the participants to feel comfortable and at ease which I felt helped them open up. Although this did run the risk of the interviews being interrupted, due to it occurring after school this only occurred once in Teacher A's interview. But, I feel this did not affect the research as they only came in the classroom for a second and therefore did not have the same effect as Puwar's experiment where she felt her research was affected due to the presence of other people (1997).

As well as this, I felt when conducting my research I held a particular strength in probing questions; I felt I was able to get more information from my participants. For example, in teacher B's interview when asking about how pupils reacted, I followed up to see if she could give a real life example which led to a very detailed, insightful response on her part. Moreover, I felt I was very good at testing their interpretation to make sure I had understood what they were saying. For example, in teacher A's interview I said; 'do you mean it might not be the gender but just if you've got something in common with them?' I felt this was a particular strength as it allowed for my results to be valid and also it made the participant feel like I was showing interest as it showed I was listening. On the other hand, I feel a weakness of conducting my research was structuring questions. I felt it was particularly difficult for me to move from question to question and so my interview may have felt disjointed.

Finally, I feel an additional advantage of my research was that I took a strong amount of care in making sure no ethical issues occurred. At the beginning of the interview, I made sure both participants signed the informed consent form (appendix 2) so they were fully aware of the nature of the research (Bryman, 2012). Due to the flexibility of the interview, I made sure afterwards they were still happy for their results to be included within the study. In a similar vein, I made sure the participants remained confidential by using a pseudonym to protect their identity.

Conclusion

This research aimed to answer the question 'Is the government policy to recruit more male primary teachers justifiable?' I feel my research answered this, demonstrating the policy is justifiable due to both participants emphasising a need for more male primary school teachers because boys, especially from a disadvantaged background, need a male role model in the schooling environment to look up too. Although, it found there is confusion

over what age would benefit most from increased male teachers and so this is an area I would like to further explore.

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Ethical Approval form for SC203 project

University of Essex - Department of Sociology

Name of student: Kirby King   Email:

Project Title: Is the government policy to recruit more male primary teachers justifiable**?**

Class tutor: Neli Demireva

Describe the background, aims and objectives, and the research design of the project in no more than the space below.

The focus of my research is on whether the government policy to recruit more male primary school teachers is justifiable. The objective will be to see if it is necessary for the government to continue to try and recruit male teachers or whether they should just focus on recruiting the best teachers regardless of gender. I will be using two semi-structured interviews interviewing to females to explore teacher's experiences of their gender and whether they have seen a need for more male teachers.

Consent

Is prior informed consent to be obtained from the research participants?

Yes. I will inform participants of my aims, inform them that they will be audio recorded, outline to them that there personal details will not be revealed to anyone, and outline that they can withdraw for the study at any time. Finally I will address any questions or concerns they may have, as well as obtaining their signature on my consent form.

Deception

Is there any deception involved? No

Withdrawal from the investigation

Will participants be told explicitly that they are free to end their participation in the study at any time without jeopardy? Yes

When and how will this be done? This will be on their consent form. I will also tell them at the beginning and end of the interview.

Confidentiality

Under the Data Protection Act information about a participant is confidential unless otherwise agreed in advance.

What steps will be taken to ensure confidentiality? I will make sure the data stored on my laptop is protected by a password to ensure the participants' data remains protected and anonymous. As well as this, when there data is presented in my findings I will use a pseudonym to hide their identity.

Protection of Participants

Are the participants at risk of any harm as a consequence of their participation in the project? No.

Is the information gathered from the participants of a sensitive or personal nature? Yes, they are likely to share information, which may be personal to them. It is unlikely they will share sensitive information with me, however gender may sometimes be considered a sensitive issue so I must be prepared for this, if it is to occur.

If yes, describe the procedures to be used for

a) assuring confidentiality:

I will make sure it is clear to them that everything they tell me will remain confidential. As well as this, I will make sure the data stored on my laptop is protected by a password to ensure the participants' data remains protected and anonymous. Furthermore, when I present my findings I will use a pseudonym to hide their identity.

b) protecting participants from stress:

It is unlikely they will experience stress however I will be prepared if this is to occur, and will be able to provide support and assurance if necessary. Throughout the interview I must be aware to see if any of my questions provide stress or harm and if this occurs to stop asking these questions and to stop pushing for further information on the topic that caused discomfort. I will also assure I have tissues and bottled water with me in the event that they to become stresses. I will also ask if they would like me to stop recording for a moment.

Observational Research

If observational research is to be conducted without prior consent, please describe the situations in which observations will take place and say how local cultural values and privacy of individuals will be taken into account.

N/A.

I have read the British Sociological Association's Statement of Ethical Practice.

Signed:

Student

Kirby King

Date: 31/10/2014

Signed:

Supervisor

Date:

Informed consent forms

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study. This explains what the study is about and how you will participate in it.

The aim of the study is to look at gender roles in primary schools. To see if it is necessary for the government to continue to try and recruit male teachers or whether they should just focus on recruiting the best teachers regardless of gender.

In order to obtain your views, I would like to interview you. If you agree to this, the interview will be audio recorded and will last approximately 45 minutes.

The information you provide in the interview will be used for research purposes. It will not be used in a way that will allow your responses to be individually identified. The answers given will be anonymous and a pseudonym will be used to hide your identity and your data will be protected on a laptop with a secure password. Once I have transcribed the interview, I will give you a copy allowing you to remove any data if you are not happy.

If you have any questions about the research at any stage, please do not hesitate to ask. You are able to withdraw the interview at any time and you do not have to answer a question if you do not feel comfortable to do so.

Informed consent

Project: Is the government policy to recruit more male primary teachers justifiable?

Researcher:

E-mail:

This consent form is intended to check that you are happy with the information you have received about this study, that you are aware of your rights and responsibilities as a participant and to confirm that you wish to take part in the study.

Please circle as appropriate

1. Have you been given a description of the general purpose of the research? **Yes/no**

2. Have you been given the opportunity to discuss any questions with the researcher? **Yes/no**

3. Have you received enough information to decide whether or not you wish to take part in the study? **Yes/no**

4. Do you understand that you are free to refuse to answer any questions? **Yes/no**

5. Do you understand that you have the right terminate the interview at any time? **Yes/no**

6. Do you understand that the information you give will be treated in the strictest confidence, and that any personal details will be anonymised? **Yes/no**

7. Do you agree to take part in the study? **Yes/no**

Signature

Date

Name in block letters

_____

I confirm that quotations from the interview can be used in a final research report and other publications. I understand these will be used anonymously, with names, places and identifying details changed

Signature

Date

Research Proposal: An Ethnographic Study on the Security Response to Antisocial Behaviour at the University of Essex

Iulia-Alexandra Neag

Introduction to the topic

As a student at the University of Essex, an institution which takes pride in its multiculturalism and diversity, I have been interested in the behaviour of students on busy nights out for some time. With its own night-club on the premises, the University is responsible for preventing and attending to violent incidents that take place on campus during the night, when students leave their notebooks and laptops at home and come out in fancy dress to enjoy a night out in Sub Zero, the campus club.

In my research project I wish to observe the security response to violent and anti-social behaviour in relation to the night-time economy (NTE). Not only do I want to understand what the security team members think are the prevalent causes behind antisocial and violent behaviour in the context of busy nights in Sub Zero, but also to discuss their concerns and how they affect the preparation before starting a shift on such a night.

Another aim of my research is to observe every day, or indeed, every night experiences of security staff and how their views translate into actual behaviour when facing the occasional disorderly conduct of night-time leisure consumers. I believe that the relevance of this topic lies with the understanding of how the attitudes and values of private security, as well as the code of conduct by which they abide, influence the behaviour of campus security.

Research questions

The main question in my research refers to how the security team at the University of Essex responds to violent and antisocial behaviour, especially in the context of the NTE. I believe that this research will help in understanding what their training teaches them to do and what the official or expected response is. I also expect to find out how these individuals cope with risky situations, how they prepare for a potentially busy night and how they feel about their work and about protecting and interacting with students.

I am also interested to see how the beliefs and attitudes of campus security members differ from those of bouncers, another arm of private security in the NTE, named by Hobbs et al. (2005: 169) "the gatekeepers of the liminal zone". I wish to find out if the campus security team tends to be more concerned with the wellbeing of students rather than imposing the commercial rules of the premises (Hobbs et al., 2002), how this influences their attitudes and as an effect, their behaviour towards students. For this purpose I will compare my findings with those of Hobbs et al. (2003) in their extensive ethnographic study of bouncers and the night-time economy, to show to what extent the behaviour, attitudes and beliefs of campus security are similar to those of bouncers and in what ways they differ.

Research methods and design

My research project will consist of an overt "micro-ethnography" (Bryman, 2012: 433) carried out during the autumn term. I will be accompanying one of the Patrol Officers during night shifts on busy nights, observing the nature of their work, the interaction between them and other security staff members, students, academic or administrative staff and the public. While conducting fieldwork I expect to have the chance to conduct unstructured interviews when I feel I need to find out more about a certain incident, conversation or the participant's thoughts and attitudes towards a topic. The Security Manager also agreed to offer me anonymised information about past events that might prove relevant to my research, enabling me to analyse the documents to include in my final report.

The main reason why I chose ethnography for my research project is that I wish to gain an in-depth understanding of the work of private security, including the activities they carry out on a regular basis, the relationships and interactions within and outside the team and the language they use, while observing the participants in a naturalistic setting, rather than in an interview environment. I also aim to gain insight into the attitudes and values of individuals and how these shape their behaviour while working and when they are not. This will enable me to better understand the nature of their job and observe detailed cultural mechanisms (Hobbs, 2000) that inform the actions and beliefs of private security staff.

Through ethnography I will be able to establish rapport more easily with my participants; Bryman (2012) argues that by mixing participant observation with unstructured interviews, the researcher becomes more familiar with the participants, so interviews take the form of informal discussions and they place less pressure on the participant as they too become more naturalistic. Also, by becoming somewhat of an insider I will gain information that would not be available to me in an interview setting, whether that particular topic simply does not arise from the questions and discussions or the participant does not want or is not ready to share some information. As Hobbs argues:

> My status as an insider meant that I was afforded a great deal of trust by my informants, and I was allowed access to settings, detailed conversations, and information that might not otherwise have been available (Hobbs, 1988: 15).

Moreover, as my ethnography will consist of a mix of participant observation and (unstructured) interviewing, I will be able to combine these methods in order to get an even more detailed account of what I wish to observe; my project will benefit from the advantages of both methods. Through interviews I will be able to clarify issues or find out information that cannot be directly observed (Carrabine et al., 2014), and I will be able to ask for a participant's thoughts or views about an event or topic. By mixing the two methods I believe I will be able to gain a more faithful representation of private security as this enables me to compare what the participants think about an issue to how they act in relation to that issue.

Ethics

According to Diener and Crandall (1978, cited in Bryman, 2012), there are four main ethical principles that researchers must take into consideration when conducting a study: informed consent, privacy, harm and deception. In my research there will be no form of

deception involved, as I will be conducting an overt ethnography and my participants have been briefed on the purpose of my study; I will make sure they know exactly what I wish to find out and how I intend to do it before the start of the project, so that they can make an informed decision about participating in my research.

Informed consent will be obtained prior to the beginning of the project from the Security Manager who granted me access and the Patrol Officer assigned to assist me in my research project. All the data will be confidential, in accordance with the Data Protection Act, unless otherwise agreed in advance. In order to ensure confidentiality, all the names and identifying details will be changed; quotations and other data will be used anonymously in the final research report.

While consent will be obtained from the members of the security team, I acknowledge the fact that through my research project I will be observing other individuals who will not have given their consent to participate in the research. For this reason, no identifying physical descriptions, real names or nicknames will be used in the project, and the privacy of the individuals will be taken into account. As much as possible, observation of individuals who have not given their consent will be restricted to public places. Through these measures and through my behaviour and final report I will do my best to ensure the participants in my study come to no physical or psychological harm.

Access

The access to the field site has been negotiated with the security team on campus by contacting the Security Manager and explaining the purpose of my research. He agreed to assign one of the Patrol Officers to participate in my project and to offer me anonymised information regarding any relevant past incidents. Both the Manager and the Officer agreed to me conducting a 10-20 hour long ethnography and observing the Security Team while they work. Apart from the public spaces on campus, I will have access to the briefing room, although it is recommended I spend most of the sessions on the field. At the same time, we agreed that I will not follow the Officer into student accommodation, as this would be both a security breach and an ethical issue.

Timescale

WEEK	ACTIVITY
Week 8: 17th Nov- 23rd Nov	• Submitting proposal • Obtaining informed consent • Planning fieldwork sessions
Week 9: 24th Nov- 30th Nov	• Fieldwork (-2h) • Fieldwork (5-8h) • Typewriting field notes
Week 10: 1st Dec- 7th Dec	• Fieldwork (5-8h) • Typewriting field notes
Week 11: 8th Dec- 12th Dec	• Selecting relevant material
Weeks 12 & 13: 15th Dec- 26th Dec	• Data analysis

Weeks 14 - 16: 29th Dec- 14th Jan	• Writing the final report
Week 16: 15th Jan	• Submission of final report

Summary

To sum up, my micro-ethnography research project aims to observe the security response to antisocial and violent behaviour of students at the University of Essex within the context of the night-time economy, and how it differs from the behaviour of bouncers in private venues. Through a mix of participant observation and unstructured interviews I hope to gain rich, in-depth information about the views, attitudes and behaviour of private security towards students.

Having negotiated access to the field site, the next step is to obtain informed consent from the Security Manager and the Patrol Officer I will be accompanying. Throughout the processes of conducting research and writing the report I will consider potential ethical concerns and protect my participants as well as I can. Considering the lack of research on the topic of campus security and the night time-economy, I will draw on the study of bouncers by Hobbs et al. (2003) in order to conduct my research and present the findings.

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To what extent is criminological theory accurately presented in cinema?

Ioana Oprea

Rafter and Brown (2011) mentioned that 'while it is true that many crime films have no criminological implications whatsoever, others are so well developed theoretically as to perfectly illustrate specific criminological perspectives' (2011: 8). This is not because the filmmakers are purposely trying to illustrate the definition of some criminological theories, but rather to prove that the ideas of those theories circulate in the popular culture more than we think.

My aim in this paper is to introduce the reader to the concept of a criminological theory and mass media, give a brief history on how the cinematic movies evolved over time and most importantly, search and analyze different crime movies which depicted theories that have been studied in the criminological domain. I hope that by the end of this paper I will be able to answer the question of to what degree have those theories been faultlessly presented in cinema. I have decided to discuss more in depth three of the key criminological theories, because I believe they have led to a better understanding of crime of which are more commonly depicted in movies, more specifically rational choice theory, social disorganization theory and labelling theory.

Firstly, is it understandable that when we are talking about cinema, we refer to a type of mass media industry that became popular since 1900 (Riesman et al, 2001). Richard Ericson (1995) mentions that mass media nowadays is the most common leisure activity in our everyday lives. Mass media's most common subject of discussion is the public debate on disorder and decline, which becomes more of a metaphor causing the desire for more order and security. According to Ericson (1955), 'fun, folly, fear, fetish' are the media's own crimes through means of communications such as formats, relations, drama, spectacle and commodification.

Rafter and Brown (2011) distinguished the difference between academic criminology, and popular culture, their common space being popular criminology. Academic criminology is the category that includes information we can acquire through university and academics, while popular culture is the category that ignores the explanations of criminal behavior presented through media. Nowadays it is hard to separate academic criminology and popular culture due to majority of people having access to at least one cultural discourse of the media. Popular criminology is therefore the information found through media, such as the Internet, television and newspapers (Rafter & Brown, 2011).

A popular statement that Nicole Rafter (2000) made has shown that crime films, whether they are trying to explain a criminological theory or just give a slight hint, 'expose viewers to national (and even international) debates about the causes of crime' (2000: 47). Thus, they show reasons such as child traumas, bad neighborhoods or through meticulous designing of their crimes. They also explore the lives of different historical figures such as Nathan Leopold or Clyde Barrow, which help viewers remember and understand their past (Rafter, 2000). However, she also explains crime films and at the same time presents the criminal reasons and behaviors to an ideological level, for example they make viewers

believe that crime can be explained and consequently show the viewers the path on how to think or feel about crime, criminals and the justice system. They also push the audience to believe that there not only are people who are equipped to deal with the crime, but also how to deal with it. Above all, crime movies also tend to reflect on criminological theories (Rafter, 2000).

Secondly, Rafter (2000) presents a short history of how crime was perceived in movies, starting from the 1930s, when immigration was seen as the problem to which criminality occurs, and so movies focused more on the inner-city conditions. For example the gangster movie *Scarface* (1932) revolves around a refugee who ultimately becomes a powerful drug kingpin. By the 1940s-1950s, Freudian explanations to crime adapted the movies to a more psychological level and introducing twisted characters to the scenery. In the 1960s-1970s, criminologists found that there are not too many differences between offenders and non-offenders and found that actually, people committed offences just so they would 'escape the monotony of crime, just as in *Badlands* (1974). Another example would be that of the movie *Save the Tiger* (1972), where neutralization theory is depicted to explain juvenile delinquency (Matza, 1964). Swart (1985) stated it is the perfect depiction of a white collar criminal engaged in corporate crime. In the 1980s, they thought reasons such as drugs or family violence are reasonable to explain criminality just like in *River's Edge* (1987). Movies that are one step ahead of popular opinion are always more successful since they raise curiosity on what could happen next and because they give a different criminological perspective on crime than the usual predictable ones, such as *Little Caesar* (1930) or *Public Enemy* (1931).

Moreover, Carrabine et al. (2009) explains how the rational choice theory emerged from the classical approach in the Enlightenment period. It has been stated that Cesare Beccaria put forward the idea that it is in the human nature for people to be against each other, however, in order to coexist, we have made an agreement which works as a social contract between ourselves, based on liberalism (Beccaria, 1764). Instead of torturing offenders or even sentence them to death, Beccaria tried to use punishment as a form of deterrence so that offenders would fear the law (Rafter , 2000). He explained that if a civil person could assess the cost-benefit calculation before causing any harm, therefore he/she could be capable for human reasoning. The idea of human reasoning started from the fact that classicists believed humans are in general selfish and hedonistic, thus they commit crimes without thinking of the actual consequences. Even today, criminologists believe that the criminal behavior can be controlled through a rational thinking.

A perfect example of rational choice theory is given by Rafter and Brown (2011) in the movie *Double Indemnity* (1944). The action revolves around the protagonist called Walter Neff who has committed a murder. The voice-over narration enables the viewers to find out a lot more with regards to Walter's way of thinking and his behavior. One indication of this theory would be the appearance of the dangerous and illicit woman that materialized in this man's life, pushing him to kill her husband by seducing Neff into thinking he could have her after. The protagonist moves on to killing the husband, while balancing the possible consequence of prison sentencing or even worse, the death penalty. This is an indicator that the offender balanced the advantages and disadvantages of the crime, leaving the viewers with the idea that his decision was a matter of choice. The entire movie presents a series of events in which Neff chooses the 'bad' rather than the 'good', showing the viewers the dark face of humanity just as classicism presented it, using the words selfishness and hedonism. He had a clear understanding of the consequences; however Neff

kept choosing to commit the crime even though he knew he was going to be harshly sentenced, which proves Beccaria's theory of rational choice.

A more contemporary example would be the movie *Collateral* (2004), where Vincent (played by Tom Cruise) goes on a killing spree as a contracted killer and uses an unlucky cab driver called Max to travel around Los Angeles. Rafter and Brown (2011) explain how he has the choice not to work as a hit-man, however Vincent continuously explains to Max the reasons behind his choice: because most of the victims are bad anyway, such as informants of drug cartels. The main scene includes both Vincent and Max again, but this time as a metaphor. They were driving on a highway in L.A. when they saw a coyote that is trapped amongst the highways of the city. They both know that the animal will end up being killed because of the urbanized world we all live in and according to Rafter and Brown (2011) the animal not only represents Vincent and Max, but also the rest of humanity, since one way or another, everyone will eventually be killed by our urban world.

As a concluding idea on the rational choice theory, Hollywood movies continue to show how characters make poor decisions and criminologists argue that in today's society it is not only rational choice that pushes people into criminality but it also depends on the social circumstance we live in. 'Social forces and haunting shades of pathological monstrousness shape the behavior of even the most rational actors in much of contemporary crime cinema' (Rafter & Brown, 2011: 26).

A second key theory would be Mead and Becker's labelling theory which states that the behavior of individuals is used to classify and categorize them by other individuals or groups (cited in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013). This is a reaction that ultimately makes the offender commit more crimes by becoming that stereotype that he was assigned to and so reinforce the deviance. Based on a true story, *Capturing the Friedmans* (2003) is a documentary about a suburban middle-class family in New York. They are ripped apart when their community accused them of kidnapping and molesting children in their basement. Arnold, the father, is a teacher that conducts after-school computer classes in his basement with the help of his 18 year-old son Jesse (Rafter & Brown, 2011). After a while, Arnold and Jesse are arrested for accusations of frequent child abuse. The entire family ultimately tries to do everything to keep the father and the son out of jail, however everything collapses when feeling emotions of guilt, doubt, suspicion and loyalty began to arise. Elaine, Arnold's wife, does everything in her powers to help but despite all the rumors, Arnold and Jesse had to plead guilty for a less harsh sentence. The father ends up committing suicide in jail in 1999, while the son is freed after thirteen years of imprisonment, with the fear that he will never adapt or never be accepted again in to society. The 1980s and 1990s were a period of moral panics focused on mainly child abuse and so the suspicions were usually taken seriously. Rafter and Brown (2011) also state that the experts found that the way that the police were interrogating children could be classed as hypnosis and the film shows us exactly that. Studies show that actually child molesters are seen as the most stigmatized in prisons so Arnold had been more severely labelled and mistreated whilst in prison.

More examples include *Asylums* (1961), *Stigma* (1963) and also *Girl Interrupted* (1999), in which the protagonist, Susanna, is admitted to a mental hospital for what the doctors say, was a suicide attempt. Once admitted she faces a lot of questions regarding her own identity. From time to time the hospital wards would organize a day out so that the patients would be temporarily exposed to the real society and once spotted, Susanna is already labelled as "sick" and "mentally ill" by her acquaintances. Because of this label, she

starts to accept the image of herself which pushes her to escape from the hospital and run with a sociopath patient named Lisa. Lisa eventually tries everything to involve Susanna in her crimes, however she ultimately realizes that this is not the right way to behave and decides to finish her time in the mental hospital without any problems. In this case it is obvious that once the label of sickness is assigned to an individual, she starts embracing and becoming that label.

> Because labeling theories are ultimately concerned with the meanings of crime, open-ended documentaries in which the realities of crime are intensely debated make both excellent and cautionary cases (Rafter and Brown, 2011: 136).

By this we understand that when it comes to labelling theory, movies work also as a way to prevent certain actions, aside providing understanding of the situation. In my opinion, labelling theory exists because of the society trying to quickly find somebody to blame because of their selfish nature. Of course, some offenders keep committing crimes after being prosecuted, but others try to improve and change themselves by becoming a better person. The examples above provide as much information as we would have in a real life situation and so the viewer remains in suspense because of not knowing what the offender thinks or does without others knowing.

The last key theory refers to the social disorganization theory which states that a person's residential location has a major impact on whether he/she will engage in criminal activities (Park et al, 1925). The social disorganization perspective came from Chicago School and the scholars believed that the Chicago city was separated in five concentric zones, out of which the transitional zone was most prone to crimes due to a higher social mobility. For example, an individual that comes from an unprivileged neighborhood is more likely to commit crimes compared to a person who comes from a rich city. *Taxi Driver* (1976) presents the life of a former veteran soldier and a U.S. marine named Travis Bickle. He works as a taxi driver in New York because he has insomnia and likes working long hours. Travis owns a journal which consists the voice-over narration in the movie, fact that gives us a lot of information on what, why and how the protagonist thinks. Also, we gather that his character is rather introvert, therefore he likes to be out of touch with the external world around him and 'his urban experience is shaped by the value conflicts, fraying of social ties, and absence of family and other stabilizing social institutions that Chicago school theorists wrote about' (Rafter and Brown, 2011: 75). Pushed by loneliness and anger from the politics and all the "scum" constituting the prostitutes and drug and alcohol addicts, he decides to hire some firearms and starts murdering people in an attempt to save a 13 year-old prostitute as well. This film is an example that proves how social disorganization is presented by Travis, by explaining at the beginning of the movie how New York City is the perfect place for deviant actions and illicit behaviors. Also, by Travis analyzing the night life of the city in detail with all the good and bad, instead of protecting the people from crimes, he becomes one of the criminals. Just as the theory states, Travis became a criminal due to being exposed to the criminal characteristics of the city and so the film presents his past and present, and more importantly through the help of his journal, even the future for the audience to understand the situation better.

A more contemporary film that applies to this theory would be *The Brave One* (2007) which presents Erica Bain as a happily married woman that happens to have been in the wrong place at the wrong time with her husband. They both end up being physically assaulted and her husband ultimately die as a result of the fatal injuries. She becomes a different person trying to avenge her loss and also to repay the crimes committed against women, therefore

she hires weapons and murders offenders, making it a proof that Erica has been influenced by the criminality of New York City (Park et al, 1925).

According to Rafter and Brown (2011) in both examples of the social disorganization theory, the protagonists were troubled, and after being left alone and powerless they returned to violence. Those examples are not showing the precise characteristics of the theory but rather the inability or failure of social institutions to address social suffering.

In conclusion, I have tried to give relevant examples to the theories chosen, however the variety of films that depict those theories are large and the possibilities in which crimes can occur are endless. In my mind, cinemas aid people in combining the popular culture with the academic criminological theory, presenting the movies in such a way so that everyone would understand, without having to read about rational choice theory, labelling theory, social disorganization theory or any other criminological theory. No matter how the movie is presented, it gives the audience an opportunity to interpret a different possibilities of crime, to see what other cultures or habits exist in the world. Indeed, some movies tend to exaggerate on how far an individual can go for revenge just like in *The Brave One* (2007) or some show the actual truth beneath all the lies of society such as *Capturing the Friedmans* (2003).

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"The virtuous man contents himself with dreaming that which the wicked man does in actual life." (Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*) Discuss.

Jasmine Powell

'Dreaming permits each and every one of us to be quietly and safely insane every night of our lives.' – William Dement

According to the influential psychologist Sigmund Freud, the psyche (an energy system with interacting forces (Stevens, 2008)) is present in every individual ranging from the virtuous and righteous to the wicked and immoral. This interaction forms separate conflicting divisions due to ambivalence - 'the simultaneous coexistence in the mind of opposite emotions' (Thurschwell, 2009: 53) – which Freud developed over time with his transition from the topographical phase to the structural phase (Sandler et al, 1997). Individuals strive to maintain balance between opposing forces of the divisions, although this can be problematic in everyday life due to ambivalence, resulting in conflicting virtuous and wicked characteristics. Consequently, individuals seek expression through alternative means (most prominently through dreams) to distort unconscious feelings and resolve intra-psychic conflict (Stevens, 2008). Some of the most influential writings of Freud were based on dreams, his developed model of the mind, and his simultaneous usage of the methods of free association alongside his process of dream interpretation. Overall, Freud's theory showed how dreams can be used to content the virtuous man by identifying how drives, motives and the unconscious play a vital part in both repressed actual life and through expression within the sleeping state, as an alternative to the wicked man who contents himself with expressing his drives freely in actual life.

Freud's topographical model presented the psyche as being divided into the conscious, the preconscious and the unconscious (Sandler et al, 1997), all with conflicting desires due to the imbalance of energy (Thurschwell, 2009). The unconscious was characterised as the primitive mode of functioning where individuals responded to the drives and wishes of the pleasure principle by seeking gratification (Sandler et al, 1997). Freud depicted the vastness of the unconscious compared to its counterparts with the iceberg analogy, the unconscious being the submerged part of the iceberg possibly reflecting how it is the master of the conscious and preconscious due to being the centre of gravity (Stafford-Clark, 1967). Despite the unconscious being the "master" of mental life, individuals are not always fully aware of the influence the repressed unconscious has on their actions (Stafford-Clark, 1967: 114). The opposing divisions that functioned according to the reality principle consisted of the conscious (everything an individual is aware of) and the preconscious (unthreatening knowledge and memories accessible to the conscious) (Sandler et al, 1997). In comparison to the capability of the smooth transition between the preconscious and the conscious, an attempt of access from the unconscious would pose as threatening and could cause the expression of neurotic symptoms due to the unconscious overpowering drives – sexual, aggressive and death (Sandler et al, 1997).

Freud developed his theory by forming a tripartite explanation of the structures within the psyche: id, ego and superego (Sandler et al, 1997); however he clearly stated these were not visible processes but a conceptualisation of the interacting forces and energy (Stevens,

2008). Similar to the unconscious, Freud characterised the id as being dominated by the pleasure principle (Thurschwell, 2009), which had found expression from birth by seeking satisfaction of innate needs (Stafford-Clark, 1967). More generally, the id required discharge of its instinctual energy through conscious actions or unconscious phantasy, inhibiting this release caused tension and anxiety (Stevens, 2008). In conflict with this division – similar to the conscious and preconscious - was the ego, which Freud characterised as being dominated by the reality principle, with a focus on self-preservation through the use of defence mechanisms against the unconscious (Sandler, 1997). Despite the conflicting instinctual id and self-preserving ego, the pleasure principle and the reality principle were not antagonistic; both divisions sought pleasure, although in different time frames (Fancher, 1973). The id required instant satisfaction whereas the ego was able to postpone satisfaction due to simultaneously taking into consideration the reality of the internalised external world which created anxiety (Stafford-Clark, 1967).

In addition, the ego had a conflicting relationship with the superego characterised as a division dominated by values and ideals (Sandler et al, 1997). The superego emerged as a result of the moulding of behaviour through reinforcement and/or punishment in childhood, producing internalised control dominated by ideals which conflicted with the egos instinctual needs (Stevens, 2008). In addition, the conflicting relationship between the ego and the superego was due to the superego's need to continuously measure the 'real ego of a person against an ego ideal – an ideal image of the self' (Thurschwell, 2009: 89).

Overall, Freud believed these structures mostly functioned outside of consciousness, although an awareness of the conscious was required when there was an imbalance between the conflicting divisions to allow for a psychological adaptation between the interacting forces (Sandler et al, 1997). An important distinction between the three conceptualised forces is   how they were determined: the id and the superego were considered to be influenced by the past, whereas the ego is influenced by individual experience and events (Stafford-Clark, 1967). Subsequently, when the ego cannot overcome the conflict of the id, superego and the external world this could have particular consequences in actual life. An overpowering id could result in risks due to the high demand of gaining pleasure (this could stem from original innate needs requiring satisfaction for survival) without taking into account the reality principle, the external world or its values and ideals (Stevens, 2006) - this could be a characteristic of a wicked man's psyche.

Outlining the structures within the psyche revealed the different principles individuals were dominated by, however, when attempting to understand individual's actions in everyday life, this required the interpretation of the motives which influenced actions whether conscious or unconscious (Hopkins, 1991). Consequently, Freud attempted to access the unconscious meaning of actions through psychoanalytic therapy using a method of self-description - free association - where the patient freely verbalised their unstructured thoughts (Stevens, 2008). Silence during this method was not always a hindrance as this potentially revealed the act of repression taking place between an individual's conscious to unconscious thoughts or possibly the sudden awareness of unconscious hostile thoughts (Thurschwell, 2009). An additional way Freud discovered how individuals unconscious meaning of actions was expressed within free association was through parapraxes or Freudian slips - mispronunciations or moments of forgetting (Thurschwell, 2009).

Generally, Freud had confidence in the free association method as a successful way of accessing the unconscious meaning of actions; this was due to it being the successful solution to an issue alien to consciousness – phobias (Freud, 1963). Although in time, he developed the belief that dreams were the 'royal road to the unconscious', this led him to the simultaneous use of free association and dream interpretation as a way of gaining access to the unconscious (Stafford-Clark, 1967: 51). However, a prominent limitation of accessing the unconscious is its capability of disguising the true motivations which have indirectly influenced an act - this could be due to its disturbing nature, or alternatively, the motivation may not even be visible to the dreamer (Stevens, 2008). In addition, a limitation of the combination of these methods is the possibility that the dreamer disregards dreams as useful due to the focus on the strange character of both meaningless and obvious dreams (Stafford-Clark, 1967).

To further explain why Freud believed dreams could reveal the unconscious motivations of the mind he considered what occurred during sleep (Stafford-Clark, 1967). When falling into the sleep state, the conscious and preconscious reality principle processes become relaxed and overshadowed by the unconscious pleasure principle, this caused increased anxiety due to the blurred boundaries of reality (Stevens, 2008). Formally involuntary ideas repressed into the unconscious in actual life were transformed into voluntary ideas during sleep and in the process of dreaming (Freud, 2006). 'The sleeping state makes dream-formation possible by reducing endopsychical ownership' (Freud, 2006: 541), this reduces the extent to which the unconscious is repressed within the night, allowing access to consciousness (Freud, 1963). It is important to consider the transition back to 'actual' life from the sleeping state where an increase of endopsychical ownership occurs, this can be why individuals have a tendency to forget their dreams due to the repression into the unconscious. However, free association allows the reactivation of these dreams into consciousness (Freud, 1963).

Freud believed children dream of the fulfilment of wishes which have been unsatisfied the previous day, whereas initially, he saw adults' dreams as mostly unintelligible (Stafford-Clark, 1967) due to the increasingly unconscious and distorted motivations (Stevens, 2008). Dreams arise from mental impulses which have been repressed in waking life; these mental impulses emerge in dreams as manifestations of the mental forces (Freud, 1963). Freud believed that adult dreams can be acts of wish fulfilment, fear, reflection, reproduction of memory or of comfort (Freud, 2006). In addition, dreams can be placed into three categories: those that are intelligible gaining little attention, those that cause confusion in the process of placing it into mental life and those that appear meaningless and unintelligible (Freud, 1963).

The function of dreams is compromise: a way of expressing wish-fulfilling fantasies which were repressed in the unconscious to avoid the risk of these unconscious wishes overpowering into the conscious and past the censorship within actual life (Fancher, 1973). This compromise gives the virtuous man an ability to content himself with dreaming, this is due to the ability to satisfy wishes in the sleeping state in the form of fantasies motivated by ideas repressed in the unconscious rather than in actual life (Fancher, 1973) where this could be seen as characteristic of a neurotic wicked man. Overall, 'dreams serve as a kind of harmless "safety valve" for unconscious and dangerous impulses' (Fancher, 1973: 119); this is how the virtuous man contents himself in dreaming that which the wicked man does in actual life.

However, when identifying how drives, motives and the unconscious play a vital part in both actual life and the sleeping state, it is important to consider the deceptive nature of wish fulfilment dreaming. It provides the dreamer with representations of satisfaction and imaginary gratification for the unconscious and pleasure seeking ego by blurring the boundaries between pleasure and reality (Hopkins, 1991). A virtuous man can contemplate wishes not producing real actions due to the reality principle, therefore they are content with the unconscious expression through wish-fulfilment dreaming whilst maintaining repressed in actual life. However for the wicked man this would be incomprehensible due to the overwhelming need for satisfaction through the expression of the unconscious in both actual life and the sleeping state (Hopkins, 1991).

During the process of free association and dream interpretation, Freud portrayed dreams as 'unruly and uncontainable by the bounds of conscious will or common sense' (Thurschwell, 2009: 30). He found it important to distinguish between the dreams latent content (underlying meaning) (Stevens, 2008) and its manifest content (the recollection of distorted fulfilment of repressed unconscious wishes or latent dream-thoughts) (Stafford-Clark, 1967). Freud used the phrase 'dream-work' to describe the automatic and beyond conscious awareness transition (Fancher, 1973: 112) and change of expression (Freud, 2006: 531) between the 'latent motive and manifest realisation' (Hopkins, 1991: 111). Dream thoughts occur in waking life as a consequence of dream-censorship when an individual produces the manifest content (Freud, 2006). However, it is clear that the unconscious censoring mechanisms are also continually active during sleep due to the disguising and distorting of the underlying wish fulfilment, motivation and desires of the pleasure seeking ego and the unconscious within dreams (Stevens, 2008). A difficulty during the process of trying to reveal the unconscious motivation of dreams was the high number found not to have a single latent motive but a structure of motives (Hopkins, 1991).

Freud believed that the combination of free association and dream interpretation provided a way of explaining the dream's relation to waking mental life despite the peculiarities of the content to waking thought (Freud, 1963). Dream interpretation could provide the virtuous man with reasoning for the egoistic wishes in dreams which could be considered as neurotic and criminal (Hopkins, 1991) - potential characteristics of a wicked man. The combination of the methods also allowed Freud to discover a way of uncovering the latent content from the manifest content by revealing the dream work and identifying the distorting processes used during the transition (Stafford-Clark, 1967).

One example of a distorting process was displacement where energy which activated the latent dream thought was displaced onto another idea (Fancher, 1973), this was a shifting of emotional reaction within an individual's life (Thurschwell, 2009). This distorting process can be linked to symbolisation where the manifest content can be a symbol of its subsequent latent ideas (Fancher, 1973). One prominent way Freud identified symbolisation was in sex symbolism, he held a controversial belief that these symbols were universally recognised, for example, a dreams manifest content would be an elongated penetrative object and the latent idea would be a penis (Thurschwell, 2009).

However, undistorted sexual content was a common theme that arose in the free association of dreams (Freud, 1963). It could be said that the wicked man in actual life would gain satisfaction by an immediate means, without considering the egos reality principle, the superegos values or the dangers in the external world. However, the virtuous

man could content himself in dreaming where he could satisfy his repressed desires without the dangers and the demanding forces of the ego, superego and the external world.

Another process was condensation where 'two or more latent dream thoughts [were] represented in the manifest content by a single dream symbol' (Fancher, 1973: 115), which produced over-determined symbolic elements in waking life which carried many wishes (Thurschwell, 2009). An example could be the combination of people with common characteristics symbolised into in one representation, through free association the commonality could be interpreted (Freud, 1963). In dreaming, a virtuous man may satisfy his wishes freely, however, in actual life, he may believe that the nature of these wishes or the means he used to satisfy his wishes could make him appear as wicked and immoral. By condensing a number of latent dream thoughts into a single dream symbol, this represented how the reality principle in actual life disguises the fulfilment of wishes in dreams, restricting them from making an individual appear neurotic.

Finally, secondary revision was a distorting process where during free association, one dream is verbalised in two manifest accounts - any differences in the accounts could represent weak distortions of the manifest dream (Fancher, 1973). In addition, the verbalisation of a dream from a perceptual dream acted as a defence when forming the manifest content due to the dangerous nature which required extensive censoring in actual life, as well as the censoring which took place during dream-work when the latent content of a dream was distorted (Fancher, 1973). This secondary revision could be a process used by individuals to characterise themselves in the most virtuous and righteous way, this is why individuals in actual life can be reluctant to interpret their latent content of dreams due to either the occurrence of unintelligible dreams or the recollection of the dream as 'a hostile manifestation of some higher powers, demonical and divine' (Freud, 2008).

To conclude, Freud's theory portrayed dreams as wish-fulfilments stemming from drives such as sexual, aggressive or death (Sandler et al, 1997). Despite the latent content of dreams having 'the greatest external similarity and internal kinship with the creations of insanity' (Stafford-Clark, 1967: 52), dreams of this nature can be experienced by a virtuous man due to the dreams compatibility with healthy actual life, this is revealed through free association and dream interpretation where the underlying unconscious wishes are identified (Stafford-Clark, 1967). The virtuous man focuses on balancing the conflicting forces against the ego: the instinctual id, the moral superego and the dangerous external world before acting out (Stevens, 2008). Unlike the wicked man who requires instant satisfaction due to the overpowering id which leads to acting out of unconscious desires, the virtuous man defers his need for satisfaction in actual life and contents himself with dreaming as this allows the release of his repressed desires from actual life (Thurschwell, 2009).

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"FGM is not Cultural, it is Criminal; it is not Tribal, it is Torture." Keith Vaz, MP. Discuss

Jack Roberts

In some social topics, there can be a debate about what is an acceptable and an unacceptable practice, especially in terms of ethical considerations. The reasons why ethics are an important thing to consider is that some historical and social practices can be seen to break ethical ideas. This becomes more debatable when ideas such as human rights become involved. One practice which can be interpreted in many ways and divide opinion regards the modification of female genitalia, which can be called various different things such as female genital mutilation (FGM), female genital cutting (FGC), and female circumcision (FC). Issues with this phenomena are sometimes discussed, such as by Member of Parliament Keith Vaz, who said 'FGM is not Cultural, it is Criminal; it is not Tribal, it is Torture', implying that instead of being seen as a cultural phenomenon, it can (or should) be seen as breaking international laws such as human rights. Whilst different people use different terms, FGM seeming to be the more common one, Rahman and Toubia (2000) note that using the word mutilation can be considered offensive and inappropriate because many women who have this done do not see themselves as mutilated, and any terminology associated with this is a means to insult the culture overall. Here, FGC will be used to discuss the practice as it can be regarded as a more neutral term, and also allows a wide range of different practices to be recognised. In terms of FGC itself, whilst different people categorise different practices into this term, or along a scale of (what could be their own interpreted) seriousness, Skaine (2005) describes how the World Health Organisation (WHO) divides FGC into four categories; type 1, where the prepuce/clitoral hood is removed (clitoridectomy), type 2, where the clitoris, prepuce and part (or all) of the labia minora is removed (excision), type 3, where almost all of the genitalia is removed, including the labia majora, which is then stitched or closed up to form a narrow opening (infibulation), and type 4, which incorporates other practices, such as general piercing, incision, burning and cauterisation, scarification and other practices. In most cases and studies, when people and researchers talk about FGC, their implied intent is at types 2 and 3, but type one will be included in the definition of FGC furthermore, with type 4 being mentioned later, individually.

Firstly, there are issues with FGC in the area of female rights and notions of sexual and gender equality. The main point is that the ritualised form of FGC, especially the more serious forms, serve as a reminder to women of their inferior position of society, and parts of this still remain even in the de-ritualised operation. Rahman and Toubia (2000) suggest that the use of FGC on women is actually in breach article one of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (the Women's Convention), which is a principle supporting freedoms from discrimination against women, including restrictions and prohibitions made on a sex based term. Both article one and two of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) can also be seen as involved here, as they suggest we are born free and equal in our rights, and are entitled to all rights and freedoms without fear of discrimination on terms of factors like sex. The breach of rights here is that FGC discriminates sexually, and lessens access and availability of rights to women. FGC can be used as a tool to impose a particular culture's idea of a responsible relationship on girls, as seen with infibulation, where surgery is done so the girl has a small opening where her

genitalia once were, and due to this she cannot freely and painlessly have sex, and to have children she must be're-opened', meaning the small opening is enlarged, usually involving using knives to cut it open. The purpose of this is to make sure that the girls have their sexual reproduction methods controlled, and with other forms of FGC, it can include their desire to have sex as the reduced function, meaning they are less likely to leave their husbands for other men (Sanderson, 1981; Rahman and Toubia, 2000). Therefore, there is a strong message embedded into the purpose of the practice of FGC, regarding how women and girls are the subjugated members of society, in political, economic, and other wide reaching spheres of society, as the only role they will believe they can reach is the role of a mother, due to the suppression of her sexuality. Therefore, FGC can be regarded as criminal as it infringes upon notions of sexual equality and imposes a physical representation of a limitation of what they can do, or their purpose, within society.

A more central argument to the view that FGC is a harmful practice and should be considered not a cultural phenomenon, but a form of cruelty, is the argument on grounds of health. In particular, the specific human right which is broken by some forms of FGC is article 25 of the UDHR (Rahman and Toubia, 2000), saying we all have rights to living standards that promote sufficient well-being and health for ourselves and others. Whilst it could be interpreted to mean physical health, it can also include the mental stability and welfare of a person, and if something changes their chances at health in the future too. Both Rahman and Toubia (2000) and Dorkenoo (1994) suggest that most doctors would not support the practice because it would provide little physical benefit. Skaine (2005) demonstrates that Laiser categorises all physical issues and complications of FGM into three groups; immediate issues, long-term issues, and psycho-sexual and psychological issues. Immediate issues are the pain and suffering caused by not using anaesthetic, which is common especially in rural areas, and as well as the possibility of serious bleeding, diseases which as sepsis, tetanus, or any disease associated with uncleanliness and poor hygiene has a chance to infiltrate the body. Another issue pointed out is urine retention, because of the pain caused when urinating. Issues not directly caused by the operation itself come under long-term issues. These include cysts, urethra damage, urinary tract infection, pain during sex, and fistula (tearing of the flesh which usually separates two body parts, in this case it can be between the urethra and vagina or vagina and rectum). Repeated scarring, which can occur from repeated issues in births, can cause extreme complications in birth putting the life of the mother and baby at risk. Also mentioned were psycho-sexual issues; a woman may be too traumatised to even touch and clean her own genitals, especially when infibulation is used, so letting anyone else near them, even for sex, is too much to cope with. It is furthermore noted that as most people simply treat this as a normal thing, all psychological trauma is repressed, and many do not feel confident enough to talk about it openly, causing issues throughout that person's life. Sanderson (1981) also notes that due to the stress of the procedure, many girls develop a fear of medical examination, meaning if they got ill later in life they would put their health at risk as they would be too afraid to seek help. Therefore, it can be suggested that due to these three factors, incorporated into the topic of human rights for health and wellbeing, FGM may be classified as a form of physical and psychological torture due to the damages it causes.

Thirdly, some issues involved with FGM which make it appear as more of a criminal act are issues of freedom, such as consent and physical integrity. Rahman and Toubia (2000) suggest the right to physical integrity is broken, as the breaking of this right implies that this person has had decisions about matters affecting your body have been made for you without your consent (physical integrity is the idea we have personal autonomy). They go on to suggest that as one premise for FGM is that a woman's body is flawed because of their

genitalia/genital structure, and it needs correction. This disregards the idea that a woman has intrinsic dignity, which would lead to acceptance of her body, and this idea of a correction is imposed onto her based on a socially constructed paradigm of womanhood. Because of social conditions, such as little access for women into local economies, Rahman and Toubia go on and suggest women are coerced into accepting this practice as they have no other means to avoid it, making meaningful consent improbable or impossible. Furthermore, the issue of consent among children is an issue, as highlighted by Dorkenoo (1994) and Rahman and Toubia (2000), which is a rights issue highlighted in the Children's Rights Convention (the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989), and suggests that as a child may be unable to make an evaluated decision, based on evidence, they cannot fully consent to the procedure. Thus, as the child cannot give proper consent, it would not be in their full interest to go ahead with this procedure, as they may be coerced to have the operation, and what are the parent's (they would make decisions on behalf of the child, usually) best interests may not be what their child thinks. Therefore, the issue of consent is involved in ideas surrounding physical integrity and whether it is possible for a child to fully consent, and it may be a breach of their rights.

However, we can see problems with the idea of seeing FGC as a form of torture or as a human rights issue. One issue is the alternative of male circumcision. As Gollaher (2001) notes, the male foreskin can be considered a normal, functioning part of the human body, yet many cultures opt to remove that too. He also notes how some groups formed to raise awareness that it is not necessary, and how social activists like Marilyn Milos (Gollaher, 2001), who describes how circumcision procedures are described as painless, yet cause actual distress to babies. Furthermore, in the UK, the National Health Service (2014) still provides ritual circumcisions (in some areas), showing that even though their aim is to provide healthcare needs to those who need it, resources are being used up on those who are only being circumcised based on ideology. This, in turn, demonstrates that the UK healthcare system may be causing unnecessary suffering to those who need surgery the most. It is also mentioned in a letter from the British Medical Journal in 1996 that:

> The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states that children have rights to self-determination, dignity, respect, integrity, and non-interference and the right to make informed decisions. Unnecessary circumcision of boys violates these rights" (cited in Gollaher, 2001: 164).

Therefore, if even the British Medical Journal suggests that circumcision based on ritual is unlawful and a breach of human rights, it can be suggested the NHS is breaching human rights by allowing access to, and in some ways promoting, male circumcisions. Therefore, we can suggest that social attitudes to male circumcisions are unequal to female circumcisions in the west, and acceptance of male circumcisions here based on 'cultural reasons' could be accepted, yet they are unacceptable reasons for FGC elsewhere (particularly clitoridectomy and type 4 operations).

Whilst it can be seen that FGC is a criminal and tortuous act, as described by Keith Vaz, MP, it can also be inferred from his statement that what he intends to do and what should be done everywhere is a criminalisation of the act. However, it could be suggested that FGC cannot be eliminated fully, and will always exist in some form based on what different groups perceive as torture. Thomas (2000) found that in Meru, Kenya, when British colonial forces banned female circumcision, many young girls defied the ban, and over 2,400 people had been charged on grounds of defying the ban in only three years. Whilst some of these people were not the circumcised girls, many were girls who had chosen to

circumcise themselves with razor blades, even though they knew even their peers and elders may not recognise it as a proper circumcision because it was not done 'properly', as part of a rite. Therefore, by doing it themselves, and going against the laws imposed, it could be seen that the women were trying to keep a practice that allowed the women to gain some social standing at that time, but it could also be interpreted as a statement of their own femininity, and power of womanhood, in the same way that a surgery for clitoral reduction and clitoral hood reduction (which can be classed as type 1 or 4 FGC, as outlined earlier) could be used as a fashion and feminist statement by western women, based on their idea of beauty and self-confidence (Johnsdotter and Essen, 2010). Therefore, whilst it can be suggested that patriarchal social structures are a reason why some women are practically forced to engage in FGC, it is possible that resistance of past bans can be seen as resistance against western discourses of feminism to create a more generalised feminism or an 'African' feminism, putting local interests into feminist ideas, as FGC is most prevalent here (Skehan, 2005) and thus must be seen in a localised context.

In the west, we can also see issues regarding genital surgeries relating to issues with FGC. Sheehan (1997) describes how in the west, female genital cutting was a widespread phenomenon, and was used to treat what were seen as a wide range of diseases, even though some of these diseases, such as hysteria, diseases that were associated with masturbation, and even promiscuity. Whilst the work of Isaac Baker Brown promoted clitoridectomy, but was eventually disproven (Sheehan, 1997: 325), ideas that female genitals were related to various health problems persisted for many years, and did not discredit Brown's influence in the USA, which continued to use it years after it fell out of mainstream use in the UK. Therefore, we can see that there already is a history of FGC in the west, which was established under socially constructed ideas, akin to what can be seen in northern and sub-Saharan Africa, where the modern focus of the FGC argument is aimed at (Skaine, 2005). However, the issue of operations on intersex people raises more concern on what the west counts as a mutilation. Chase (2002) notes how medical establishments in the USA regard intersex people, who have characteristics (which can include physical genitalia appearance and function) that do not allow them to be easily classified as male or female. Due to this, Chase notes that many doctors will discuss how the child must be assigned a binary sex, and will operate on the child to 'correct' the error they perceive. The issue is that the child will have not just a gender, but their own sex imposed on them, and as this is done early in life, the child has no say on what they want, as they are too young to even speak yet. Another issue that Chase found, even occurring to herself, is that a child may feel homosexual, yet may have actually been born as the opposite sex to what they technically are now, and discovering how this was hidden can cause severe psychological distress. It can be argued that these surgeries are unnecessary and damaging to the child's psychological health, as well as showing that they take consent out of the child's hands, and break their right to physical integrity: the same argument against FGC in other culture's practices. Therefore, this shows that established practices in the modern day USA and the west can break human rights too and count as FGM or genital mutilation for all sexes, but is only accepted as it is deemed 'clinical', 'scientific', and needed to fit the binary code of sexual identification the west constructed.

In conclusion, we can suggest that on grounds of health and physical integrity, FGM can be seen as a breach of human rights, with issues of equality for women also being an issue, and may therefore be considered a form of torture and a criminal act, as suggested by Keith Vaz, MP. However, because of issues highlighted by consent, and what we class as circumcision or 'mutilation' of women, we may need to be careful of what we classify as a practice that is counted in categorisation of FGC. Issues of consent and physical integrity

can be brought into the realms of male circumcision, as it is shown that the practice can still be harmful to men, yet we do not address it in the same way as FGC. Also, by observing historical and modern ways ideas on binary sexual identity are imposed on children in the west, we must also consider whether we are being hypocritical and are really criticising FGM based on its perception as 'something foreign', African, or indeed in racist terms.

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The ways and extent to which 'risk' has transformed Western Criminal Justice Systems

Alina Carabat

The last four decades have seen major changes in Western penal policy which could primarily be described as a 'decline of the rehabilitative ideal' – a notion brought about by Francis Allen (1981) in his book with the same title. The 1970s Western criminal justice system saw a shift away from what Garland (2010) calls 'penal welfarism' which used to be the dominant method of crime control ever since the 1890s towards a more risk-based crime control. This essay will look at the emergence of risk-based criminal justice as a key way of controlling crime by analysing Garland's theoretical-historical perspective on its development and will critically assess the ways in which Western criminal justice systems have been transformed by this postmodernist notion of 'risk'. It will do so by identifying differences in Western criminal justice systems pre and post 1970s and decide whether these can be attributed to the notion of 'risk'. The essay will then go on to analyse the extent to which this notion has remodelled Western criminal justice systems by drawing on the differences presented.

Garland (2010) traces the birth of penal welfarism as a dominant method for crime control in both Britain and America all the way back to the 1890s. At that time both the UK and USA, big welfare states, aimed to reduce crime rates by bringing people out of poverty. This decision was based on the idea that if people suffered no economic deprivation then there would be no need for them to break the law. Penal welfarism is based on the positivist idea put forward by Cesare Lombroso (2006), according to which there is something biologically wrong with offenders and they should be 'fixed'. Therefore, penal welfarism is a treatment based model of criminal justice which aims to reintegrate people. Garland (2010) goes on to describe the welfare model of imprisonment as aimed towards the normalisation of offenders and their release back into society as entirely conforming human beings. However, rehabilitation was not always the outcome; high re-offending rates and the fact that from the 1950s crime rates kept going up led to a recognition that the welfare model and the entire 'treatment system' were unable to cope with the problem of crime. As a consequence of this perceived failure of the criminal justice system a new set of criminological ideas, coined 'control theories' (Garland, 2001), which regard crime as a problem not of deprivation but of poor forms of control, start emerging and shaping government policies during the 1970s. The notion of risk was brought to the forefront of Western criminal justice systems by a series of features of neoliberal governance which portrayed risk as a preventative technology (O'Malley, 2010). This led to a number of transformations in criminal justice and risk-based criminal justice has become a central component of the new justice system. This new justice system has now spread out to most Western nations taking on a particularly harsh approach in neoliberal states such as the UK and US.

The 1970s brought along an attack on welfarism coming from both the political Left and Right. From the Right, people like James Q. Wilson (1975) argued that the treatment model made criminal justice too lenient and that the welfare system creates a dependency culture leading to more crime rather than deterring it. Suggestions coming from the Left were criticised for being rather radical and challenging to put into practice: ideas such as

abolishing the prison and the criminal justice system itself were certainly not practical for the government. Nonetheless, the Right came up with quite practical, politically themed solutions, mainly based on classicist ideas, which matched the beliefs of the neoliberal government. This brought about a move back to pre-positivism penal policies which used to be in place before the 1890s, now called neoclassicism. Consequently, Bentham's and Beccaria's (1983) notion of the rational, utilitarian offender, defined as a perfectly normal individual who is simply subjected to too many temptations experienced a revival. Also, according to classical criminologists' ideas, the best way to have a significant impact on offending is through control. So as Garland (2010) rightly points out, while the criminologies of the welfare state period were based on sociological theories such as relative deprivation or anomie, and criminality was seen as a symptom of need, during the 1970s 'control theories' such as situational crime prevention, rational choice theory, routine activity, which Garland also terms 'criminologies of everyday life', started influencing Western government policy.

When it comes to the way in which Western societies and political systems conceptualise crime and criminals, Garland (2010) talks about two main outcomes brought about by this neoclassical turn. The first outcome he identifies is what he calls 'criminology of the self'- one of the leading contemporary crime control philosophies according to which criminals are just like us and all human beings present a risk, being potential offenders acting in accordance to the opportunities arising. According to Clarke's (1996) suggestions for prevention, in order to reduce crime rates states must 'reduce the physical opportunities for offending' and 'increase the chances of an offender being caught (1996: 335). These days this is done by altering the environment in which potential criminals move, under Clarke's model of 'situational crime prevention'. Therefore, one of the ways in which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems was by shifting its focus away from punishing crime and towards preventing it. Zedner (2007) holds a similar view arguing that pre-1970 crime and deviance in Western countries was governed by responding to crimes that had already been committed, whereas contemporary crime control is pre-emptive, risk-bound and forward looking. This risk oriented method has also shifted attention away from the rehabilitative profile supported by the welfarist penal justice system according to which offenders' particular dispositions could have been altered through rehabilitation, focusing all the efforts of the current government into altering the physical environment. Consequently, the argument can be made that the state has given up on understanding the motives that lay behind crimes and instead targets minimising the harm they caused. However, situational crime prevention has been criticised by authors such as Repetto (1976) for dispersing crime rather than reducing it and for the high costs required for transforming physical surroundings.

It was also during the 70s that the state started passing some of the responsibility of crime control on to the public. This resulted in responsibilisation policies according to which the public became accountable for helping themselves. Coined by Garland (2010) as 'responsibilisation' this notion implies an increased public responsibility through actions such as making sure windows and doors are locked, engaging in neighbourhood watch schemes, installing CCTV cameras etc. in order to reduce 'criminogenic situations'. This has been criticised by O'Malley (2010) for simply sending offending behaviour elsewhere, an action he terms 'behavioural channeling'. 'Responsibilisation' marks one other way in which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems. Full responsibility for crime prevention had always been taken on by the state but now the public itself is brought into criminal justice, indicating a neoliberal emphasis. This, however, raised a number of gender related concerns while also criticising the fact that these policies relieved the state of

responsibility for keeping its citizens safe. Feminist scholars such as Stanko (1996) argued that making women responsible for preventing victimization by avoiding certain areas and not being provocative may in fact lead to victim blaming. Furthermore, risk has led to the privatisation of policing in Western countries. Traditional policing has become a fragmented mix of public and private services whereby more and more policing functions are taken over by private security firms and where private businesses and individuals either police themselves through the purchase of security systems or turn to security firms, illustrating another neoliberal emphasis whereby the market is expected to provide solutions, in this case to the problem of crime. However, this is not to say that the state has given out all its power; the state still controls these private agencies but it is now 'steering rather than rowing' as Osborne and Gaebler (1992) would argue.

The second outcome Garland (2010) identifies is what he calls 'the criminology of the other' which assumes that although situational crime prevention and behavioural channeling can reduce the risk of people committing crimes, some individuals are simply beyond prevention, therefore are not like us at all and must be excluded from society. Young (1999) also argues that the Western crime control system which used to be based on penal welfarism was geared towards including people, trying to bring the excluded into society by helping them out of poverty and rehabilitate them if they engaged in criminal activity. Now, as part of the risk-based criminal justice, there has been a significant move towards an exclusive society. An argument can be made that another way in which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems is through the locking up and exclusion of those who represent a danger to society as opposed to the welfarist approach of rehabilitation. Nowadays among the functions of 'the criminology of the other' we can notice the increased likelihood of people going to prison for offences that would not have been criminalised under the laws of penal welfarism, especially after the implementation of 'tough on crime' strategies such as the zero tolerance policy which pursues even minor crimes with the same intensity as it would serious ones. However, while the zero tolerance policy was initially regarded as a success in New York where it was originally introduced (Punch, 2007) it has often been criticised. Studies show that during the same time period crime rates declined to a similar extent in other American cities which had not adopted zero tolerance policing (Dixon and Coffin, 1999). Garland (2010) goes on to argue that this approach satisfies the public's retributive emotions; the public wants to punish people. Nonetheless, one of the consequences of this approach is that is has led to a tremendous expansion of the prison population in most Western countries through a process which Cohen (1985) refers to as 'net-widening'. According to the Ministry of Justice, between June 1993 and June 2012, the prison population in England and Wales increased by 41.800 prisoners to a total of 86.000, showing a doubling in the number of inmates in only two decades (cited in Prison Reform Trust, 2013: 1). So after a century, during penal-welfarism, in which the tendency was for crime rates to rise and imprisonment rates to drop, a completely opposite phenomenon of rising imprisonment rates and falling crime rates can be observed after the introduction of 'tough on crime' strategies first in the US and then in the UK (Langan and Farrington, 1998).

The calculable precision of risk-reduction was then used to prove its efficacy; considering that offenders represent a risk, that prisons incapacitate and that the number of offenders incarcerated kept increasing, this was then regarded as proof of risk reduction. Even evidence of high re-offending rates after release was used in order to argue that the right people had been detained and emphasised the advantage of locking people up (O'Malley, 2010). As opposed to the penal welfare era prison authorities now see their primary task in protecting the public by holding those who represent a 'risk' in custody, no longer

pretending to be able to rehabilitate offenders (Garland, 2010) with the consequence of turning prisons into nothing more than warehouses. This can therefore support the argument that the increased focus on reducing population fear levels rather than crime levels is one more way in which risk-based crime control has transformed Western criminal justice systems. However, if we were to base our arguments on recent surveys (Office of National Statistics, 2014) which demonstrate an actual drop in crime rates, a claim can be made that prison does work and the focus of the current Western criminal justice system on reducing fear levels has actually achieved reducing crime levels as well.

Moreover, the issue of the ample expansion in prison population serves as basis for yet another argument. Due to the shift towards a risk focused criminal justice system, Western states are now taking increasing control over who gets punished and for how long. The professionals (judges, social workers, probation officers) which during penal welfarism used to have a significant degree of autonomy in deciding offenders' fate no longer possess that power. In spite of this, there seems to be little public concern with regards to the risk of 'unrestrained state authorities' (Garland, 2010: 12) and civil rights as long as people perceive themselves as being out of harm's way. Further enforcing this point, Simon (2007) argues that the 'criminology of the other' is entirely corrosive to the concept of democracy and human rights. He goes on to say that one of the ways in which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems is that preventing risks has now become more important for governments than protecting rights and one of the consequences of the 'culture of control' (Garland, 2001) is people giving up their rights in return for security. Most of us have indeed given up our right to privacy if we take into consideration the fact that every move we make is being 'watched' in one way or another be it through the use of CCTV cameras, supermarket fidelity cards etc. The freedom of movement and trial are also clearly broken, as part of risk society, in the case of terrorism threats. In the UK, counter-terrorism legislation includes a rule of 28 days pre-charge detention without trial (The Guardian, 2009). Under this rule the notion of 'innocent until proven guilty' loses its entire significance and turns into its exact opposite, namely those who pose a 'risk' being regarded as 'guilty until proven innocent'. Therefore, as Garland (2010) would argue, risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems in the way that there is now significantly less concern with the civil liberties of suspects and prisoners, all in the name of risk prevention. Moreover, Simon (2007) states that the impact that risk has had on Western criminal justice systems can also be understood by taking into account the fact that the war on crime has now replaced the war on poverty which used to be fought by the welfarist system. Public authorities have given up working towards an equal society and Western governments are now governing through crime itself.

Feeley and Simon (1992) see 'criminology of the other' as a 'new penology', a form of penology based entirely on imprisonment, highly contrasting with past systems and replacing the positivist approach with probabilistic calculations applied to populations. This actuarial justice model focuses on identifying and managing 'risky groups' in a cost effective way focusing on outputs rather than outcomes – supporting a neoliberal emphasis. Actuarial justice is described as a 'waste management system' which treats lawbreakers as 'waste' and manages problems by simply removing them from circulation. If the previous point argued that contemporarily, states are the ones which impose decisions on how offenders should be handled, Feeley and Simon (1992) provide further clarification explaining that in fact, actuarial systems now lay at the base of all decisions within Western criminal justice systems. A key argument in favour of actuarial justice - rather than expert and judicial decision-making - is the fact that it holds a preferable predictive power. O'Malley (2010) argues that justice officials would be unable to match

the accuracy of predictions based on the processing of vast amounts of data into correlation matrices. Actuarial justice is also part of what is called The New Public Management which has affected, apart from the criminal justice sector, institutions such as schools, hospitals and in fact most sectors of society. Therefore, it is safe to argue that another way in which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems is through the use of bureaucratic systems in monitoring not only crime, but most areas of society. Additionally, the modern Western criminal justice system is currently being assessed by how well it is functioning in managing populations rather than by how successful it is in reducing recidivism and crime rates, which was the main goal of penal welfarism. This serves to show the great extent to which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems in a matter of four decades. Although the shift to actuarialism has been criticised for giving up on understanding and addressing the underlying causes of crime by authors such as Briggs (2013), a counterargument can be put up that actuarial discourse was not designed to provide an understanding of criminal behaviour but rather to grant a way of anticipating and managing in (Matthews, 2014).

An impressive return of the victim to the forefront of Western criminal justice systems is another way in which risk has transformed current criminal justice practices. During the penal-welfare system the victims were hardly present, their role being confined to reporting crime in order to trigger state action. This, however, has certainly changed. The victim has now become a character whose experience is regarded as collective and common rather than personal and infrequent. The interests and feelings of victims, be they actual victims, potential victims of families of victims, are now commonly manipulated in support of punitive segregation measures (Garland, 2010). This action is obvious in Western countries such as the USA where politicians holding press conferences to publicly announce trial outcomes being accompanied to the podium by victims' families has now become a common occurrence. Furthermore, laws are now being passed and named for victims. Megan's Law in the USA was soon followed by Sarah's Law in the UK where a 'Victims' Charter', setting out the standards of service victims can expect from criminal justice agencies, has also been put in place. (Ministry of Justice, 2013) Moreover, in spite of the fact that the social distribution of crime is greatly uneven and that it is the poorest urban areas which are confronted with a disproportionately high risk of victimization, crime has become a part of everyone's present-day consciousness. The media and its excessive focus on crimes can be brought into this argument as well, as it carries much of the blame for the increasing fear of crime levels at a time when these levels have statistically been shown to drop. Garland's (2010) example of the ubiquitous advertisements, constantly warning us that 'a credit card is stolen every second' or that 'a car theft occurs every minute', perfectly illustrates this point. Based on this, an argument can be made that another transformation on current Western criminal justice systems brought about by risk-focused criminal justice practices and the media playing on the public's insecurities, is that crime rates, be they real or distorted, have become a standard feature of people's lives turning crime into a part of our everyday experiences.

We cannot deny the fact that the notion of 'risk' has truly had an impact on present Western criminal justice systems and looking at the arguments discussed in this essay a conclusion can be drawn that Western criminal justice systems have been transformed by this notion of 'risk' to a great extent. This essay has critically analysed the ways in which risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems by identifying and evaluating key differences in Western criminal justice systems pre and post 1970s which could have been brought about by this forward looking approach. It has also presented a brief history of the shift in criminal policy from penal welfarism to neoclassicism drawing on the work of

David Garland for a better understanding of the theoretical and historical context in which these transformations occurred. Drawing on the arguments put forward it can be argued that, although the concept of 'risk' is problematic to define, it has nonetheless transformed Western criminal justice systems and their approach towards crime to a great extent, this essay having focused especially on changes within rehabilitation, the prison system, victims and policing practices.

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Critically assess the effectiveness of crime prevention interventions in the physical environment

Sinead Carey

Environmental crime prevention tactics can be seen as problematic in relation to their capability and effectiveness in the prevention and deterrence of criminal activity. In certain terms, intervention in the physical environment or situational crime prevention (SCP) can be argued to succeed in various circumstances but fail in others. Many problems and weaknesses have been identified, yet it still remains dominant as a crime prevention tactic. Over the last few years, situational measures via the adaptation of the physical environment have become a popular and well sourced out method of "tackling" crime. Take for example, the growth of CCTV measures in the UK; between 1996 and 1998, CCTV accounted for three quarters of the total expenditure by the Home Office for crime prevention (Koch, 1998, cited in Welsh and Farrington, 2009: 96). More recently it has been said that £500 million was spent in Britain on CCTV in the decade up to 2006 (Travis, 2009). This major growth could perhaps be linked to important shifts in transnational security after events such as 9/11 and the UK 7/7 bombings. Since then, situational measures have become more spread out, not just targeted at preventing crime, but the maintaining of social order. Taking this into account, what can be said about its effectiveness? Therefore, in this essay I aim to discuss the many factors which affect the idea of interventions in the physical environment being effective in the prevention of crime, whilst looking at theories and critiques such as displacement and the factor of emotionality, as well as evaluating relevant studies and examples of intervention tactics.

In order to understand the debate surrounding the effectiveness of intervention in the physical environment to prevent crime, one must first understand what it means and where the idea has its roots. SCP is the theory that we can prevent criminal activity by the adjustment of the physical environment; a way of "designing" out crime in other words. Clarke (1995: 91) described SCP as a way 'to reduce the opportunities for crime and increase its risks as perceived by a wide range of offenders'. This can be carried out it many ways, for example the development of technology such as merchandising tags, CCTV, gated communities and much more. Clarke also argues that the way SCP works is by increasing the efforts to offend, for example, target hardening; increase the risks of offending, perhaps by ramping up punishment and reduce the rewards of offending. This theory embraces Garland's "criminology of the self" and "criminology of everyday life", as illustrated by the focus on classical rational choice theory. Anyone, according to this theory, has the possibility to be an offender. This links to Felson's idea of the routine activity approach which argues that offending will happen with a convergence in space and time with suitable targets, lack of capable guardian and rational offender (in Cohen and Felson, 1979). Everyone has the rationality and choice to offend, therefore the idea is to 'eliminate situational opportunities' (O'Malley, 2010: 22) and suitable targets to prevent this from happening. The embracement of prevention measures can be seen by some as a political move away from understanding the causal factors of crime. As some say, crime is inevitable and management of it is key; underlying structural issues often get overlooked.

So, the key question here is how effective can environmental measures be? First, I would like to focus on the problematic idea of the "rational offender". As stated earlier, the whole

theory of crime prevention through interventions in the physical environment is based on the idea that the offender is rational. If a potential offender was about to steal something from a shop, then saw the presence of CCTV and a security guard, they would probably think twice about committing that crime, through the fear of being watched or caught. However, what happens if the offender is not rational? There is the assumption of too much rationality on the part of the offender (Heal and Laycock, 1986) and the overlooking of emotions as a factor. Intervention in the environment may work for some crimes. For example, by designing shopping centres to be big open spaces with a lot of natural lighting may in certain terms prevent shoplifting and pickpocketing, but will it prevent those crimes which do not require a cost/benefit choice. It has been argued that some crime results from 'impulsive spur of the moment' behaviour which is prompted by 'unexpected opportunities' (1986: 6). The SCP theory ignores those crimes which derive from passion, anger and sometimes deviant impulses (Wortley, 2010). Various crimes can be seen as a result of emotions; therefore situational measures may not be effective in the prevention of them. CCTV is a classic example of this. It has been said that the role of CCTV is to prevent personal and property crime (Welsh and Farrington, 2009). It is also been used to aid police in the apprehension of suspects and as evidence in court. There have been many studies into the effectiveness of it in the prevention and reduction of crime; many of which, as shown by the meta-analysis of Welsh and Farrington (2009), have produced results which show as small reduction in crime. However, they also state that this overview of many studies show that the reduction is "non-significant". CCTV tends to focus on public areas and mainly on street crimes, which in itself, produces a number of issues. Certain crimes, which are conducted in private spaces such as domestic violence, will not be affected by CCTV. This issue is not just in private spaces however; it has to be questioned whether certain emotional, aggressive and violent crimes which may happen in the "spur of the moment" will be effected or prevented by the presence of CCTV. Sometimes, CCTV may actually have the opposite effect on people. Take the theory of edgework for example. The idea here is that criminals commit crime because of the thrill and risk of it, 'the seductive character of many criminal activities may derive from the particular sensations and emotions generated by the highrisk character of these activities' (Lyng, 2004: 360). The introduction of situational crime measures in the physical environment may eventually cause an individual to want to commit more crime; perhaps by playing on these irrational ideas and potential thrills. The risk of being caught by the security guard or the thrill of being watched by CCTV can enhance the excitement and emotions of some offenders. Therefore, as we can see, the effectiveness may be compromised in certain situations where the offender does not take a rational weighing of the risks, but merely act on their emotions.

Therefore in what situations can intervention in the environment be effective in prevention of crime? Some have argued that this method of crime prevention can be applied to physical environments to not only make it harder for them to commit the crime, but almost put them off from even thinking about doing it. Newman (1972), building upon the ideas of Jacobs (1961), wrote an influential piece on the idea of "defensible space. Here, it was argued that the restructuring of the physical layout of communities (in Newman, 1996) could promote the idea of local guardianship. Key to this idea is to make spaces look protected and cared for; by altering the negative image on an area could possible deflect potential offenders away. Simple examples could include opening up public spaces and 'maximising natural surveillance' (Welsh and Farrington, 2009: 101). Many studies have been carried out into the theory of defensible space, many of which have had varying results; some showing that perhaps crimes are affected by the changing and adjustment of the built up environment, others arguing that effectiveness is limited. A study in West

Yorkshire which looked into how crime rates are effected by "secure by design" housing (SBD). SBD housing has the aim, not to create a "fortress" society, but to 'combine effective target hardening measures into the original build of the estate' (Armitage, 2000). In other words, it aims to adapt the built environment which is already there to create an area where crime is harder to commit. Results for this study show that in areas, which have SBD, crime was considerably lower than areas of non-SBD. It also showed that burglary was much lower in these areas too (Armitage, 2000). This may be true for some crimes, however, other studies have found that tactics of defensible space had prevented some crimes from happening but had no effect on other crimes. Lasley (1998; cited in Welsh and Farrington, 2009) conducted a study in LA, which looked at the use of barricades in the streets and in inner-city neighbourhoods and found that violent crime numbers went down but there was no change in the number of property crimes. From this, we can see that the effectiveness of defensible space may be limited to some crimes and not others, potentially for a number of reasons. How well it works may depend upon what type of crime it is aimed at.

Another example of a form of defensible space is gated communities, which encompasses the idea of target hardening as well. Compared to the UK, the USA has many more gated communities and has often been referred to as "fortress America". In these gated communities, access is restricted and controlled by 'walled or fences perimeters, by gates and by barriers' (Clarke, 2000: 101). In an exclusive way, residents aim to prevent crime from happening to them by the protection and security of big walls and guards. It is clear that this intervention in the physical environment may be effective in the prevention of some crimes. It clearly makes it harder for opportunities of criminal behaviour, especially for property crimes such as theft and burglary. It may make the potential rewards that offenders envisage seem reduced compared to the risk they will have to take to, physically or symbolically cross the "barrier" of the defensible space. Taking into account this perceived advantage of this form of intervention in the physical environment, it must be understood that there are however, many criticisms which have shown limitations to the effectiveness of it and will now be discussed.

Target hardening techniques such as having increased security in banks and the creation of "fortress" like communities to prevent crime from taking place can often be seen to be a two sided theory. On one side, as already stated, these techniques may prevent some crimes. Take the security hardening of banks for example. As technology has developed, security has too. Banks now have increased measures in the physical environment to prevent any thefts, such as having a number of guards, cameras, bulletproof glass and the tactical use of barriers near the front desks. On the other side, is the idea that these interventions to prevent crime may actually result in the escalation of offending and the potential effect of creating worse crimes. Prevention measures to some may just become a challenge to overcome, which many can. Escalation theorises that if crime becomes harder to commit, then offenders or potential offenders may escalate their actions to fit in with these changes. In a sense, they may adapt their "modus operanti" (MO) and the way they commit crime in order for them to overcome the interventions in the environment placed before them. Using the example of the bank again, we can see how this may occur. Clearly, target hardening in banks aims to prevent such offences from occurring. As Hobbs (1994) has noted, this may be linked to the rise in guns being used in bank robberies, showing the increased use of force in many offences. Also, take the example of defensible space again. Perhaps by making an area look safe and well protected, may actually attract some crimes and no matter how defensible they are, some offenders will adapt and still carry out the offence. For example, you may have an offender who carries out burglaries. Due to the

changing nature of security defences in the environment, such as large open spaces and built up walls around communities, the offender may now decide to use a weapon in order to break into a house, resulting in the escalation to robbery. So as we can see, these forms of interventions may have the opposite effect that is primarily wanted; instead of preventing the crimes, worse crimes may be the result.

Displacement of crime is a popular and often displayed critique of physical interventions in the environment to prevent crime. This is the phenomenon where crime is being displaced to another 'nontargeted area' (Welsh and Farrington, 2009: 26) and can often increase in severity and form. Often, displacement is associated with surveillance interventions such as CCTV and improves street lighting, as well as methods of defensible space and target hardened areas. Displacement may occur, for example, when the perceived effort required to commit the crime is increased. Large concrete walls around a house, surveillance measures and physical barriers may prevent the offender from choosing that area to commit the crime. However, if offenders are to be seen as 'quasi-rational decision makers' (Cornish and Clarke, 1986, cited in Barnes, 1995: 102), then they may adapt their behaviour and choose an area which lacks the forms of target hardening previously mentioned. For example, an area, which displays many security initiatives like cameras, walled fences and guards, could be seen by offenders as a space that is well looked after i.e. defensible space. In turn, this will force them to assess the cost/benefits of the situation and often, as a result they may not target that area. However, an area which does not display guardianship and interventions may then be targeted instead, hence displacing from one place to another. Much research has been conducted into the theory of displacement, and many have come to inconclusive and inconsistent findings. For example, Eck (1993; cited in Barnes, 1995) conducted a review of a number of studies and found that 55% of them found no displacement and all found that if there was evidence of displacement, this was never complete. This raises the question of how can we actually measure that displacement has occurred and if it has, how can we prove it? This is a clear set back for theorists of displacement. However, it is undeniable that displacement of crime to an extent occurs due to the interventions in the physical environment. Therefore, it can be argued that how well an intervention, such as CCTV and barriers work, depends on whether it could be viewed to result in the displacement of crime.

One of the most reoccurring and interesting critiques of interventions in the physical environment as a form of crime prevention is the perceived ignorance of causal and root problems of crime. Many have argued that the adjustment of the environment and introduction of crime prevention measures across the whole of society have done nothing to attempt to understand the underlying structural issues of crime. In other words, SCP and other forms of prevention are not famed to have taken into account the wider social and cultural context of which crime naturally occurs (Hayward, 2007). From this point of view, root causes such as social inequality, poverty and discrimination are unexamined when thinking about preventing crime. Situational measures attack the symptoms of crime, rather than the underlying concerns (Wortley, 2010). This then links into the critiques of the effectiveness of certain interventions with the aim of preventing crime. Many cities now put a considerable amount of time and money into the management and prevention of homelessness and unwanted loitering in public spaces. The rounded bench is a clear example of this. It has the aim of making it less desirable for people to want to sit on the bench for much longer than they need to. This excludes the undesirable public from these areas, such as the homeless who often sleep on benches. Yes, this may prevent this from happening in that particular area, but is it tackling those deeper issues of poverty and social exclusion? Take for another example, the modern approach to managing the issue of

anti-social behaviour (ASB) and gathering youths in social space. A technological intervention, called "The Mosquito" is now often used to diffuse groups of youth from gathering, by 'sending out a high-pitched buzzing sound' (Brownsword and Yeung, 2008: 68-69), which can only be heard by teenagers, and has a range of 15-20m. This may have the possible effect of breaking a group of youth up and displacing them to prevent any ASB or public order issues; however, it is clear that it does nothing to prevent it from happening again. Underlying issues connected to the youth are not addressed; therefore, the ASB is often not prevented, just displaced. From these two examples of physical interventions, it could be argued that effectiveness of them are limited and only address short-term issues. In the long run, will they prevent crime from happening altogether? If further understanding of the underlying and important social issues are not addressed, then simply tackling the symptoms of crime by interventions in the environment will never be fully effective in preventing crime from taking place.

To conclude, when addressing the question of the effectiveness of interventions in the physical environment to prevent crime, it can be argued that to an extent, certain forms of interventions may be somewhat effective in preventing specific crimes. As I have discussed, interventions such as CCTV may prevent crimes which can be seen as rational; for example, crimes against property and perhaps physical crimes against a person, but it may not be that effective in crimes which may have an element of non-rational and emotional factors. These sorts of crimes may not be prevented by the building of walls and restructuring of housing estates for example. However, we cannot say that they are not effective in the prevention of other crimes, though there may be a restriction of proving the reduction or prevention as statistics to show this are hard to find. How can you quantify whether CCTV is the reason that crime rates have dropped in certain areas; it may be possible, but difficult to understand as there are other underlying factors which need to be taken into account. Therefore, as we have seen, there are many critiques of physical interventions, even if it does work to prevent crime, many have criticised it for many other reasons. Davis (1990) has argued that interventions such as situational prevention and crime prevention through environmental design have actually had a negative effect on our cities. He point out that cities are becoming 'desolate and dangerous' (Davis; 1990: 227); public space is being lost in order to secure cities and reduce contact with those who he calls the "untouchables". Walls are being constructed everywhere in the world, society is becoming more fragmented and areas of deprivation are becoming "ghettoized". So even if these interventions are effective in prevention of crime, can we really ignore the negative and undesirable effects of them too?

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The failure to understand the sources of elite power is one of sociology's greatest shortcomings. Discuss.

Ricky Coleman

Since the era of the industrial revolution in the modern world, Britain along with most other democratic nations have become more liberal in their beliefs with the concept of social equality becoming a core component of society for many citizens. Indeed, great steps have been taken in providing equal rights and opportunities for all despite differences amongst us in gender, ethnicity and religion. However, there is one area of great disparity within society that has been largely ignored both publicly and academically and that is wealth inequality. Even more determining of a person's life chances than gender or race (Collini, 2010), a person's class that they are born into greatly effects the life chances of an individual. Collini goes on to state 'economic advantage and disadvantage reinforce themselves across the life cycle, and often onto the next generation' (2010: 9). What Collini (amongst other academics of whom I shall discuss later in this essay) is suggesting is that those who are economically disadvantaged in society are most likely to remain that way for their life. Furthermore, their children, born into an economically disadvantaged family are also very likely to remain in this position. If the predominant aim of sociology is to improve society through academic study, then why is our understanding of wealth inequality so sparse? I aim to explore why sociologists have somewhat failed in the quest to understand financial and elite power and why this is so important in contemporary society.

Before we can question whether sociology has failed to adequately study elite power and inequality, we must first consider why economic inequality matters, and if at all it truly exists. Images in the media provide all of us with a general understanding of the horrific conditions of LEDC's (Less economically developed countries). Living in a developed western nation, images of starving children and a lack of basic infrastructure seem alien to most, but great disparity in wealth has similar effect in these countries too. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) gathered data from 21 MEDC's (more economically developed countries) as well as many US states and found a correlation between the levels of inequality in a region and levels of trust, mental illness, life expectancy, infant mortality, obesity, children's educational performance, teenage pregnancy, imprisonment rates, levels of health and social mobility, amongst other effects. All of these incomes have huge detrimental physical, social, mental and financial effects on the majority (the working and middle classes) of individuals in society. Child Poverty Action Group (2013) expand on the argument of the effects of economic inequality, suggesting that twenty-nine billion pounds a year is spent on dealing with the effects of inequality on children in the UK. This along with the issues mentioned by Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) of course also have a massive detrimental effect on the finances of a nation, costing billions dealing with the aftermath of such issues. Other theorists such as Robert Merton (1938) also suggest 'relative deprivation' — having less material goods than others in society, causes individuals to feel status frustration with their economic position and so commit both economic (for monetary gain) and non-economic (out of frustration) crime as a result. Critics such as The Poverty Site (2015) would argue, however, that most petty crime such as theft or vandalism are committed against working class members of the community and so it is actually the poor taking from the poor rather than from the rich.

Although an issue much ignored until modern times, disparities in wealth between the richest and poorest members of society is not a recent phenomenon. Dorling (2012) details the share of national income accrued by Britain's richest 1%, finding that if trends persist, levels of inequality that were present in 1918 (around 19% of national income) will be reached within the next few years. Whilst demonstrating that inequality is not new to British (or American) society, studies such as Dorling's or Katz and Autor's (1999) also highlight the alarming rate at which the gap between the highest and lowest earners in society is increasing. This has resulted in such an extensive wealth divide in Britain that the richest five families in the UK have more wealth than the poorest 20% of the country (12.6 million individuals). Furthermore, the richest of these five families alone is worth more than the poorest 10% of Britons (Elliott, 2014). A similar problem exist in the USA where during the 2000s, it was found that the wealthiest 1% of the country possessed a third of the nation's wealth. The next 9% of the nation's wealthiest citizens also had access to a third of the nation's wealth. This leaves the poorest 90% of the country in possession of the remaining third of America's wealth, a frightening statistic demonstrating the great disparities in wealth present within modern America (Cagetti and De Nardi, 2005; Wolff 2006). A common expression used within western nations is "it takes money to make money" and I believe this to be particularly true. Individuals with access to greater wealth will in turn have access to greater investment opportunities whereas those without the prerequisite capital cannot.

Indeed for much of the twentieth century sociology has ignored the reasons behind growing inequality, but recent research has started to uncover the numerous complex reasons as to why inequality is escalating. One such explanation for this is the changes in tax policy. Since 1973 the US and UK Governments have been consistently less redistributive, increasing tax breaks for higher earners whilst also lowering corporation tax. Post World War Two, taxation of the richest members of society was at its highest at 66.4% of earnings, perhaps to aid a recovering Britain during difficult times. Since then, as Lindert (2000) demonstrates, economic inequality between the richest and poorest members of society has been ever increasing. Barford and Holt (2013) echo this increase in their report, detailing the avoidance of billions of pounds of corporation tax that was not paid by some of the world's biggest companies when operating within Britain.

Another factor behind the growth of inequality is the process of financialization where many MEDC's economies have moved from a primarily manufacturing and agricultural base to that of financial, insurance, investment and service based markets. The growth of the global financial industry ensures more capital than ever before is entering into a country, typically to those most wealthy. A similarly recent phenomenon is that of globalization, a metaphorical shrinking of the world through trade, transport and communication. With this however comes the exportation of the manufacturing process to poorer nations where wages, health and safety regulations and taxation is cheaper and more lenient. The results are that of wage depression and fewer job opportunities for those living in MEDCs who had previously worked in the affected industries. Luce (2010) highlights the increasing disparity in household incomes between the richest and poorest in American society:

> Dubbed "median wage stagnation"... the annual incomes of the bottom 90% of US families has been essentially flat since 1973 - having risen by only 10% in real terms over the past 37 years... over the same period the incomes of the top 1% have tripled (2010: 1).

Collini (2010) observed similar findings in Britain, where between 1999 and 2007, the real earnings of full-time employees remained almost static whereas the CEO's of the top companies more than doubled. Research by the Economic Policy Institute (2013) into the lack of growth in regular workers' wages compared to the staggering growth in CEO's wages observed similar findings. This is despite public outcry as to why bankers of poorly performing banks, which had required Government bailouts, were receiving large pay increases and bonuses. Reflecting upon my previous comments regarding poverty, it is now not so difficult to see why the poorest members of a supposedly developed modern society are struggling to fulfil basic human needs. It is worrying how inflation, fuel prices, grocery prices, energy prices and the overall cost of living have risen whilst the minimum wage in the UK is below the standard deemed a "living wage", in order to purchase these necessities. Declining union membership, short-term "zero-hour" contracts and having less access to the stock markets are also factors to consider as to why lower tail inequality is also increasing. Meanwhile as the richest 1% appear to further accentuate their wealth (Autor et al, 2006) at the expense of the poorest and most vulnerable in society, there are record numbers of people unemployed across Europe and America (Baetz, 2013) who are even more so challenged by the effects of inequality. As the UK and USA shifted their economies from primarily manufacturing and mining based to service and financial focused, many of the manual workers found themselves victims of redundancies and closures without the necessary skills or means to enter these new workplaces. A further technological revolution in the 1990s required more manual workers to learn how to operate the new technology that had entered the workplace to retrain, that is if they had not already been replaced by more economically viable machinery. Without employment or a source of income these individuals risked falling into poverty. Autor et al. (2005) suggest that the introduction of technology into the workplace produced a polarization in workers. This resulted in highly educated individuals within a company receiving more money, whilst those in the middle or lower end of the spectrum would experience stagnation, decline or removal of their incomes. This would suggest that the change in primary industry has further caused the rich to keep getting richer whilst the poor are only getting poorer and thus economic inequality continues to exist.

In order to adapt to the technological demands of the workplace, expertise or training from higher level education is often required. This benefits those whose capital grants them access to privately funded education, whereas those from lower income families typically perform worse in school (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010) and so do not have access to these opportunities. Furthermore, American college premiums have been steadily increasing (Hornstein et al, 2005) whilst recent changes to legislation have allowed universities in the UK to charge up to three times the previous amount. However, it is interesting to observe that in the educational year following the implementation of the tuition fee increase, a record number of students applied for university places, especially from those living in economically disadvantages areas of the UK (Coughlan, 2013). Whilst this may be true, it could be argued that this is because many universities have lowered the grade boundaries required for applicants than in previous years.

With a better understanding of why wealth inequality exists, perpetuates and grows within society today, why is it so difficult for sociologists to study the financial powers of the elite? Firstly, the general public until recently (although to what extent is still questionable) are generally unaware of the levels of inequality within society. For example, the idea of meritocracy and "The American Dream" is central to the beliefs of many Americans who believe that social mobility is highly achievable (DiPrete, 2007). To the majority of citizens, the exciting perspective that through hard work and achievement one can move upwards

within the class structure of society is enticing and probably driven into us subliminally in our school time years. However, research has shown that the proposal of meritocracy and upward social mobility to be an unrealistic expectation for poorer members of society to have, especially in the USA where social mobility occurs much less than in other MEDCs (Corak, 2006; Solon, 2002). In Collini's (2010) review of three recent reports into wealth inequality provided by the UK government, he found that the rhetoric of meritocracy and upward social mobility contained in the first report published in 2009 (*Unleashing Aspiration: The Final Report of the Panel on Fair Access to the Professions*) was heavily contradicted by the findings in the final report, published in 2010, which suggested little to no social mobility (*An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK Report of the National Equality Panel*). He later suggested that the term "social mobility" obscured patterns of inequality rather than revealed them to the public and so creates a "culture of aspiration" in individuals that invest their beliefs heavily into meritocracy. Gilson and Perot (2011) demonstrate how seemingly unaware the American public are as to the extent of wealth divisions within their country, greatly underestimating the disparities between the highest and lowest earners. Similarly to wealth inequality, the lack of upward social mobility in western society is sadly not a new phenomenon either, coexisting with wealth inequality across the 20th century as highlighted by Keister and Moller (2000):

> Since the early 1920's, the top 1% of wealth holders have consistently owned an average of 30% of total household sector wealth… the top 1% of wealth owners owned nearly 40% of net worth and nearly 50% of financial assets in the late 1980s and 1990s. During the same period, the top 1% enjoyed two-thirds of all increases in household financial wealth, and movement into the top segments of the distribution was nearly non existent (2000: 63).

Whilst recognizing a lack of study into the financial power of elites, we must also acknowledge the difficulties when attempting to study the richest members of society. Beyond Collini's (2010) culture of aspiration and the public's general underestimation of wealth inequality, there are also many empirical and systemic reasons behind sociologist's shortcomings. Firstly, census and survey data regularly underestimates the true worth of the rich. This may be because of a lack of honesty from the participants, poor research design (a common problem with surveys as a research tool in all areas of study) or because of a sociological fascination with studying an individual's income. This is problematic as although income is a relatively transparent indicator of one's economic power, many high earning individuals live off of the interest from assets rather than and as well as income. Spilerman (2000) identifies that wages are a measure of the flow of capital of an individual whereas wealth is the stockpile of one's assets that have accumulated over time. In poorer families, this wealth accumulation is typically smaller and is found in means such as cash savings or small amounts of workplace shares, ready in case of economic disaster and placing a greater reliance on the wages of the household's breadwinners for sustenance. However, in richer households this wealth can be dispersed or hidden through a number of different means and become difficult to trace. Examples of such include offshore tax havens, company subsidiaries, hedge funds, property investments or shares. Failure to account for wealth invested into these different areas leads to a gross underestimation and misunderstanding of an individual's wealth and therefore the extent of wealth inequality. Until sociologists find ways to accurately study an individual's wealth then perhaps we cannot fully understand the financial power of elites.

I am of a strong conviction that the financial power of elites and the extent of which wealth inequality penetrates and divides society is an area that sociologists and other academics

have failed to adequately address. There are a number of reasons for this failure. UK scholars such as Savage and Williams (2008) identify this neglect of research since the 1970s, a belief echoed in the United States by Keister and Moller (2000), 'Despite extreme inequalities in wealth ownership, however, researchers have paid relatively little attention to wealth inequality and its causes' (2000: 64).

Browsing through my list of references, it is interesting to note that all of them were published post-year 2000, perhaps also a small indicator of the seeming ignorance of wealth inequality in the 20th century and up until recent years. I am aware of potential biases I may hold writing from the perspective of a working class individual, who perhaps could be seen as enviously seeking to construct a warped view of a great disparity between the richest and poorest members of society. However, frightening examples of real world poverty, supported by a new wave of sociological study that has finally emerged, means I do not believe this paper is fuelled by any bitter emotions, but rather a reflection of reality. It gives me great sadness to live within a world such as this is. It seems that unless sweeping political and structural change is implemented then as Collini (2010) suggests, wealth inequality will only increase, become reinforced and perpetuate across generations becoming only more difficult to resolve. Small rippling changes in economic legislation such as a stricter imposition on corporation tax could create widespread waves of change that can slowly begin to erode away the barriers of wealth inequality. My fear, sadly, is that these changes will take a considerable time to occur, perhaps not at all, during which time the current system will result in wealth inequality only growing considerably worse.

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Outline and discuss the significance of 'difference' for understanding the concept of gender

Devon De Silva

This essay will discuss the significance of "difference" for understanding the concept of gender in two sections. Firstly, the essay will attempt to discuss the importance of acknowledging the differences between men and women. This section will argue that despite the fact that the differences between men and women can be overcome to give women greater equality (Beauvoir, 1988); more is still gained when our differences are acknowledged. Secondly, this essay will go on to discuss the importance of acknowledging the differences between women. The process will argue that despite the successes of early feminism it failed to acknowledge the effects that factors such as a woman's ethnicity may have on her experiences of rights (Walby, 2011). However, black feminism will then also be criticised in order to identify that there are problems with both ignoring and acknowledging the differences between women. Finally, after each section, paradoxes associated with identifying the significance of difference in relation to gender will be identified and potential solutions will be tested.

Firstly, early feminism faced the dilemma of whether women should strive to be considered like men in order to achieve the same rights, or whether the differences between the two genders should be acknowledged without meaning that women are seen as and treated as inferior. Theorists such as Rousseau (cited in Bryson, 2003) have argued that men and women were considered to have different roles in society because their biological differences led them to have different natures and abilities. This perspective was accepted by many men and women in the past because a 'woman's physical weakness did constitute a glaring inferiority' (Beauvoir, 1988: 84) for women attempting to enter the world of work. Therefore, this meant that during the early industrial period women were incapable of participating in the same work as men because the work involved machines that required more strength than most women possessed. As a result, the biological differences between the genders did mean that in most cases men were destined for the public sphere whilst women were confined to the private sphere.

However, Beauvoir went on to identify that as modernity progressed the machinery used in the place of work no longer required sheer strength but required skills that were actually within a "female's capacity" (Beauvoir, 1988: 84). This opened up the possibility that women could be considered 'man's equal' in the place of work in terms of being able to perform the same activities required of them in the workplace (Beauvoir, 1988) Therefore, this identifies that because of changes in technology the biological differences between men and women, in terms of physical strength, should no longer constrain women's abilities to do the same work as a man.

Furthermore, Beauvoir (1953) critiqued previous ways of thinking by suggesting that the concept of sex and gender are mutually exclusive. This means that the characteristics associated with feminity and masculinity are social constructs rather than a result of biological differences between men and women (Beauvoir, 1953). Therefore, a woman's experience of being the "other" is not one that is biologically determined. This means that it is possible for women, although with difficulties, to overcome their experience of inferiority in order to be treated in the same way as men. Consequently, Beauvoir suggests that because feminity is a social construct women should 'accept masculine values, to take and to act the same way as men' (cited in Evans, 1997: 135) in order to overcome the experience of "other-ness" (cited in Evans, 1997: 45). This claim is supported by looking at the equal opportunities policies which identify 'that women can only gain equality if they can perform the standards set by men' (Gurerrina, 2002; Rosilli, 1997; Rees, 1998; all cited in Walby, 2011: 86). Therefore, Beauvoir concludes that the traditional perception that men's and

women's capacities and abilities are biologically predetermined to be different is actually a social construct which can be overcome.

However, a critique of Beauvoir's perspective is that she assumes that women have to overcome activities associated with feminity such as maternity, marriage and domesticity, in order to be treated as mans equal (Bryson, 2003: 132). This means that she fails to acknowledge the importance of these activities associated with feminity and the fact that they may be fulfilling or pleasurable activities for some women. Moreover, she also reinforces the inferior treatment of such women because she is not challenging the presumption that their activities are less valuable than those associated with masculinity. Therefore it is also important to acknowledge the differences between men and women because some of the rights required by women may not necessarily be needed by men. For example the National Women's Liberation Conference (1978; cited in Walby, 2011) demanded female specific rights such as free 24 hours nurseries, free contraception and the rights to abortion. Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the differences between the two genders because only then would it be legitimate for women to request rights that are specific to the situation of women.

Moreover, sometimes it is important to acknowledge the differences between men and women in order for them to receive the same rights. For instance, Crawley (1997) identifies that some women who are at risk of persecution because of their political activities may find it much harder to prove their right to asylum than their male counterparts. She suggests that this may be because women can often perform lower level political activities than the men in their lives. However, although their actions may be less public this does not mean that they are at less risk of persecution and in some cases it can mean that they are at more risk. For instance, it was found that in Uganda some females have been persecuted because the risk of targeting them for their political activities was much lower than the risk of persecuting the high profile men in their lives. Consequently, this depicts that it is important to identify different ways that men and women experience situations like persecution, because a woman's gender may affect her ability to claim universal rights like asylum and it may also be the reason why she is at risk of experiencing persecution.

Furthermore, it is also important when thinking about what constitutes as knowledge that the differences between men and women are considered. This is because feminists such as Hartsock have suggested that the 'vision available to the rulers will be both partial and perverse' (cited in Harding, 1997: 168). This means that the knowledge of the rulers, men in this instance, fails to acknowledge the experiences of the other half, women, and how these differ from the male experience. Therefore, the feminist standpoint suggests that the oppressed can have a 'truer (or less false) image of the social reality' (Hartsock cited in Harding, 1997: 169). This is because they, unlike their oppressors, have experienced both the dominant forms of knowledge whilst also possessing knowledge of experiences associated with oppression. This suggests that the differences between males and females can in fact give women a truer sense of knowledge than men because of their different fuller experiences of society. As a result it is important for women to acknowledge their differences from men in order to provide a "truer" form of knowledge.

Therefore, this debate of whether women should be considered the same as or different from men identifies a paradox. This is because if women are seen as being different from men then this can reinforce the different treatment of women. However, if women choose to be considered the same as men, to avoid being treated differently, they have to ignore the activities and attributes associated with feminity. Consequently, Booth and Bennett (2002; cited in Walby, 2011) have suggested an equal treatment model to overcome this disadvantage women face. The first part of the model gives women the same rights as men in terms of things such as participation in the same levels of employment and equal pay. Whereas the second part of the model identifies that women should also have a right to childcare which would reconcile a woman's work life and family life. As a result this embraces the idea that women have different responsibilities to men in terms of their family life yet also affords them the same rights as men in other areas such as employment.

However, this model is problematic in terms of practicality because childcare is often very expensive which means many mothers could not afford it fulltime. Moreover, even if childcare was free the model is only providing a practical solution to the differences between men and women and is not challenging the fact that a woman's roles in the private sphere is not as highly valued as a paid public sphere job. Consequently, a woman who prefers to care for her child herself, rather than finding childcare, would not be embracing the "sameness" aspect of the model which would lead her to be viewed and treated as inferior because her role as a mother is not valued as highly as her role as a paid worker. Therefore, as Scott (1990) suggests a solution to this paradox requires women being able to equally participate in employment whilst also being able to demand that their 'traditional roles are valued' as well (cited in Bryson, 2003: 236).

Furthermore, the second major debate surrounding the concept of difference and its relation to gender is in regards to whether it is important to consider the differences between women themselves. For instance, early feminists in the 1960s-70s suggested that there was a commonality between women because they all had "second-class citizenship" which meant they were all being excluded in terms of the law (Cole, 2000 cited in Budgeon, 2011: 39). As a result of feminists unifying under this belief they increased women's participation in employment, reduced pay gaps between the genders, improved education for girls and gained the right to abortion and free contraception. Therefore, early feminist's demands were applicable to all women and once achieved drastically improved the rights of women and helped to reduce gender inequality. Consequently, it can be suggested that it is not necessary for the differences between women to be taken into account when the demands are for rights which should be universal: applicable to all women equally. For example, Felski (1997) argued that the fight against violence against women is a fight for a universal human right that should transcend the 'doxa of difference' (cited in Walby, 2011: 18). This means that these rights should apply to all women and should not be affected by the differences between women. Therefore the differences between women may not be as important as the similarities between them.

However, third wave feminists have critiqued this early feminist perspective for being too essentialising. This is because a critique put forwards by non-white women, considered as "black feminists", was that their needs were being overlooked because their cultures, histories and therefore experiences were vastly different from the white middle class women who led the earlier movements. Therefore, this wave was developed so that the differences between women in terms of factors such as race, class, sexuality etc were being taken into account. For instance, Walby identified that although women now had the right to work earlier movements had failed to acknowledge how factors such as ethnicity can affects the kinds of jobs available to a woman (Walby, 2011: 38). This can be seen in the research by Green et al (2005; cited in Bell and Casebourne, 2008) who found that ethnic minorities are over-represented in lower skilled occupations and are under-represented in higher skilled occupations, especially in managerial positions. Moreover, recent research findings by the Equal Opportunities Commission (2006) found that senior official and managerial positions were made up of only 6% of Pakistani women and 9% of Black Caribbean women whereas white women constituted 11% (2006: 28). This means that these ethnic minority women are less likely to be in professional positions than their white counterparts. Therefore, one explanation for why ethnic minority women are less likely to be in these positions is that they are experiencing an "ethnic penalty" (Modood. 1997: 84). This means that even if they have the same qualifications as white women they are still less likely to enter professional occupations, and therefore become over-represented in lower class positions, because of their ethnicity. Consequently, this means that the labour market recognises the differences between women and is therefore more likely to favour one kind of woman, a white woman, over another kind of woman, a black woman. Therefore women's differences, like their ethnicity, need to be considered when attempting to fight for women's rights because not all women will experience the same rights, like the right to work, equally or in the same way.

However, there are numerous critiques that can be made of this form of feminism. Firstly, the focus on difference between women has fragmented the concept of feminism (Moore, 2007: 126; Sanders, 2007: 7; Budgeon, 2011). This means that there is no longer a unified group of women that

have a political agenda strong enough to generate change within society that ensures women's rights (Walby, 2011; Stone, 2007; Murray, 1997 cited in Budgeon, 2011). This is problematic because some important demands of the early feminists such as the right to equal pay for equal work (Walby 2011) have still not yet been achieved. This is evident within the situations of female lecturers who in 2005/6 were paid on average 14.1% less than their male colleagues for doing the same job (Andalo, 2007). Therefore, it can be suggested that the similarities between women, such as their lack of equal pay to men, should be used again to unify all women to put these demands back onto the political agenda.

Moreover, another critique of black feminism is that it falls into the same trap that it criticises "white" feminism of doing: it is essentialising and homogenising (Aziz, 1997; Bryson, 2003). Although it has been identified that it is often unclear who the term "black" feminism refers to (Bryson, 2003: 231) it is generally agreed that it refers to different groups of non-white women. This means that black feminism has grouped non-white women under the term "black feminism" without acknowledging that different non-white ethnicities have very different cultures, histories and experiences which cannot be grouped together without homogenising them. Moreover, Aziz (1997) also identifies that black feminism often behaves as if there are no privileged black people when this is not the case. For instance, although the statistics above have identified that the majority of ethnic minorities are in the "lower echelons of society" (Mama, 1997: 36), women like Michelle Obama, the first lady of America, and the television personality Oprah Winfrey show that there are privileged black women. Therefore it can be argued that black feminism essentialises the circumstances of all black women as being the same when in fact they can be remarkably different.

In addition, black feminism can also be critiqued for essentialising the situations of white women. This is because black feminists such as Hooks (1982) can often generalise all white women as being privileged. For instance, Hooks uses the term "white woman" to describe the middle class white feminists of early feminism. The use of the phrase "white woman" to describe this demographic generalises all women with a pale complexion as being like these privileged women despite the fact that many white women can be socially disadvantaged as well. Consequently, some black feminists can be criticised for assuming that all white women have the same privileged experiences as early feminists.

Therefore, the notion of whether differences between women should be acknowledged in the fight for equality between the genders is fairly complex and either perspective can be heavily criticised. As a result, a paradox develops. This is because if women's differences are ignored then no methods will be implemented to ensure that the rights achieved will be experienced by all women equally because it will be assumed that their differences will not affect their experience of these rights. However, if differences are acknowledged then feminism and its political agenda becomes fragmented and unfocused because there are too many differences to allow a unified group to form. Moreover, there is also a paradox in terms of how feminists should theorise because no one can be considered "qualified" to do so. For instance if white feminist writers do not acknowledge the black women's experiences of gender inequality they are considered racist (Carby, 1997). However, if they do attempt to they are also considered wrong because it is not their place to do so as black women are writing their "herstories" themselves (Carby, 1997). Moreover, this paradox can also be seen in the situation of Cooper (1982; cited in Bryson, 2003) who was a black feminist criticised for not acknowledging how a class position can affect ones experiences; specifically how her middle class position affected her own perspective. Therefore, acknowledging differences is problematic when theorising gender inequality because the individual will always be criticised because they have not experienced gender inequality from all perspectives.

However, a solution to the first paradox has been suggested by Stone (2007) who takes a genealogical approach to the notion of feminity. She suggests that although women are identifiable as women they do not share any characteristics because of the differences which exist between them. Despite this, Stone believes that the notion of feminity is something that is shared by all women but that it is something that each woman has reworked and reinterpreted differently. This means that women are only indirectly linked through 'vast chains of overlapping meaning' (Stone,

2007: 25). Despite this, she suggests that these overlaps are enough to allow women to, despite their differences and different interpretations of femininity, to "constitute a genealogy" and therefore be considered as a social groups (Stone, 2007). As a result, coalitions can be formed between women in order for them to achieve objectives whilst acknowledging their differences (Stone, 2007).

However, this solution is problematic because it is highly abstract and not all women will accept the explanation of the genealogy of feminity as something that will unite them. Moreover, the explanation also does not provide a practical solution of how to get different women to unite and agree on a political agenda and how this is possible when everyone has different needs and interests. As a result a more effective solution may be to establish a unified feminist group which identifies the similarities between all women such as the desire for the universal rights like the right to equal pay for equal work. This group however should also positively value the differences between all women by acknowledging that different women will experiences these rights differently. In turn, the group will also form further demands that will help to ensure that marginalised groups of women experience these rights equally to both men and other more privileged women. Consequently, because the group accepts both similarities and differences between women these demands that improve the experiences of disadvantaged women would be backed by all involved to show "solidarity" between women.

In conclusion, the notions of difference can be just as complex as the concept of sameness when theorising about gender. This is because although women desire equal rights to men, they also require different rights to men to ensure that their differences are positively valued. Moreover, the differences between women also need to be acknowledged but it is important that these differences do not fragment feminism so that the interests and rights of all women, despite their differences, are maintained. Furthermore, it has also been identified that practical solutions to the paradoxes that acknowledging differences produces can be difficult. Despite this, it has been concluded that the solutions must acknowledge both similarities and differences and must also positively value these differences to ensure they are not considered and treated as signs of inferiority.

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Should Controlling Crime be at the Heart of Police Work or Should Other Functions be More Significant? Answer with reference to academic literature on the competing functions of policing

Lily Harrison

Police systems in the radicalised western world have undergone an enormous transformation post introduction of the new police in the early 19th century. Throughout the 20th century, overpowering changes within policing systems occurred; both the USA and UK reaching breakpoint in the development of crime control and law enforcement systems (Jones and Newburn, 2002). Overtime, the responsibilities of the police have become ambiguous and dynamic; subject too much contemporary debate. This arises the provocative question of what we, a continually transforming society believe fundamental policing functions should entail. The inevitable question stands, regardless of policing everyday roles and attitudes, what do we expect from such a specialised civil force and what primary functions should the police practice? This essay will consider crime control as the fundamental function of police work and then argue the importance of other policing functions.

Modern preconceived notions of the police are controversial. Traditionally, ideological notions claim the police are the only legitimate holders of power patrolling public places in authoritative uniforms, given broad instruction to maintain order, control and fight crime and provide some negotiable social functions (Reiner, 2010). After the creation of the Metropolitan Police in London by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, he adopted the central objectives of crime prevention, preserving societal peace and detecting offenders, the 'bobbies on the beat', in other words, police patrolling areas. Yet, crime prevention swiftly became second priority, with peacekeeping and detection lying paramount to the role of policing (Newburn, 1995; Stead, 1985; both cited in Stephens, 2013). Bayley and Shearing (1996; cited in Jones and Newburn, 2002) devised the 'pluralisation of police' referring to the emergence of private security agencies and citizen-led policing. Informal policing increased, resulting in the police no longer being society's vital crime control measure. The pluralisation of the police has raised the debate of police roles. The visibility of police officers to provide crime deterrence has been dampened by the increasing demand of responding to emergency calls and their constant availability around the clock to provide emergency services (Punch and Naylor, 1973; Punch, 1979a; both cited in Waddington, 2014). After establishing the traditional roles of the police, I will now discuss crime control as the fundamental function of police work. Crime control at the heart of police work raises considerable dispute around the expectation of the police. Police are held responsible for crime control despite their incapability to control the forces that lead to crime. Manning (1978; cited in Travis, 2012) argues controlling crime as the police's leading responsibility is ineffective and an impossible instruction. The police regulate crime by creating omnipresence through placing police officers in the community patrolling areas, deterring law violators and injecting a sense of safety by reassuring law-abiding individuals (Travis, 2012). Furthermore, Bayley and Shearing (1996; cited in Jones and Newburn, 2002) focus on citizen involvement, blurring the legitimate role of policing functions, increasing the difficulty to measure whether 'bobbies on the beat' or preventative measures implemented in society effectively control crime. However, in my view, crime is inevitable and serves a social function, strengthening social solidarity. Therefore crime control at the basis of police work endures a sense of security upon society, regulating criminality and reducing the fear of crime (Vito et al, 2007). I will now elaborate on community involvement.

Community policing; the most reformed kind of policing in society, a reappearance of the 'golden age'; a time period characterised by low levels of crime and strong community consensus (Bullock,

2014). Fyfe (1997) argues community policing supports 'proactive crime prevention, problem solving and community engagement' (1997; cited in Benekos and Merlo, 2006: 45). Their goals focus on controlling crime, preventing victimisation and promoting police-community partnerships (Brown, 2012). Crime will become endemic in those areas with high levels of unemployment, restricted opportunities and poor education systems. Therefore a strong rapport between the police and residents assist in addressing issues of crime and disorder, eliminating the escalation of tribulations and more importantly legitimatising the partnership between the community and police officers (Brown, 2012). Within the community-policing model, the police are expected to spend the majority of their work responding to 999 calls and patrol areas retaining high visibility to control crime, improving neighbourhood's quality of life as the main objective (Brown, 2012). Community policing enables police officers to become less reactive and spend a greater percentage of their role problem-solving before minor problems escalate. Despite much criticism, community police provides a highly effective approach to governing crime, as it addresses the initial problem resulting in a shift from enforcing the law to order maintenance (Bullock, 2014). However, research of community policing has demonstrated limitations of visible presence as a means of crime control (Bullock, 2014). Scarman (1981; cited in Bullock, 2014) argues crime control within community policing was originally viewed by citizens as unlawful and unevenly applied in areas undermining community and police partnerships. Scarman argued community policing might be effective in rural areas however it was ineffectual in the strict realities of crime in more urban cities. Overall, it is evident community policing places crime control at the heart of police work by focusing on problem solving as a mean to prevent crime. Next I will consider an alternative approach to policing.

After reviewing existing literature, I discovered Third Party Policing (TPP); an alternate strategy to community policing placing crime control at a central focus of police work. TPP focuses on decreasing any criminal opportunity for crime and disorder. The central focus is the importance of both the place and process of crime reduction. Police encourage alternative capable guardians to improve crime control in those places where there is an increased likelihood that criminality will occur by discouraging probable criminals in these areas. The idea of TPP lies parallel with Sherman's (1997; cited in Benekos and Merlo 2006) view on 'hotspots and hot dots'. Sherman identified the importance of legitimacy within police practices and crime control as a central task for police work. His view focuses on how the police implement crime control strategies rather than increasing the number of police officers patrolling an area. He identified four approaches: increasing patrol within specific hotspots, more practical arrests of serious repeat offenders, drunk driving suspects and arrests of suspected individuals of domestic violence. In addition to these crime control strategies, he notes more community involvement, policing in priority hotspot areas and improving police legitimacy are promising strategies, which further assist crime control. Furthermore, Sherman focuses primarily on adapting policing styles and legitimising police practice in the public eye. He argues increasing police legitimacy is an effective police strategy to controlling crime. Additionally, Skogan (1997; cited in Benekos and Merlo, 2006) argues controlling crime as the prioritised role of police work can maintain strong social control within society. Determining the importance of police legitimacy as a central function of crime control allows me to now discuss zero-tolerance policing.

During the 1990s, the British media paid vast attention to the developments of policing systems in New York City; one of the most crime-ridden cities worldwide (Russell and Jarvis, 2003). After implementing powerful law enforcement strategies tackling low-level disorder by prioritising prosecution, arrest and controlling crime, there was a significant decline in crime rates (Muncie, 2004). The police were encouraged to increase control of minor crimes, for instance, targeting public begging and public urination (Bratton, 1998; cited in Newburn and Jones, 2004). The implemented policing strategies and the drop in crime rates became strongly linked with the zero-tolerance (ZT) approach and a feature of the crime control landscape proposed by Bratton (1994; cited in Jones and Newburn, 2007). The political media attention of ZT policing can demonstrate the 'crime control' paradigm police officers had enforced (Punch, 2007). However, the effectiveness of ZTP as a method of controlling crime cannot be measured due to the reduction of crime rates elsewhere, there lies uncertainty that the focus on controlling crime by prosecuting minor disorder is a result of the implementation of ZT policing; inspired by Wilson and Kelling's (1982; cited in;

Miller et al, 2014) Broken Windows thesis. A metaphor illustrating the rapid decay of a community. If one window is broken and unrepaired, the building is subject to more vandalism (Russell and Jarvis, 2003). The thesis suggests minor disorder spirals into more serious decline where neighbourhoods transform into a target for destruction, encouraging more deviancy, erosion of informal social control and less willingness to abide by society's norms and morality (Miller et al, 2014). After reviewing existing literature, the ZT approach to policing is efficient in controlling crime. However police imposing a pre-determined punishment for minor crimes, in my personal opinion, allow these strategies to focus on law enforcement as the central function of policing as opposed to maintaining order, preventing and controlling crime. I will now consider contrasting arguments, the significance of other functions as opposed to crime control:

> Civil order, peace and security are given priority over crime control which is seen as the means of enhancing peace and security (Fielding, 1996: 51; cited in Waddington, 2014: 2007).

Key academic researcher, Banton (1964; cited in Waddington, 2014) claims the police should be viewed as peacekeepers maintaining public order rather than law enforcers and crime controllers. This was recognised in a comparison study between a Scottish town, a quiet self-policed town with hardly any crime, a stable community organisation with high social and economic value where police are viewed with high authority, otherwise known as a 'policeman's paradise', compared to American policing systems, a 'nightmare'. In his results, Banton drew valid distinctions between the peacekeepers and the law officers; the former seeks to maintain order, whereas the latter concentrates on enforcing the law. The idea of police providing more preservation of peace and resolving disputes than enforcing the law echoes the importance of order maintenance at the centre of police work as opposed to crime control. Reiner (2001; cited in Waddington, 2014)criticised Banton's study, suggesting his research of a rural Scottish town could not be generalised to urban communities, he further criticises Banton's work arguing the low levels of crime within this quiet Scottish town did not allow him to explore police work in action experiencing everyday strains if they did not occur. I will now review other arguments surrounding multiple functions of the police.

Reiner (2001; cited in Reiner, 2010)argues modern British police engage in an omnibus mandate for instance, incorporating social service, crime control, detection, public order maintenance and the preservation of state security are viewed central social functions for the police. Nevertheless, these tasks arise in an occurring emergency where police invoke their legitimate powers to handle the situation at hand. They attempt to keep the peace without any legal proceedings. The police maintain this peace and order by the use of legitimate force therefore; the majority of daily police activity involves mending disputes without choosing to enforce their legal powers. It is only in situational circumstances where the police believe a crime has been committed, they will enforce their legality (Jones, 2013).

Studying previous literature on the importance of alternative functions of the police has enabled me to pinpoint the work of American Sociologist, Egon Bittner (1980; cited in Jones). Bittner highlights the two essential features of the police. Firstly, he argues the broad operational instruction of the police makes them a 'catch all' public service called upon to preserve tranquillity, deal with a variety of community problems and assist in civil emergencies. Secondly, he argues the legal competences of the police including their access to the legitimate use of force and the contribution to this omnibus service. Despite the additional services the police provide, controlling crime lies significant to the occupational appearances of police officers. However, Brodeur (2010; cited in Brown, 2012) argues most of police time is spent on non-criminal matters. McLaughin (2001) support the multi-operational service of police officers estimating calls for help take up 30% of police time, whereas the other 70% of police work include reassuring the public, providing advice and assistance on additional problems and gaining control of situations over a 24-hour period. However, the police are viewed as the central players of crime control therefore controlling crime lies fundamentally central to the everyday focus of the public, remains a key part to measure the effectiveness of the police and how they are publically perceived (Pollock, 2012). I will now elaborate on the public perception of the police.

In addition to the work of Reiner and other scholars, academic researchers further question police functions and public perceptions. Dempsey and Forst (2014) argue there are two central duties, which are most importantly entailed within police roles. Firstly, one major view is the crime-fighting role arguing the media; television and movies broaden society's perception of police engagements, enhancing the dramatic arrests and action to aid crime control. The media overemphasise the image of police officers by promoting a crime controlling, law-enforcing image heightening enhanced expectations of crime control by the police. Media sources, particularly the news portrays the police as specialised crime fighters (Dowler, 2003; cited in Benekos and Merlo, 2006). The overemphasis of the crime-fighting role haze the awareness of the realistic roles the police engage in. Although, the police themselves overemphasise their duty to control crime because of the rewards society offers and the lack of awareness of peacekeeping forces them to deemphasise their involvement in providing additional services (Dempsey and Forst, 2014). Despite the importance placed on crime control, it is crucial to acknowledge the role of order maintenance. If the police do not hold crime control at the heart of their work, it challenges their appropriate role. Studies by Elaine Cumming (1965; cited in Dempsey and Forst, 2014) reported police work incorporated minute law enforcement and more peacekeeping and maintaining order. A study which explored the activities of officers in a city of 400,000 residents found crime fighting only consisted of 17% of police officers time compared to other social service functions which accounted for over 50%, including administrative tasks (Dempsey and Forst, 2014). In support of this, Stephen Meagher (cited in Dempsey and Forst, 2014) devised an alternative study, analysing the functions of 531 police officers within 249 municipal police departments. His findings suggested the majority of police officers carry out almost identical duties. Therefore, I feel these studies provide enough substantial evidence to imply order maintenance and providing alternative services lie central to policing functions as opposed to only controlling crime. Supporting my personal view, are additional arguments proposed by Dempsey and Forst (2014). Police roles within the aftermath of the most devastating terrorist attack to date; 9/11, emphasised the police supplying social service duties. Therefore, police have fast become the primary responders to emergencies and infrequent manifestations worldwide, engaging in delivering medical responses, controlling crowds and maintaining public order in circumstances (Dempsey and Forst, 2014).

After thoroughly examining existing literature, it is evident there has been a shift from the traditional responsibilities of police, from solely patrolling areas, 'bobbies on the beat' to providing an all-round social service, including problem solving, 'peacekeeping' a notion coined by Banton (1964; cited in Waddington, 2014), maintaining public order and providing emergency services. In reference to the challenging questions regarding legitimacy and expectation of police functions, it is clear the media play an influential part in the way society publicly perceive the police, viewing them as 'crime fighters'. After examining literature on policing functions by some key scholars, Banton, Reiner and Dempsey and Forst, we can see order maintenance, preservation of peace and problem solving consist of the majority of police work as opposed to crime control, which only consists of a small percentage of policing functions. Thus, it is in my view there is more evidence to suggest the functions of the police are not solely based on crime control but maintaining an authoritative role of preserving public order. Nevertheless, police functions may differ in highly disorganised communities where more crime is likely; therefore in these hotspot areas crime control and law enforcement may be the fundamental function at the heart of police work.

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In what ways did views about mental breakdown change between 1914 and 1918?

Thomas Harper

It is impossible for us to imagine what it would have been like to be placed within the trenches which characterised World War One. We have heard countless facts about the lives of the soldiers within the trenches, such as the food they were given and the tactics employed in order to overcome the enemy. Of course we are also able to recount the true horrors of war, such as the injuries suffered by those in the trenches who came under heavy artillery fire. Roper (2010) talks about the types of injury sustained by soldiers in the war and states that 'evisceration was among the most feared of all wounds' (2010: 257). However, another injury also became very apparent throughout the duration of the First World War, this injury came to be known as shell shock. Shellshock proved to be an enormous problem for soldiers and medical personnel alike as 'there was no accepted definition of the disorder' (Jones and Wessely, 2005: 23). Eventually it began to be understood as a mental condition as soldiers began to mentally breakdown, even if they had not seen combat. Despite the eventual conclusion of what this ailment was, it did not start off as simply being understood as a mental problem, and the views surrounding breakdown and shell shock changed throughout the course of the war. Within this essay I will attempt to examine how the views of mental breakdown changed during the years of the war.

To start, we must examine what differentiated World War One from the wars that had preceded it. The birth of modernity and the development of new technologies meant that modern warfare went through a dramatic change. The First World War marked the age of a new mechanised type of warfare which incorporated 'mechanised terror…vastly more efficient killing machines, omnipresent danger' which 'sparked intense and unruly panic' (Bourke, 2005: 204). Another key difference of the war was that it was a war of attrition. Tactics employed in previous wars were of no use, as newly developed machine guns were able to defend positions from offensives pushes by the opposing forces. This led to the emergence of the previously mentioned trench warfare and mobility and advancement came to a standstill until tanks were deployed to counter this defensive tactic. As a consequence of trench warfare, artillery barrages became one of the most deadly forms of combat and claimed around 70 percent of the causalities of the war (Roper, 2010: 257). As a result 'trench fighting and artillery barrages created a battlefield in which the foe was invisible, the weapons of war impersonal' (Bourke, 2005: 205), creating a new type of fear within the minds of the soldiers. The natural response to danger, as pointed out by Bourke (2005) is 'flight or fight'; however the nature of combat during the war rendered this response impossible. The soldiers could not run from the battlefield without fear of death and they could not fight an enemy they could not see. George Crile (1915) argued that if fear was not accompanied by physical action, then it would cause the body harm. Although the argument for an emotional cause for war neuroses, or shell shock, is a prominent one, it was not the first argument to be made. The term 'shell shock' was first used in 1915 by Charles Myers who published an article for the Lancet claiming that a physical shock, such as that from an artillery shell, was the cause for a patient to have symptoms that could otherwise not be explained. This type of view leaned on the side of a physical explanation of shell shock. Jones and Wessely (2005) state that in 1916 Fredrick Mott hypothesised

that a nearby explosion could result in a small brain haemorrhage due to the forces of compression. He also argued that carbon monoxide poisoning could be another reason for soldiers to exhibit this strange behaviour. Shephard (2002) also acknowledges the arguments of a physical cause for shell shock as 'what could be more physical than to have a high explosive shell land a few feet away from you?' (2002: 2). Despite Mott sticking to his theory of a physical cause throughout the remaining years of the war, it became apparent that soldiers and officers who had not been near shelling had also begun to show symptoms of shell shock. Thus, new explanations had to be drawn up and with this came the acknowledgement of the possibility of psychological causes and effects.

The acceptance of psychological causes for shell shock was however a problem for military personnel to actually accept. Morale played a huge part in war time, without it troops would succumb to feelings of hopelessness. At the start of the war morale was high within the volunteer troops, partly due to the employment of the 'pal system' (Stone, 1985: 250). The pal system was used to create bonds of friendship in order to gain morale for the troops fighting by each other's side. However, as noted by Stone (1985), the huge losses at the battle of the Somme had resulted in the pal system collapsing leading to 'a general air of cynicism and despair' (1985: 250). At this point, shell shock became a major problem for the British army as it came to be seen as a disciplinary problem, which in turn led to fellow soldiers and officers looking down upon those suffering from shell shock, believing that they lacked a certain moral fibre. According to Stone, a large amount of military personnel also carried the thought that shell shock sufferers should be dealt with in army prisons. Henry Yellowlees (1957) who worked within a military hospital in France stated that 'many highly placed officials in the War Office made no secret of their belief that the whole thing was humbug from beginning to end' (1957: 154) in regards to the notion of shell shock. Charles Myers (2012) also stated that during his time in France he noted a rather polarized view from officers in high positions who believed those who were suffering from shell shock should be either put in asylums, or court martialled and shot. Eventually, the British army did accept that shell shock was in fact not an act of cowardice, but was indeed a medical condition that needed some form of treatment. Around the same time (1916 and beyond) debates relating to the cause of shell shock became more intense, the war was still raging and showed no signs of slowing down or ending, leading to the possibility of a manpower and financial crisis. Shell shock exacerbated this problem due to the cost of keeping these soldiers within hospitals, thus sparking new theories as to the cause of the problem.

Although argued during the early years of the war, the argument for a psychological understanding began to be more accepted during 1916 leading to two key opinions on the subject. Firstly, as noted by Loughran (2010), psychological theorists began to explain symptoms by arguing the 'origins of breakdown were to be found in the earlier experiences of the individual' (2010:86). Secondly, commentators of the war argued that only people who had an unstable nervous system would become victims of shell shock. Despite arguing different sides of the psychological argument, the opinions both pin point the reason for war neuroses upon the individual rather than the war itself. Unfortunately, despite a new acceptance of a psychological approach to shell shock, medical specialists also held contempt for shell shock victims. This was due to the victims displaying symptoms similar to hysteria and neurasthenia, two conditions which were held in low esteem by medical professionals (Stone, 1985: 251). Hearnshaw (1964) also noted that, despite the argument for psychological diagnosis and treatment, medical personnel in the field had little time for this. This mistreatment of patients needed to be resolved and a new form of treatment needed to be created in order to quell the tide of mental casualties which were brought to

field hospitals or shipped back to the UK for treatment. Charles Myers took it upon himself to try and establish guidelines for preventing shell shock as well as treating it. Myers, taking inspiration from French psychological ideas, established three essential rules to follow: 'promptness of action, suitable environment and psychotherapeutic measures' (Southborough, 1922: 123). This also included several specialist units to be established far away from the environment of war. These units were set up after the Somme due to the high number of mental causalities and were labelled as NYDN centres (not yet diagnosed nervous). Treatment at these centres included 'brief respite, men were fed, allowed to rest and then put on a programme of graduated exercise' (Jones and Wessely, 2005: 26). Despite these centres, treatment was still argued upon, William Brown argued for abreaction (reliving the experience) whereas William Johnson believed this could be counterproductive for the soldier's recovery. The approach that William Brown administered could be understood as 'the talking cure' (coined by Josef Breuer), later becoming known as catharsis, which was also adopted by Freud in order to create the fundamental work of psychoanalysis. Brown believed that the repression of a terrifying memory or event was the cause of shell shock and that by re-telling the event it could be 'mastered and incorporated within his experience' (Jones and Wessely, 2005: 29). Brown claimed a 91% success rate in this type of treatment, and, despite criticisms from Jones and Wessely (2001) who claimed he ignored relapses, this type of treatment went on to become a prominent psychological treatment which is still in use today. In contrast of the British limited approach to dealing with shell shock, the US became determined to not suffer the same problem and established Base Hospital No. 117 which was equipped with occupational therapy workshops, creating art for therapy and regular psychical activity (Jones and Wessely, 2005). The US had seemingly immediately adopted the idea of a psychological cause for shell shock due to information that had preceded them due to the later entry to the war in 1918. Despite entering the war later, the US had still come to view mental breakdown as a psychological condition, however this level of preparedness did not follow into World War Two as it did with Britain. Despite a lack of research and knowledge about how Germany treated shell shock victims during World War One, in 1916 Hermann Oppenheim argued that a pathogenic cause was to blame. This argument received wide criticisms in Germany and the cause of shell shock was instead placed upon individual fears (Jones and Wessely, 2005). Germany (as well as Britain in some cases) instead used electrical shock treatment and psychological pressure such as the Kaufmann Regime. Shell shock was considered unpatriotic and unworthy, much like it was for a time in the British army, and the men who suffered from symptoms of hysteria were removed from the trenches and placed within a harsh treatment regime. Although there is not much known about the actual treatment of German soldiers, it is known that more than 20 soldiers were killed during treatment and many others committed suicide. The German view of mental breakdown during the war did not progress nearly as much as the British view.

Despite a radical change taking place within the views of psychiatric treatment for conditions such as shell shock, there also existed another huge change in the ways mental breakdowns were viewed. This change was more focused upon gender, as the Great War had triggered a 'crisis of masculinity' (Showalter, 1987: 171). Men and women had been taught their roles in society and they were aware of the Victorian ideal that they must adhere to. The war not only destroyed people's bodies and minds, it destroyed the boundaries and ideals that had been set in place for so long. Smith and Pear (1918) stated that 'the suppression of fear and other strong emotions is not demanded only of men in the trenches. It is constantly expected in ordinary society' (1918: 7). These expectations were ingrained in every soldier who went to France to fight, it is then no surprise that they reacted with hysteria under such horrific conditions that awaited them, instead of the

'unnatural courage' (Showalter, 1987: 171) that was expected of them. Of course, as previously mentioned, outside views of those who had not succumbed to shell shock were disapproving and Andre Leri (1919) noted that hysterical soldiers were regarded as 'moral invalids' (1919:118). Thus, a type of feminization took hold of many soldiers as they battled their own ideals, losing a sense of control much like Victorian women had also experienced. Not only this, but 'hysteria' was no longer just a symptom of women; men and women now shared a common ground. Stryker (2003) noted the difference between the numbers of traumatised soldiers in the First World War compared to the second. Stryker argues that as soldier's willingness to express their anxieties and show their fear then this could account for the lower numbers of mental casualties in the Second World War. Not only does this show a difference in how soldiers dealt with their problems and that they were permitted to deal with them by expressing fear, but it also shows a change in society's attitudes to masculinity after the end of the First World War, signalling a change in the views of mental breakdown during war time.

We can see from the multitude of information just how much World War One and shell shock changed not only the structure of Europe, but also the structure of medical treatment of those who were mentally injured. For example, Stone (1985) stated that treatment for shell shock was huge development of psychological medicine and helped usher in Freudian concepts of neuroses into mainstream mental medicine. Merskey (1991) also concluded that shell shock was a 'maturation of psychiatry' (1991: 261) and later became a speciality. As previously mentioned, gender views also changed a great deal, and Stryker (2003) noted how men had come to accept that they will be afraid in the environment of war, rather than believing they must never show fear in the face of the enemy. It can be said that shell shock was the very first step in defining what we now call Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, however it can be argued that PTSD is a separate entity, as Stryker (2003) admits that shell shock, in the end, has political dimensions and it acts as a screen to which we respond to current events such as war and gender issues as well as inflicting people with longstanding mental conditions. Instead he states that PTSD has its roots embedded within the Vietnam War (2003:167). Thus, we can see shell shock as a historical landmark, the beginning of a transformation of both psychological medicine, gender ideals and, as Loughran (2010) states, 'the knowledge that war can cause unbearable psychological suffering is the most important lesson to be gained' (2010: 118).

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In what ways and to what extent has risk transformed Western criminal justice systems?

Nadine Hendrie

Beck (1992) defines risk as 'a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernisation itself' (1992: 21). The concept of risk when relating to western criminal justice systems (CJS) refers to the process of using scientific methods such as statistics to assess the probability of criminal outcomes. Risk is also a tool to manage the probability of risk by harm reduction techniques. The objective of such a tool is to reduce the opportunities for criminal activity, therefore reducing the likelihood of becoming a victim of crime. Beck characterises late modernity as a 'risk society' (1992:21).

Using Beck's definition of risk, this essay will analyse in what ways and to what extent risk has transformed Western criminal justice systems. It will show the link between risk and fear, and how it develops a crime consciousness in the general public. It will set the rise of risk historically and politically, through the perceived failure of the penal welfare system, new penology, actuarial justice and statistical risk-based governance. It will show the strong impact of neo-liberalism and its moral arm, neo-conservatism, on the Western Criminal Justice System. This essay will use specific examples of the trans-Atlantic policy transfer in the West, such as Nixon's 'War on Drugs', mass incarceration, legislation, and the impact on certain ethnic groups to show the extent of risk. Lastly, it will situate risk in a local (micro-level) context, noting the extension of the criminal justice system through community partnerships, and the changing role of the victim.

Garland (2001) observes that in late modern society there has been a steady decrease in a collective sense of security. The fear of crime becomes an external outcome of insecurity. Fear thus becomes fundamental in the consequent development of a 'crime consciousness'. Crime consciousness can be accelerated by western cultural and media representations of crime, enabled by technological developments which are synonymous with a globalised world (Jewkes & Bennett, 2008). Risk and fear have therefore become inextricable elements of western criminal justice which have transformed western CJS processes and outcomes.

Risk and its construction is a central theme across many academic disciplines. Douglas et al (1992) argue that risk identification is based on our cultural biases, structural norms, environment and psychological traits. They argue these factors are fundamental when we identify the risk 'out there' and highlights how we arrive at our own structure of perceptions (in Garland, 2003). An example of how crime can firmly establish the concept of risk in late modern societies was the terrorist attack on the World Trade Towers, 9/11. A global audience witnessing the attack as it happened; the events of 9/11 therefore became a global signifier of risk in an iconic moment. Innes (2004) argues the power of signifier crimes can originate from media reporting, public opinion and consequent state responses. The combination of these can create a moral panic, heightened feelings of insecurity and has the power to create a belief that we live in a risk society (Beck, 1992; Innes, 2004).

It is not difficult to see how personal perceptions of 'dangerous others' have been established as commonplace ideologies, creating normative dialogues that are undisputed

in society as social facts. The undisputed facts of high crime rates because of a public consciousness supports the view that we live in risky times. Garland (2001) argues that the population at large assesses and manages risk as they go about their everyday lives. This further embeds the culture of fear and risk in late modernity on a global platform and gives legitimacy to 'risk' as a foundation stone of the modern western criminal justice system. It also opens the door for government control, which Garland (2001) calls the culture of control.

Historically both the UK and USA have similar institutional foundations regarding crime and justice. Garland (2001) observes these foundations are specialist institutions of legal procedure and liberal penal principles that govern the activities of crime control, based on official ideologies. This developed during the twentieth century with a focus on rehabilitation, individual treatment and specialist institutions and professions created to deal with the rehabilitation of the criminal. The general discourse at that time was poverty and crime was inextricably linked the causes of crime. The introduction of the welfare system post war and the consequent merging of a penal welfare model created a hope that crime would be reduced if the causes of crime were treated. However by the mid 1970's there has been a 'collapse of faith in correctionalism' (Garland, 2001: 61). As crime rates appeared to rise a criticism of the criminal justice system and its overall effectiveness was becoming a political hot topic. Martinson's (1974) 'what works' paper concluded that 'nothing works'; the perceived failure of penal welfarism was firmly established in UK political and public discourse.

Strong criticism of penal welfarism emerged from both the left and right realists; however the right had a stronger voice as the political environment was ready for an alternative to the previous model of welfare. Right realists offered practical alternatives to dealing with crime. Influential US Government advisor and academic James Q Wilson (1975) in *Thinking about Crime* argued that the government could not deal with causes of crime. His recommendations were a call to return to neo-classicist assumptions, viewing the criminal as a rational agent, state reduction of welfare and making punitive measures harsher in order to reduce rewards and benefits of crime. A new way of addressing crime was required; an acceptance that crime would always be with us gave rise to a new way of managing crime instead of addressing crime. This is a return to the classical notion of the rational man, recognising we all have opportunities to commit crime. Garland (2001) describes this as the 'criminology of the self'. Feely and Simon (2003) contend that 'the new penology' is established in the form of actuarialism or actuarial justice.

The managerial style of 'new penology' is based on statistical methods of risk assessments. Feely and Simon (2003) argue that Western penal systems have fully embraced and embedded the notion of risk within governance and penal strategies. New ways of monitoring offenders, which include electronic surveillance and risk-based offender management programmes both inside the prison and outside within the community context. (Cavadino & Dignan, 2007). Risk is now a tool to maintain public safety by both the governance of crime and management of crime underpinned by political and economic agendas.

One example of political and economic agendas influencing risk-based governance was Asset, a statistical risk assessment tool that youth offending teams in the UK implemented circa 2000, to indicate risk of future offending (Briggs, 2013). Its objective was to 'identify static and dynamic risk factors associated with behaviour' (Briggs, 2013:20), this then was used to direct interventions to prevent youth criminality. The risk tool therefore directed

which categories to govern and how to direct financial resource according to the predictors. Kemshall (2008) argues this type of governance is directed at subgroups, those who cannot self-rule or 'those who fail or refuse to do so are demonised and excluded' (Rose, 1996 cited in Kemshall, 2008). It could be argued that Asset had a political motivation in being seen to be dealing with a perceived British youth problem. Media portrayal in the late 1990's depicted young people as unruly and out of control.

Running parallel to above actuarial justice methods, which adapted neoliberal market solutions, private sector values and New Public Management mechanisms, was a revised western perspective of morality of crime and criminals called Neo-conservative ideology. Neo-conservative ideology is a contradiction to actuarial justice; the contradiction lies in where these are applied, based on neo-liberal governance. When applied to the economy, this approach advises deregulation as a business model but when applied to morality, results in copious regulations and legislation in the western CJS. O'Malley (2010) supports this by noting:

> Neo-liberalism is much more comfortable with the morally neutral rational choice offender, the criminology of the self and associated models of risk. On the other hand conservatives are more attached to discourses of stamping out and punishing moral evil rather than imagining offenders merely as Everyman presented with the right opportunity (2010: 33).

This creates a conflict between market requirement and the moralistic assertion of state power, creating a categorisation of the 'dangerous other' in our midst (Garland, 2001).

The political moral shift occurred with Richard Nixon declaring a global 'War on Drugs' in 1971. The impact of this declaration can be measured by the rise in penal populism since that time. Nixon's declaration was a highly emotive signifier; it signified a battle, a war, and an attack on US citizens from the amoral 'other' (Garland, 2001). It required a consensus, which was achieved both nationally and globally as western countries, including the UK, took up the mantle politically and morally. The impact of the war on drugs upon the US prison population has been dramatic. In 1971 the prison population was under 200,000; by 2008 it had exploded to 2.4 million (Currie, 1998). The UK prison population, although smaller in numbers, follows the same trajectory. In 1971, the UK prison population was under 40,000; by 2008, the population had more than doubled to over 80,000 (Jewkes & Bennett, 2008). The doubling of the prison population categorically shows how risk has impacted upon actuarial justice and political right moral ideologies, the measurable outcome being mass incarceration of the amoral other. Nixon's declaration mean drug use and drug dealing have global ontological implications; Garland quotes British Prime Minister John Major to support his concept of the criminology of the other: 'Society should condemn more and understand less' (Garland, 2001: 184). Simply meaning we should exclude the morally undeserved, dehumanise them in order to justify mass imprisonment of sub-categories of peoples

Simon argues that the US statistics reveal more than just an 'unprecedented upsurge that continues after tripling the portion of the population incarcerated to more than 409 per 100,000' (Simon, 1992; cited in McLaughlin & Muncie , 2001: 532). He contends the impact of actuarial justice implementation has been absorbed primarily by African American males, as there incarceration rates are ten times as high as any other race. The impact of mass imprisonment or warehousing means that in any one day, African American males make up 33 per cent of the total custody figures (Simon, 1992; cited in McLaughlin &

Muncie, 2001: 532). As African Americans make up only 12 per cent of the US population the statistics highlight a questionable disconnect.

By comparison, the Ministry of Justice analysed what factors created the UK prison population to double between 1993 and 2012. The conclusions were twofold: 'tougher sentencing and enforcement outcomes and a more serious mix of offence groups coming before the courts' (Ministry of Justice, 2013:2). Since 1993, 98 per cent of the population increase was separated into two categories, an 85 per cent increase in offender's sentenced receiving immediate custody and 13 per cent recalled to prison for breaking their bail conditions (Ministry of Justice, 2013). In the decade 1999-2011, the average prison sentence had also increased from 8.1 months to 9.5 months for determinate sentences; there was also a decline in the parole release rate for the same period (Ministry of Justice, 2013). The increase of immediate custody, recall, lengthening of the average sentence and a reduction in parole release rates all reveal the characteristics of Neo-liberal criminal justice systems in the West. Risk-based actuarial justice, a 'tough on crime' approach, which is punitive in approach; the philosophical justification for a punitive approach is preventing future offending, and removing the risk to society by excluding the 'other' for the longest and harshest way possible (Feely and Simons , 2003).

Why has the UK followed the US model? Goldson (2006), argues that there has been a criminal justice trans-Atlantic policy transfer between the US and UK. He explains that this was created through a strong political alliance between the two countries. He argues that the 1990's new labour government followed the 'US mass imprisonment and social experiment' (Goldson, 2006: 53) by implementing a 'lockdown of their own in England and Wales' (Goldson, 2006: 53). His point can be further reinforced when considering criminal legislation since 1997. The Labour government 'legislated on more than fifty occasions in the criminal justice sphere and created more than 3,000 new offenses, one for almost every day they were in office' (Morris, 2006 cited in Goldson, 2006: 53).

Risk assessment was at the heart of criminal legislation between the years 1993–2008. The Criminal Justice Act 1993 (CJA) amendment included the power to take previous convictions into account. This single amendment, based on the probability of risk of reoffending, was a direct cause to the increase in sentencing to immediate custody (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Prior to this, an accused was tried on the criminal act at the time in question. The CJA amendment now meant that the question of guilt was not only based on facts of the case, but could be measured by the probability of future offending based on the individual's past. It could be argued that the legal definition of guilt may have been redefined to probable guilt, based on risk predictors under the new penology of actuarial justice in western criminal justice systems.

Risk has become more than just a national concept in Western criminal justice systems; risk as a concept has become evident on the micro-level too. Since the 1980's, changes have occurred with local level CJS in order to promote new ways of dealing with crime and disorder. Garland (2001) distinguishes between the national and local level criminal justice priorities. Whilst punishment, prison and criminal justice as a whole are the focus of CJS at national level, the CJS at local level is about community partnership (Garland, 2001). As previously discussed, risk and fear are embedded within modern societies; therefore new techniques of CJS have extended to address societal concerns. Such methods include community policing, neighbourhood watch, safer cities programmes, crime prevention and victim support. Garland claims that this is not an extension of original CJS, but a 'new infrastructure' (2001:17), with different aims and objectives from the traditional CJS. He

argues this is a new form of crime control; the criminology of the everyday life (Garland, 2001). The community-based approaches focus on harm reduction, loss reduction, fear reduction and security. When considering such objectives, it is evident the individual has become central to crime control. O'Malley's (2010) is critical of the insurance industry, he argues they have a business motive for furthering the concept of risk. Neighbourhood Watch, for example, is often funded by insurance companies (O'Malley, 2010). Another example is loss reduction (or in old-fashioned terms theft) which requires an individual to protect their property, to minimise the potential for theft, using technology such as CCTV. Insuring the property and being responsible for securing that property or else the insurance will not cover the loss, places responsibility onto the individual. It is now the individual's jobs to assess and manage risk themselves in order to reduce the opportunity for crime.

It could be argued that this is an example of Individualism, a neo-liberal characteristic of self-reliance and private sector values that have used risk and the fear of crime to shift responsibility away from the state and onto the individual. It could be argued that individualism or as Garland calls it 'criminology of everyday life' now underpins the CJS new infrastructure which ultimately 'encourages communities to police themselves' (Garland, 2001: 17).

This new expression of individualisation has also changed the penal framework in western CJS. Historically the offender was a central part in the CJS process. Garland argues that the 'criminology of the everyday life' has convened with the individualistic agenda, meaning the victim now becomes 'centre stage' in all processes of western CJS. Previously, the victim's role was to report crime and testify if required. Today's victims however are to be informed at every stage of the process (Garland, 2001).

The introduction of the Victim Impact Statement in the US mid-1970's had a significant impact in the court process (National Center for Victims of Crime, 2008). The Victim Impact Statement reflects how the crime has personally impacted upon them; this means the crime has become personalised instead of categorised as was previously the case under the penal welfare framework. Garland (2001) concludes that this, combined with new sentencing laws, has meant the offender is now categorised and seen as a stereotype as opposed to an individual. This has created a 'punishment at a distance' model (Garland, 2001: 179), by political actors who use risk and the fear of crime as a voting tool. Garland draws upon Foucault's 'Axis of individualisation' (Foucault cited in Garland, 2001: 180) to explain that treatment of offenders has decreased as the victims' profile 'is bought into full human focus and given a voice' (Garland, 2001: 180). This further embeds crime consciousness in the public domain and therefore increases the concept of risk of communal victimhood (Garland, 2001). The new role of the victim has the potential to impact upon people's everyday lives if they perceive an increased risk of them, as an individual, becoming a victim of crime.

In conclusion, this essay has shown various ways in which risk has not only transformed, but infiltrated, the Western criminal justice system. Risk has transformed the public perception of crime on multiple levels, through public consciousness, rise in fear, the changing role of victimhood, and redefinition of the offender as 'other'. It has linked historically and politically movements, especially the pivotal Martinson's perception of the failure of the penal welfare system. In response to this, Western culture saw the rise of a new penology, actuarial justice and statistical risk-based governance, based on predictions of risk. This essay used specific examples of how trans-Atlantic policy transfer in the West,

such as Nixon's 'War on Drugs', mass incarceration, legislation, and the impact upon certain ethnic groups show the extent of the use of risk. Finally, it situated risk in a local context, noting the extension of the criminal justice system through community partnerships, and the changing role of the victim. This essay has highlighted the contradiction between politics and morality, in the context of risk. Whatever penal system we have going forward, morality and money will always underpin and justify government decisions on crime. And where there is money, there will always be risk as a key factor.

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What is plural policing, and what might criminology gain or lose by using this concept?

Dragos-Marian Ion

The work of the police has always been a matter of interest for the scholars and there are several definitions to what the police and policing mean. Policeman duties have changed over the decades and so has the meaning of the word. The word "police" has deep roots in history. It can be traced back to the Ancient Greek and Roman empires where "politeía" and "politia" can be translated as the "polity". However, the word has lost its initial meaning over the decades and came to be used in matters regarding welfare, security and enforcing the law (Emsley, 1996). Now the police are not the only institution in charge with policing the society; policemen often work with other institutions in partnership in order to deter crimes, catch criminals and ensure that people are safe both on the streets and in their homes. A new concept has surfaced and it is used to describe the collaboration between the police and other institutions. Plural policing is frequently used for several operations, especially when we talk about huge events, for example, The Olympic Games, The Commonwealth Games or the BAFTA Awards, to name a few. In this essay, I will look at the concept of "plural policing", the definitions that are there for this term and what might criminology gain or lose by using this concept.

In order to understand what plural policing is; it is necessary to look at the history of policing and how it has developed throughout the years. As mentioned above, the meaning of the word "police" has changed and so have police duties. In the United Kingdom, Henry II set up the 'criminal justice, including a trial and a jury system' (Newburn, 2007: 613). The fourteenth century witnessed a shift in the paradigm of policing as the community started to pass safeguarding responsibilities onto the officials (Rawlings, 2002). Modern policing appeared in a time of crisis, when the urban population started to become reckless and there was a need for a new form of regulation. In this context the police was in charge with protecting the private property and controlling as well as maintaining the public order (Cohen, 1979). The Metropolitan Police was established in 1829 when the world was facing both industrialisation and urbanisation and crime rates were getting higher. All the informal social control that existed vanished once the urban areas started to grow, and brought with it more crimes 'such as public drunkenness, street disorder, prostitution' (Rowe, 2010: 27). It seemed that a radical change in crime prevention and a profound shift towards community building were in dire need. After World War I, crime rates started to drop. Policing the public was easier due to new legislation aiming the streets and the young people (Cohen, 1979).

What is policing? As Newburn (2007) describes it, 'policing covers a wide range of responsibilities: the prevention of crime, the maintenance of order, and the detection of crime and punishment of the offender' (2007: 602). Although there is a belief that the police work means dealing with serious crimes and catching criminals and murderers, this is only a fraction of what policemen may do on a daily basis. The police are available 24 hours a day and they deal with lot more than just serious crimes. Murder or violent crimes do not occur as often as the public may believe and the police spend considerably less time on these cases (Newburn, 2007). Another characteristic of the police is the use of power over the public. However, studies suggest that the police are actually trying not to use this measure. They prefer to use 'negotiation rather than physical force, although the potential

to do so remains' (Rowe, 2010: 6). Rowe (2010) goes even further in analysing the work of the police and suggests that organisational and official work are part of the daily police routine rather than dealing with serious crimes. But policing is not strictly related to the institution of police. Policing can also be a task of different public agencies with the role of regulating different offences in given areas. Furthermore, policing can be a task of private security services, venue owners, website owners or even CCTV (Crawford, 2006). However, the police are best known for having the authority to regulate and policing if often associated only with the police. But even inside the police, there are different people possessing different policing powers. Policing can be done by a professional organ or by a civilian, but that does not mean they both have the same policing powers (Crawford, 2006).

Moving to the main subject of this essay, plural policing is a concept hard to define and there are several interpretations of what this concept may mean. Some might argue that this term is nothing new and that plural policing has been around for a while. Rawlings (2002), for example, argues that Britain saw the establishment of a private police at the end of the eighteenth century. He then further adds that besides the Thames Police, there were several other privately owned police bodies such as railway police, or thief-takers. Judging by this, it can be said that plural policing is not a new concept and it has been around for centuries. In their thesis, Bayley and Shearing (1996) talk about the monopoly of police. They argue that there used to be a state monopoly on policing but this started to disappear after the second half of the twentieth century. Their research shows that there are more privately owned security agencies than the actual public police agencies. They also mention that there is a lot more involvement from the public into policing such as neighbourhood watch or monitors. All these measures have resulted in the police no longer being the 'primary crime-deterrent presence anymore' (Bayley and Shearing, 1996: 587).

Moving forward, Jones and Newburn (2002) argue that plural policing is caused by the emergence of private security companies and other policing organisations. They also talk about the growth of civilian policing and the evolution of this form of policing, as something that was previously seen being cautious transitioning into a very important crime-fighting presence. The main focus for many criminologists is the growth of private policing as there are statistics that suggest that private security is growing bigger than the public police (Prenzler, 2005). Talking about the United Kingdom, plural policing is constantly developing and this has lead criminologists to ask an important question: why has policing pluralised? Crawford (2007) suggests that that the public police are an institution that offers free services to everyone who requests their help. Because of the high demand for their services and the constant struggle for budget, the public police might not be able to fulfil all their duties. This might be one of the reasons why the public security has emerged and started to fill the gap. According to Jones and Newburn (2006), there has been a transfer of functions from the public police to the private sector. It can be said that the emergence of the private security and plural policing has helped the public police by taking over some of their duties and the whole process has contributed to a better system of policing. Talking about the 2012 Olympic Games in London, Hobbs et al (2015) describe the atmosphere and the relationships between the public police and the multiple agencies in charge with security of the event. The research shows that there was confusion and sometimes the security agencies were not sure what their role was and they did not know how to cooperate with the others. The Olympic Games brought together three major security organisations: the public police, the local authority and the Westfield shopping centre. While the local police were concerned with a group of young criminals from the neighbourhood of the Olympic Park, multiple private agencies were regularly meeting to plan the security of the shopping centre.

As mentioned before, plural policing has proven to be a problematic concept for criminologists to define. There are so many companies and operations classified as plural policing that it has become very difficult to define a term that is so broad. Rowe (2010) argues that although academicians started to pay more attention to plural policing in the last decades, this concept has been around for centuries. Plural policing has a great history behind and perhaps there was little attention paid to the concept because the public police represented the main body of security. However, Jones and Newburn (2002) offer evidence that the public police have never been the sole provider of security services. They also suggest that plural policing is used in an exaggerated manner, as there are multiple private security agencies that do not have great policing and security powers and are still under the domain of the public police. Although there are several occasions in which the police are working together with other agencies, it is very rare that these partners have the same power and influence as the public police. These inequalities arise because the police are often favoured and have access to classified information and other necessary resources.

Confusion can be one of the terms used to describe how criminologists feel about plural policing. There are people arguing that plural policing is a new concept that has only started a few decades ago, and that the state was the monopoly until recently. On the other hand, there are others who contest this view and argue that plural policing has deep roots in history. Rowe (2010) suggests that the pluralisation of policing has become more evident during the past years due to the fact that several public police functions are now fulfilled by voluntary or private sectors. Even in these situations, the public police can still control all the other private sectors because they enforce the law. Jones and Newburn (2002) argue that there is too much literature focusing on North America and too little information about the rest of the world. The core assumption that North America is identical to the rest of the world is wrong, they say. Not all the countries share the same changes in policing systems and they will not all change at the same time or for the same reasons.

Co-operation can always be an issue when talking about plural policing. Although they work in partnerships, there might be situations when either the public police or the private sectors choose not to disclose certain information. Also, at the end of the day, private security companies rely on money and they might not hire the most professional personnel but people they can afford to pay. These practices lead to issues of transparency and confidence. The employees might not always understand the meaning of plural policing and this matter can create tension between partners. On the bright side, plural policing can be a prolific crime-deterrent method. Societies are constantly changing and there is a need for more authority. By collaborating with the private sector, the public police can achieve more in their battle to lower criminal rates. Also, plural policing means more policing bodies and this can be beneficial for the public; people would feel more secured knowing there is a security guard or a policeman around them.

There may be a few disadvantages of the system of plural policing. Although with the spreading of private agencies and other police subsidiaries larger areas and private sectors can be covered, the policing power is distributed unequally. As previously mentioned, the number of private agencies in the UK is growing closer to the actual size of the institutionalised police. This suggests that people may favour these organisations over the other which could indicate that the police may be lacking of resources or struggling to earn citizens' trust. The emerging private sector may also offer a more promising career path which attracts a considerable audience deterring potential applicants to join the police force. As the notion of policing expands communication and administrative issues between

the state police and other agencies inevitably arise. This may further hinder a smoothly running law enforcement system.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the concept of plural policing is very broad. Although there are several definitions to what it means, the constant changing in both the policing system and the society makes it harder to pin the term down. On one hand, there are criminologists who argue that plural policing has been around for centuries and they have shown proofs that it can be traced down in history. On the other hand, there are other academicians who debate this and claim that plural policing is a new concept and that the state has been the monopoly provider until the recent decades. All these debates have made it difficult to define the concept and offer clear information regarding the origins of it. What is certain is the fact that plural policing is constantly developing, especially because the private security and voluntary sector are becoming a very important part of the policing. Plural policing has proven to be very useful for the public but there are also several issues that still need to be fixed. Partnerships between the public police and other policing sectors are yet to be perfect, especially because of the lack of communication, unbalanced authority powers and financial statuses. Important changes have taken place in policing and further research needs to be conducted in order to obtain a more in-depth view of the concept.

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What is 'high policing', and are contemporary 'high policing' practices legitimate?

Laura Morgan

When we think of the term 'high policing' often it refers to gathering intelligence to attempt to preserve threats. The security intelligence agencies, that lie within the shadows of everyday life, such as Special Branch, CSIS, USA's CIA, MI5, MI6 etc. have complete responsibility in defining the public good and determining and preventing future prospects of attacks (Sheptycki, 2007). However, others may argue it involves the collusion of many politicians, who would curb activities of the security services, still it remains that there is no reliable information to tell us otherwise. Post 9/11 the West has witnessed a quasi-military response of intelligence-led policing in order to deal with terrorism and protect 'national security'. As a means to answering the question, I will define the concept of high policing as well as briefly discussing 'low policing'. Then I shall assess the legitimacy of high policing and its effects on issues of trust towards police, security services and our government.

Throughout history high policing has been continually left out, which many could argue is due to its secretive nature, making it nearly impossible to find any data or information whereas low policing is something that has always been prominent in daily life and seen as essential to protect society. High and low policing have been increasingly relevant since their failures to prevent the 9/11 attacks. Brodeur (1983 cited in Hoogenboom, 2010) developed the distinction; where he argued that high and low policing have different organizational characteristics. The classical notion of low policing aimed at protecting the public and maintaining order as a reactive response. Whereas high policing involves that of intelligence-led gathering by authorized officers whose duty it is to protect the nation. According to Beck (1992; cited in Williamson, 2008) we live in a 'risk society', therefore, intelligence-led policing is built around the assessment and management of risk in order to prevent atrophies occurring (Beck, 2006; cited in Williamson, 2008). Both, however, functioned within a Weberian conception of the state through legitimate use of force in a given area. However, now we see change due to new developments in global governance.

Brodeur's work outlines features that differentiated high policing in terms of political surveillance from low policing as law enforcement. Typically this distinction to a type of policing that contrasted with everyday policing by highly visible officers. In his work he identified four key features of high policing. High policing involves the recruitment of different types of informants who are willing, either paid or unpaid, to involve themselves in covert surveillance. However, when the high policing paradigm was developed it was mostly dependent on human sources as an intrusive instrument of surveillance. Now through our globalized society there has been an increase in technological monitoring tools for the purpose of surveillance (Brodeur, 2010). Still this approach has not always been successful in regards to the instance of 9/11, where US intelligence only relied on technical tools rather than human sources, which resulted in Islamic terrorism not being detected (Beare, 2012). Secondly, he noted that high policing is 'highly absorbent' as techniques are used to ensure that gathering and storing of intelligence is done thoroughly. High policing agencies use their power to ensure intelligence is pulled to prevent acts occurring. Low policing also participates in data collection, but usually only on a micro scale. Thirdly, high

policing has been described as having an alleged 'wall' between security intelligence and law enforcement, which is seen as being inefficient in terms of protection. Low policing is governed by the law, which means, for instance, police officers are bound by strict rules when they are on duty. The final key characteristic is that the main goal of high policing is preservation; this ensures crime itself is used to administer order or to gain intelligence for the protection of institutions of government (Ericson et al, 2006). Fouché Hentig (1919; cited in Ellison and Pino, 2012) also makes a similar observation in terms of the fourth characteristic, where he argues that the nature of low policing aims to protect society through its nature of peace making, whereas the basic aim of high policing is sometimes expressed by the defense of the state or the protection of national.

The major indicator for the transformation in policing institutions was the revolution. It is unlikely to propose that there has been a revolution in intelligence affairs, due to a wide range of cause such as: the development of postmodern society, crosscurrent of economics, political globalization, increased fear in 'terror' etc. As I have already mentioned, one of the key anxieties we must consider is this sense of insecurity that is frequently on the minds of many (Bayley and Weisburd, 2009). The way these agencies operate, which is supposedly created for national security, has often imported this uncertainty. In terms of surveillance, which sets out to protect the way we live in terms of privacy, our liberty etc. often this network of surveillance essentially invades our privacy and liberty producing even more insecurity. Nonetheless, we see that policing has continually been as a substitute for the military. Since the emergence of mass terrorism, intelligence-led agencies have been undoubtedly needed in the war on terror. Due to the demand for more security to regulate mass terrorism this has led to local policing merging within intelligence led agencies, which arguable undermines the traditional means of policing and blurring within the definition. Additionally, this blurring can also be related to the vast 'grey area' amongst this world that is concealed by the covering of secrecy (Weber and Bowling, 2013). It has, however, been argued not only by Brodeur, but other academics that high policing will increase and merge more with low policing due to a need for more intelligence. On the other hand, critics like Senator Shelby (2002; cited in Ericson et al, 2006) argue that most have given up on the idea of intelligence-led policing, due to their performance in sharing and analyzing information, which is for the public impossible for the public to get access to.

High policing is used by governments predominately for cases to ensure secrecy is at the forefront of the operation. In instances of terrorism, the importance of undercover policing is to prevent, detect and disrupt acts of terrorism. However, the nature of this surveillance often produces problems in terms of not knowing information about these agencies and how effective their methods are in providing security. This, therefore, produces concerns about the legitimacy and credibility of agencies that conduct intelligence-led policing (Williamson, 2008).

There are several examples I will now examine, where particular procedures would suggest that high policing does not have complete legitimacy. Firstly, it has been suggested that the use of high policing in time will produce a public backlash in terms of public trust. If the police decide to withdraw resources from the service we know as 'low policing', such as response to calls-for-service, uniformed patrolling of streets, traffic regulation etc. support for the police may drop. In time this may lead to the unwillingness of the public to participate and think themselves as partners in stopping things such as terrorism (Hoogenboom, 2010). A recent example where the police were severely criticized was the nationwide demonstration against police brutality in Washington. This protest brought about the need for change to end racial profiling by the police (Ellis et al, 2014). This

example suggests, when the public feels they are unequally treated under the law, problems will occur and support for the police will deteriorate. Attempts to increase state legitimacy by winning over the hearts and minds of the public could be easily earned if high policing agencies adopted a culture of accountability. Police need cooperation from communities and trust, as without this they are unable to do their job properly (Weisburd, 2009). High policing agencies have made attempts to change policing practices to prevent terrorist groups rationalizing young youths. An example that demonstrates this argument is Bob Lambert (2008; cited in Milne, 2008), who argued towards the realization that police were not dealing with Muslim communities. Inspired by Muslim contact unit and neighborhood policing set up in 2002, a proposal was put forward to do things differently in order to create better links between British Muslim communities and prevent further atrocities in Britain. In their mission they aimed to: get to know their communities through covert policing to determine methods that better targeted only the groups who are highly like to be involved in terrorism. Secondly, what Innes (2006; cited in Milne, 2008) described as community intelligence and democratic policing through local beat officers getting to know local communities in order to gain relationships and find out intelligence from the public. This approach was arguable favored by many such as Sufi Muslim Council as, 'Islamists can be powerful allies in the fight against Al-Qaida influence' (Milne, 2008). If there are ways of offering young Muslims the help to change their thinking from political grievances into peaceful political action, this could prevent future youths becoming rationalized. Moreover, it shows how high policing agencies are attempting to prove their legitimacy, which sees their intention to protect our nation (Farrukh et al, 2012). Additionally, if high policing is used in a way for the solution to the war on terror, the public may support growth in local high policing development and ignore the cuts from normal police services (Bayley and Weisburd, 2009).

It is obvious that high policing can produce controversial disputes around the idea that it is difficult to control and know what these agencies are rightfully doing. Returning to terrorism, the idea of protecting the state is something that is in the forefront of the public's minds. However, acts made by high policing agencies have often led to the violation of human rights through processes of illegal monitoring, ill-treatment etc. (Cope, 2004). An example to illustrate this is the recent "CIA torture report", which involved a criminal investigation to address the mistreatment of terror suspects in prison (Associated press in New York, 2014). The Geneva Convention (1894; cited in Hoogenboom, 2010) sets out legal protection that safeguards civilians, prisons during wartime and soldiers. Under this convention, if someone is mistreated they will be prosecuted. Nonetheless, it was found that torture was carried out in secret prisons run by the CIA all over the world. This example shines light towards how in many ways it could be said we are neutralized as it has taken this long for government to react to this injustice. Considering the factor of media bias, it seems that although the US government admitted to using torture, their reason were 'pure justification', for instance, acting for deterrence, necessary for self defiance or for national security reasons. Current reports like this also produce doubts in the way the agency is run and the extent of accountability. Government efforts to deal with terrorism actually produce more and more anxiety and formations of moral panics. If the perception of these agencies is negative, this could lead to the loss of public confidence, which is costly for the success of counterterrorism itself (Bayley and Weisburd, 2009).

The idea around how our globalized world has evolved in terms of technological advancement often produces fears. There are many positives to the advances of technology; however, the negative use of technology can often create havoc if used in the wrong way. Overtime the information and knowledge gathered working within the police

is capable of being used through corruption. Knowledge-based policing sees a threat through the difficulties for effective regulations that presently exist for governance of the police. Where we have a networked world, this proposes risk in terms of this type of policing being both a threat and an opportunity (Williamson, 2008). An illustration of this is the case of Edward Snowden, who worked for the NSA and passed on numerous, classified NSA documents as well as leaking secretive NSA material (BBC News, 2013).

It is often questioned what kind of surveillance is necessary? In terms preventing terrorism, there is need to analyze and collect information about individuals/groups; however, this does not suggest that any sorts of surveillance are justifiable. In many cases it necessary to monitor telephone calls, revealed by the Guardian, 'NSA monitor around ten million phone calls in a single month' (Thornhill, 2013). It seems, due to the enhancement of the Internet and digital technologies that are constantly transforming our society by driving economic growth; this has produced a cyber security threat. Specifically those terrorist groups using networking in order to spread publicity, radicalize potential supports, educate, raise funds, communicate and plan (Maude, 2011). Often in these instances the justification for surveillance is necessary as there is need for intense security to ensure defense of the state. Nonetheless, it seems the violation of human rights in terms of privacy is only seen as morally justified when it is on the side of legitimate state interest (Wellman, 2013). It is a widely-held view that the primary purpose of mass surveillance and the militarization of the police force, especially in the US, is to protect élites against dissent and against increasing civil unrest as the richest get ever richer while austerity bites not only for the poorest and most vulnerable, but, also, now, the middle class. Nonetheless, legitimacy is what makes successful policing, whether that is to ensure safety and control to daily crime or things such as terrorism. The use of frontline police, which have been replaced with high police agencies often ironically, jeopardizes advantages to the local police in the war on terror (Bayley and Weisburd, 2009). Policing terror is very complex, making legitimacy problematic. The excessive amounts of knowledge, that intelligence receives, make it difficult to know what is good and bad, leaving only a small opportunity for an action. The groups, who are targeted and the evidence needed in order to prosecute, often leads to mistakes being made due to the amount of time wasted collecting and analyzing data and this, therefore, impacts policing legitimacy. It is a well-known fact that there have been occasions when the police have acted on false intelligence. An example of this is Jean Menezes who was shot dead in London Underground, as he was falsely identified as being involved in the failed bombing attacks (Edwards, 2009). This shows how incident people can be caught up due to the mistakes made by intelligence.

To conclude we will never have complete legitimacy when it comes to the confidence in undercover services due to its secretive nature. The fragmentation of the world means that fear and risk are gradually increasing which has put strain on these agencies to provide information to the growing concerns of the public. Dealing with highly dangerous threats, high policing is most commonly used due to it typically being less visible than the low policing form. Since 7/7 bombing Britain has adapted its policing more to the requirements of counterterrorism using agencies from high policing. It seems this has been necessary, though others do not agree and prefer the more traditional form of policing. Moreover, as intelligence-led policing exists with working closely with those with political power, often it can be fraught if not corrupt (Bayley and Weisburd, 2009). As a result of disputes around the openness of high policing in regards to the public generally knowing very little about there whereabouts, publications have been brought about, for instance, 'The Strategic Defense and Security Review', which discusses how the government intends to secure Britain from threats and issues, government argues will help to insure their track and

reduce legitimacy concerns (HM Government, 2010).

Furthermore, anyone with the Internet access can now visit the homepage of 'MI5 Security Service', which regularly updates the nation with the information about existing threats, what the public can do, history and advice into careers for those thinking of joining (Secret service, 2015). But freely having these websites open to all could in fact negatively contradict intensions. Openly discussing news about those working for these agencies through global networks could place them in severe danger if information is placed into the wrong hands. Nonetheless, the use of intelligence-led policing has overtime produced a sense of safety for the public due to their work focusing more on crime prevention.

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'The failure to understand the sources of elite power is one of sociology's greatest shortcomings'. Discuss.

Charlotte Preston

Within the present study of sociology it is widely accepted that the study of sources of elite power has been ignored, what is unclear is why? This essay aims to investigate the factors which may have caused this failure and the implications this has for the study of sociology. Firstly it shall take a briefly look at the history of elite studies within sociology, before examining the changes which have occurred in industrialized economies requiring a reform of the sociological way elite power is understood. The essay shall then outline four dominant explanations for the failure of present day sociologists to adequately study elite power. Finally it will explore why it matters that sociologists have failed to study this minority; identifying the implications and consequences for the rest of society. I would argue that in a capitalist society having an accurate understanding of wealth and its distribution among individuals is vital in order to correctly comprehend how that society functions.

Elite powers within society haven't always been ignored by sociologist. Up until the 1970's the powerful and wealthy within society were a focal point in the work of leading sociologists. These included Max Weber (2009) and Karl Marx (1976), whose work focused largely on the ruling class, a prominent example of this is his work *Capital*. The twentieth century also saw sociologists such as C. Wright Mills (1999) and Pierre Bourdieu (1984) continuing to emphasise the importance of elite groups in shaping society and influencing social norms. While Bourdieu's primary focus was on academics and civil servants who he saw as culturally elite, C. Wright Mills (1999) concentrated on the power welded by the business and political elites in his work *The power elite*.

The twenty-first century has, however, seen important developments within industrialised economies causing major shifts in the production of wealth. Industrialised countries such as the UK and the US have seen a growing dominance of what is referred to as 'financialization' in their economies in the past thirty years:

> Financialization refers to the increasing importance of financial markets, financial motives, financial institutions, and financial elites in the operation of the economy and its governing institutions, both at the national and international level (Epstein, 2001 cited in Palley, 2007: 2).

Where the production of tangible goods was once the primary source of wealth for these countries, we now see financial services vastly out-performing industrial manufacturing in the production of wealth. This dominance has also seen non-financial companies reinvesting their profits not in stock but in financial services in order to generate income. Savage and Williams (2008) argue that this unprecedented rise in financial markets and services has 'given capital markets new influence over firms and households and reworked previously established power relations' (2008: 10). It is this change to the economies of industrialised countries, often referred to as neo-liberal capitalism, and the ways in which wealth is accumulated that has caused a shift to the power relations within society. It can

therefore be argued that new approaches are required in order to analyse these new power relations within society.

It can be argued that these changes mean the work of C. Wright Mills (1999) is no longer applicable to this innovative group of elite powers. C. Wright Mills's work holds the underlying assumption that the elite being studied hold managerial roles. As Savage and Williams (2008) explain 'Mills credited [...] managers with the ability to impose their own discretionary priorities' (2008: 11). This is not the case today, financialization has meant that the elite in need of analysis today do not weld power of people but over money. It is their ability to influence financial markets and to accumulate wealth which gives them their power. Research shows that the numbers of financial agents receiving excessively high incomes is now significantly higher than the numbers of corporate directors or managers (Folkman et al. 2007; cited in Savage and Williams, 2008).

The shift in the production of wealth has had a notable impact on the distribution of wealth in countries such as Britain and America. The National Equality Panel's report 'Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK' (Hills et al, 2010) gives an indication of the level of wealth inequality present within Britain a few years ago. While modern society and indeed capitalism has fostered wealth inequality there have been variations in the degree of that inequality. Hills et al state that the income distribution for the top 1% of earners has been on the rise since the 1980s, rising to '8% in 1990 and 10% in 2000' (2010: 387). Hills et al go on to outline the huge disparity in wealth between households in Britain, stating that 'households in the top tenth (percentile) have total wealth (including private pension rights) almost 100 times those at the cut-off for the bottom tenth (percentile)' (Hills et al, 2010: 378). If the wealth of households was examined in its entirety, not simply income, and the comparison made between the two extremes of the 100th and 1st percentile the figures are likely to show that this gap is even greater. Considering Hills et al only focused on the 90th and 10th percentile, as they explain this demonstrates the wealth inequality 'between the quite well-off and those who are poor, but not between the extremes' (Hills et al, 2010: 387).

A number of different explanations for sociology's inability to recognise and study this phenomena have been offered by sociologists. Firstly measuring wealth accurately, particularly the wealth of the top 1% is extremely difficult. Income is the most commonly used method of measuring wealth, however this places a number of limitations onto the data. To begin with by solely measuring income an entire group of individuals are being ignored; namely the super-rich, individuals who do not rely on income to produce their wealth. This group of people accumulate wealth from assets and investments. These are likely to include financial investments such as stocks and shares, and property with income in the form of rent. As Keister and Moller (2000) explain the 'correlation between income and wealth ownership is relatively weak' (2000: 64) implying that when analysing data purely based on income we are only getting part of the picture. An example of this can be found in the Hills et al (2010) report as previously mentioned. Understandably income has been used so commonly because this type of data is recorded for each individual and is relatively easy to obtain. It should, however be recognised that the sources from which this type of data is collected are likely to reply on the individual earner disclosing their income in the correct amounts. Therefore any individuals who do not disclose all of their income; it could be speculated because they wish to avoid paying taxes on it, results in the data being incorrect. Similarly class categories are often used when studying wealth and inequality within society, however yet again this measuring tool is determined by income and

occupation. Ignoring some of the very wealthiest in society and generating them invisible within the data.

Savage and Williams (2008) argue it is a culmination of two different factors, which they refer to as a 'pincher' that is responsible for this failure in sociology. Savage and Williams (2008) place sociology's emphasis on quantitative methods on one side of the pincer and the emergence of structuralism on the other side. The 1960's saw a shift away from the previously used qualitative methods of case studies, interviews and ethnography when studying wealth. Replaced by quantitative methods such as the survey; it could be argued these were employed in a bid to have sociology taken more seriously as a social science. As Savage and Williams (2008) argue it was the survey which 'by the 1970's had become the hegemonic means of studying social inequality' (2008: 5). Quantitative research methods are able to offer objective, numerical results; of which the reliability and dependability can be calculated. The downfall, however, of using the national survey sample when studying wealth was that the group of extremely wealthy elite was far too small to be classified within the survey. Consequently they were placed into a larger group of high earners, the discrepancy between high earners and the very highest earners is great enough to distort the results of the data (Savage and Williams, 2008). The second contributing factor that Savage and Williams discuss is the rise of structuralism in the 1960's. This focus on structure rather than agency meant that the power of this small group of elite individual's was not just disregarded but ignored completely. Savage and Williams argue that it is the combination of these two prominent factors which 'have theoretically and methodologically 'whipped the carpet' away from elite studies' (2008: 4).

Another credible explanation for this failure in sociology is the notion of an aspirational society which has become embedded within our nation. British society has become entrenched with a culture of meritocracy: the belief that everyone in society starts at the same point. An individual's backgrounds of either privilege or disadvantage consequently becomes erased and everyone has the same opportunities to progress in life. Research, however, has shown the reality of British society to be very different from this popular belief. A government report *Unleashing Aspiration: The final report of the panel on fair access to the professionals* (Cabinet Office, 2009) states individuals who take on job roles regarded as 'professionals' typically grew up in households earning above the average family's income. The figures vary right up to 64% above the average household's income for lawyers (Cabinet Office, 2009). The report also demonstrates that the difference in the average percentage of income in households which professionals grew up in compared to that of the national average has increased. Rising from 17% for those individuals born in 1958, to 27% above average for those born in 1970. This visibly illustrates that 'professions have become more, not less, socially exclusive over time' (Cabinet Office, 2009: 20). Regardless of the increase in employment opportunities within professional fields, largely down to the effects of globalization, these roles are being filled 'from an increasingly small part of the social spectrum' (Cabinet Office, 2009: 20). Statistics like this confirm:

> That the most important determinants of who ends up in which category are not the miraculously independent qualities of 'ability' or 'effort' on the part of the individual, but the pre-existing distribution of wealth and power in society (Collini, 2010: 2).

Sociologies preoccupation with the poorest in society shall be offered as the final prominent explanation for sociologists failing to study the wealthy elite. When studying wealth and wealth inequality in the last thirty years it has been the poorest rather than the wealthiest who have been the focus of most researcher's attention. Vast amounts of

research exist on wealth and wealth inequality, yet the focal point remains the poor; the effects wealth inequality has on them and the disadvantages they are faced with within society due to wealth inequality. For example, research done examining the relationship between health and economic status, notably the *Black report* in 1988 (Black et al, 1988) which was followed by the *Marmot report* in 2010 focus solely on the poor (Marmot, 2010). Both concluded that it is the poor within society who are most likely to suffer from ill health and disability, with social factors acting as determinants of health. Similarly research done by Krivo and Kaufman (2004) into the relationship between wealth inequality and housing in America focuses predominately on the disadvantaged. These are but a few examples out of extensive amounts of research on wealth and socio-economic status, but they demonstrate sociologists' preoccupation with the disadvantaged groups of society. While this is obviously a vital area of research and understanding in society it is arguably causing the wealthy in society to be overlooked. Failing to study the advantages, privileges and power that their extreme wealth affords societies' advancing elite.

All of the above explanations for sociology's failure to study the wealthy elite in industrialised societies are creditable. I would argue that it is important to understand the relationships between these varying explanations; how they impact upon one other to create an overall explanation for sociologies failure. Firstly the difficulties in measuring wealth have combined with the emergent emphasis on quantitative methods and structuralism to form a sizeable obstacle in obtaining accurate data on wealth. It could be argued this has resulted in the majority of individuals being uneducated in the true distribution of wealth and its effects within their society. This in-turn allows normative ideas of an aspirational society to be imposed onto the lay-person. It could be argued that these views are imposed down onto the majority by a minority of individuals in positions of power and wealth, sociologically referred to as the bourgeois (Marx, 1976). If the majority of society believe they have a fair chance of improving their life chances they are unlikely to rebel against the current system. A system which I would argue acts to facilitate the extremely wealthy in continuously producing more wealth and actively prevents the majority of society from changing their circumstances. Yet these beliefs which contradict the reality of the social situation are imposed by those in positions of power, wealth and influence because it sustains their way of life. This feeds into the preoccupation with the poor rather than the rich within wealth studies, who can be viewed as being responsible for their own poverty and disadvantage.

Why then does it matter that sociologists have ignored this small percentage of the population who hold vast amounts of wealth? Sociology is the study of society; examining the social norms by which individuals live, the exchange between the individual and the wider social structures, and the social order which takes place. When examining wealth and the wealthy elite within society I would agree with Arrighi (1994) and Ingham (2004) that money must be viewed as a powerful instrument within the social structure. One which can be used to influence political and social agendas to meet the controller's own interests and ideals. 'The implication is that those who control money are establishing themselves as central social and political agents, who can also embed themselves in wider circuits of power' (Savage and Williams, 2008: 9). Therefore I would argued that recognising the authority of money imparts great social and political influence onto this group of elite individuals is of paramount to the study of sociology. By ignoring this group of the financially elite a crucial source of power within society is being disregarded. This power impacts upon the financial market and the economic status, as well as the social norms upheld by that society. All of these factors have profound consequences for the lifestyles and choices of the entire population.

It could be argued that the lay public being left ignorant of the amount of wealth possessed by a few in their own society is one consequences of sociology's failure to study the extremely wealthy. An example of this can be found when the conservative government proposed to raise the threshold of inheritance tax from £325,000 to £1m in 2010. An article by YouGov in 2014 reported 65% of respondents in its own poll as agreeing with the rise of the threshold of inheritance tax (Farmer, 2014). I would argue that this figure is a little misleading as it is in response to the question 'this is good – people should not be taxed on money they have spent their lives saving up' (YouGov, 2014: 2). When asked the direct question 'do you believe that increasing the inheritance tax threshold is a good or bad idea?' (YouGov, 2014: 4) the figure decreased to 49% saying they believed it was good. Yet this figure is still surprising when 96% of the same respondents declared they had not received an inheritance of £325,000 or above and 90% did not anticipate receiving one in the future. Why then are such large proportions of people supportive of tax changes which will inevitably allow the rich to get richer while having no benefits to themselves?

It could be argued that surprising statistics like this indicate the lay-individual's ignorance on the matter. This conclusion might seem like a logical explanation, however research done by Krupnikov et al (2006) in America gave alternative conclusions. Krupnikov et al (2006) investigated the relationship between knowledge on estate tax and whether or not an individual supported its repeal. Citizens were split into groups of Republicans: informed and un-informed and Democrats: informed and un-informed. The results were surprising; the correlation between an individual being educated on the tax repeal and supporting it was a weak one. Krupnikov et al reported that 'if the accumulated evidence on the topic to date makes anything clear, it is not that people dislike the estate tax simply because they are unenlightened' (2006: 435). Krupnikov et al suggested that other explanations for citizens supporting changes to taxation that benefit only the rich must be explored. Bartels (2006) suggests that there is a strong correlation between individuals who believe they themselves pay too much in taxes and them supporting the estate tax repeal. Bartels states 'people who said they are asked to pay too much in federal income taxes were substantially more likely to support repealing the estate tax' (2006: 411). One explanation for this is that while individuals have access to published figures showing the amount of money the government attains through taxes they are unaware of the true figures that the wealthy elite possess.

The acknowledgement of sociology's failure to study the sources of elite power within industrialised societies and identifying the factors which have caused this failure are paramount to sociology rectifying it. Sociological wealth studies must include the entire spectrum of wealth within society in order to deliver an accurate picture of wealth distribution and accumulation. The true levels of wealth obtained by the top 1% in Britain give these individuals vast advantages in education and health, while affording them significant political influence. Their power over politics allows the wealthy elite to 'foster a socio-economic environment that further increases their wealth and power' (Olsen, 2011:76). This knowledge is therefore invaluable to the lay-individual in correctly assessing their society, and the political and economic agendas they are faced with. The normative view of meritocracy which has penetrated British society I would argue is fictitious. The reality of British society is that 'income and wealth are closely related to whether people can achieve many of those other more fundamental outcomes.' (Hills et al. 2010: 386).

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Outline and assess Barthes' argument that signs are ideological

Brendan Read

Introduction – outlining the structure of this essay

In order to answer this question it is first necessary to establish a solid understanding of the two key components of the question itself; namely, the concepts of signs and ideology. To do this, this essay first includes, and then expands upon, a working definition for ideology. Subsequently, the essay then moves to address the notion of signs, drawing directly from Barthes' own writing on the concept, so as to establish the understanding of signs he put forward within his own work. Once this has been achieved, these two concepts are then drawn together, and reflected upon with regards to the wider body of Barthes' writing so as to outline and Barthes' view that signs are ideological. Furthermore, this essay will then go on to outline some possible criticisms of Barthes's argument.

Establishing a working understanding of ideology

Whilst never identifying as or wholly accepting the position of Marxist, Barthes drew upon much of the existing Marxist and Neo-Marxist canon when developing his own position. As a result of this, when establishing an understanding of how Barthes viewed ideology, it is useful to utilise the following definition taken from a Marxist perspective, whereby 'the function of ideology is to naturalize the status quo, and to represent as immutable features of human nature the particular social conditions which currently persist' (Scruton, 2007: 317). We can further extrapolate from this that, from the Marxist perspective, an ideology is a dominant set of ideas or principles that is put forward by an elite ruling class and serves to help maintain their privileged position within that society.

In particular, within Barthes' work, it is possible to draw parallels between his implicit understanding of ideology and the notion of cultural hegemony expressed by Antonio Gramsci. In both instances the notion is put forward that there exists a passive acceptance by the working classes of the ideas of the ruling bourgeoisie class (Simon, 1991).

Establishing Barthes' position on signs

When outlining the concept of a sign Barthes draws heavily on the existing framework offered by Ferdinand de Saussure, in particular that which is outlined in the book Course in General Linguistics, posthumously compiled by two of Saussure's students, Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye. Barthes then develops upon this framework to set out his own theory of the sign.

At its heart, the sign consists of a structural unit of linguistic meaning; it is a complete whole that refers to the 'relation between two relata' (Barthes, 1969: 35); these relata are the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the referential part of the sign (be it an object, vocalisation, text or picture) which can be transmitted to allow the sign to pass from one individual to another. The signified is that part of the sign which is referred to; it is important to note that Barthes makes the distinction that the signified does not refer to the physical subject of the sign, but rather the mental representation that is conveyed upon interpreting the signifier (Barthes, 1969).

To exemplify this one might consider the shared understanding upon the reading the word "rabbit". The textual representation quoted above is the signifier, upon reading which the mental representation of a rabbit is conjured, which constitutes the signified. The two parts of a sign are inextricably bound to one another, indeed it becomes meaningless to try and consider one without the other. Here Barthes uses the analogy of a piece of paper, whereby the two constituent parts of the sign are synonymous with the recto and verso faces of a sheet of paper, it is simply impossible to separate them (Barthes, 1969).

Outlining Barthes' theory of how signs are ideological.

However, signs, as we have outlined them thus far, do not, in and of themselves, constitute something which is ideological; rather, we have discussed signs in the fashion of Saussure, as a unit of linguistic meaning. The ideology, Barthes argues, comes into effect when signs are utilised and arranged in a particular manner; this particular form of speech or text he labels the myth. He characterises the myth in the manner in which the 'myth is not defined by the object of its message, but by the way in which it utters this message' (Barthes, 1993: 109).

To understand this, it is necessary to explore the dichotomy that Barthes proposes between the denotational and connotational meanings of a sign. The relationship between the two relata, as described earlier in this essay, is one of denotation, the expression relates to the conceptual. This is not the only meaning which is imbued within a sign, at the same time there is also the connotational meaning. Here, the whole denotational sign (the signifier expression and the signified concept) is in turn a signifier to another concept or set of concepts (Barthes, 1969).

This has the effect of producing a two tiered system of signification, the first denotational tier is then referential to the connotations that make up the signified part of the second tier. Barthes describes these two tiers as language and metalanguage, with the denotational level being that of language, and the connotational as metalanguage. Barthes makes the important distinction that the complete sign that makes up the signifier for the metalinguistic sign (what he terms the connotator) does not need to be singular and indeed 'several denoted signs can be grouped together to form a single connotator' (Barthes, 1969: 91).

With this conceptual understanding in mind, it is possible to elaborate on how Barthes viewed signs as ideological. To return to Barthes' description of the myth, the connotators of a myth constitute the object of that myth, whereas the connotations determine how the message of that myth is conveyed.

Examples of myths

To better illustrate this it is possible to draw on examples that Barthes used to analyse different myths, and their ideological functions. The first of these is the myth of wine within French culture. Here, Barthes is critical of the manner in which the denotational sign of 'wine' is then linked to a series of connotational ideals and values that exonerate wine's own goodness. For example, wine is characterised as being the best drink for quenching one's thirst. Similarly, wine is expressed as being symbolically linked with ideas of vitality,

blood and being alive and with ideas of being able to change or transmute between different states.

The argument here is that this serves to display wine in such a manner that the rhetoric surrounding the sign of wine is such that it hides the truth about wine, namely 'its production is deeply involved in French capitalism' (Barthes, 1993: 61). To expand upon this, the myth of wine has the ideological function of masking the fact that wine is a product for consumption. To further illustrate his point Barthes touches briefly on the exploitative nature of wine production in Algeria, whereby native Muslim's are forced to produce wine, despite it being a product for which, due to religious and cultural restrictions, they have no use.

The ideological use of languages through myths is perhaps more obvious in another example cited by Barthes. Whilst not explicitly stated as a myth (nor included in Barthes' seminal work on myths, *Mythologies*), it is possible to find evidence of a similar phenomenon occurring, the ideological use of language, within one of Barthes' earlier literary criticisms.

Here, the myths utilised within Stalinist doctrine are analysed, and the critique produced has a number of resounding similarities to Barthes' later theory of myths. He describes Stalinist writing as being characterised as a doctrine where 'there are no more words without values attached to them' (Barthes, 1968: 24) and subsequently, 'there is no more lapse of time between naming and judging' (Barthes, 1968: 24). What is being described here is a collapsing of the denotational and connotational significations in such a fashion that the two different significations become synonymous with one another, and meaningless without each other.

Furthermore, this is illustrated within the Stalinist doctrine with regards to what might be considered the myth of the criminal. When the state named someone as a criminal there was the instant signification of guilt and of having committed a crime; this lead to circumstances in which the following could be said to be true, an individual is a criminal because he acted against the state and that individual acted against the state because he is a criminal. Such tautologies, Barthes argues, are a key component of Stalinist doctrine (Barthes, 1968). It is easy to see how the positioning of signs such as "criminal" and "actions against the state" would create a system of signification where both act as connotators to connotations of guilt, or alienation, without actually being based in an objective reality. This therefore would be an example of the use of signs to create an ideological system of myth that allows the ruling elite, here the Stalinist state, to achieve their aims, namely the removal of an individual seen as a threat to that state.

Individualism and the power of personal readings

One major criticism that may be levelled against Barthes' argument is that it ignores the degree to which the reader of a myth has the capacity for independent thought, and subsequently may not find themselves subsumed by the ideology that is embedded within that myth. That is to say, Barthes' offers no explanation for different readings of a myth, whereby the socio-cultural and demographic background of the reader may result in different conclusions and different connotations to be drawn from the myth.

Consequently, Barthes' argument lacks the development of the work of someone like cultural theorist Stuart Hall, who illustrates the manner in which different readings of a text may arise. When discussing the manner in which these readings arise Hall highlights the importance of 'determinant moments' (Hall, 1980: 108), notably those of production, and reception, at which point the reading of a text is then shaped.

It is the moment of reception that is of primary interest to us when critiquing the work of Barthes. This is because this is the point at which the autonomy of the individual reader comes into effect. Hall describes this process as decoding; the reader assesses the relationship between the signs within a text and draws out an overall meaning for the text, which is the sum of the denotational and connotational meanings they draw from that text in conjunction with the conceptual understandings that arise because of their own preconceived notions (Hall, 1980). The merging of these parts then results in an individualised reading of that text.

In terms of these readings Hall suggests three possible categories for the type of reading that may ensue: the hegemonic, negotiated and counter-hegemonic. The first of these is a total acceptance of a text as meaning what the producer intended it to mean. The latter is a total rejection of the producers intended meaning. Whereas, the negotiated reading consists of a partial agreement that falls somewhere between the two other classifications (Hall, 1980). This small scale tension between hegemony and individualism can then be generalised in terms of a cultural struggle, between the populace at large and the ruling elite (Hall, 2006).

Overall, this presents us with the notion that one of the fundamental flaws of Barthes' argument is that it is not developed enough, it does not account for the role of the reader of the myth, instead focusing on the producer.

Connotation is not exclusive to myth

The second criticism that this essay would level against Barthes is that the use of connotations as described by Barthes' throughout his writings does not exclusively belong to the ideological texts that he terms myths. Rather, that this use of connotation is something that is a universal part of language use, and that signs can be used for an ideological purpose, but this is not something innate to them.

The justification for this criticism comes about as an extension of one of Saussure's original theories, whereby he expresses the view that signs only make sense in relation to other signs (Saussure et al, 1983). Whilst Saussure was describing how different signs relate to one another, within the axes of syntagm and paradigm, it seems equally probable that the connotational relationships described by Barthes are applicable in all use of signs, and therefore constitute a third axis of relation. As such, it seems unlikely that this is a phenomenon exclusive to what Barthes describes as myths, but rather myths are a particular form of connotational relationship used to perpetuate an ideology.

Conclusion

In conclusion, therefore, this essay would put forward the view that signs are not in and of themselves ideological. However, it is possible for them to be utilised as such or for certain connotational meanings of a sign to arise as the product of an ideology. To this extent this essay would agree that there is some merit in Barthes' analyses. They offer an insight that

goes beyond that which is offered by Saussure, and they highlight the phenomena of second order significations and the importance of connotation within the system of a language.

That said there are a number of issues with Barthes' work, most notably his failure to take into account the possible significance of individual agency with regards to reading a text. Similarly, there seems to be a number of generalisations within the explanation of myths. For example, the description of the myth of wine within French culture seems to express the view that everyone in France buys into the myth, so to speak, which seems unlikely.

Overall, therefore, this essay reiterates the view that signs are not in and of themselves ideological, but rather that, like many other structural elements found within a society, they could be utilised to promote or perpetuate an ideology.

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What is "high policing", and are contemporary "high policing" practices legitimate?

Ka Hei Sham

Western obsession with security intelligence does not cease as the Cold War ends. High policing agencies such as America's CIA, Canada's CSIS and Britain's MI5 and MI6 continue to prosper in the 21st century, despite complicity in fostering the perception that high policing is erstwhile and sporadic (Manning, 2012). The escalation of international terrorism once again warrants high policing significance in contemporary times. High-profile terrorist attacks such as the 9/11 attacks and 7/7 London bombings, and high policing scandals such as CIA torture, bring about public scrutiny of high policing and controversies surrounding the legitimacy of its practices. This paper outlines the practices of high policing with particular focus on counter-terrorism and address its legitimacy.

Before Jean-Paul Brodeur (1983) published his policing masterpiece, high policing had been occupying a marginal position in police studies (Manning, 2012). High policing was deemed an aberration until Brodeur substantiated its pervasiveness. It was Brodeur's argument that high policing qualified as a separate model of policing to that of the Peel model, whose archetype is the everyday policing performed by uniformed police – a practice Brodeur calls low policing. The fundamental difference between high and low policing lies in the fact that the former is essentially a form of political policing, while the latter generally denotes criminal policing (Brodeur, 2010).

Alternatively known as absorbent policing, high policing is distinctive in its scope and purpose of data collection. While low policing is intelligence-led in principle gathering intelligence only for the purpose of building criminal cases and doing so to an extent that is merely sufficient for supporting prosecution, high policing is intelligence-oriented in essence (Brodeur, 2010). As Brodeur remarks, 'there seems to be no limit to the appetite for information of the security services' (Brodeur, 2010: 228). High policing agencies attempt to collect intelligence as comprehensively as possible for the sake of pre-empting political threats. In contrast to low policing which sees intelligence gathering as a means to prosecution, high policing deems intelligence amassment as an end in itself. The information collected in high policing is hoarded, and rarely used for criminal prosecution, unless necessary, which is justified by the need to preserve the identity of informants and possibilities of successful pre-emption (Brodeur and Leman-Langlois, 2006).

Contextualizing the emergence of high policing in the 17th century French absolutism, Brodeur identified the core task of high policing as the preservation of a specific configuration of power (Ellison and O'Reilly, 2006). Unlike low policing agencies, which were obligated to maintain public order, suppress crime through law enforcement, and were only accountable to the judiciary, high policing agencies – the French haute police – were only accountable to the monarch, for they were tasked with the sustenance of the dominating political regime (Brodeur, 2007).

According to Brodeur, high policing agencies 'reach out for potential threats in a systematic attempt to preserve the distribution of power in a given society' (1983: 513). These agencies were first and foremost instruments for the ruling elites to perpetuate the existing contours of power. Whenever necessary, these agencies would accomplish their mission at

the expense of civil liberties and the interests of French citizens. This inevitably brought about occasional tension between the state and its citizens (Manning, 2012).

It is often in the face of terrorism that high policing agencies become commissioned to protect national security, for the State and its citizens are now aligned by their common fear of terrorist threats; therefore, preserving the interest of the former is the same as offering protection to the latter. Regardless of the fact that citizens are protected as a result of high policing, I would suggest, the preservation of the political status quo remains the primary objective of high policing; the protection of the populace is likely to be a desirable by-product, or rather, a bargaining chip to 'win over and/or maintain the 'hearts and minds' of various public and political audiences' (Innes and Thiel, 2008: 557). The political rhetoric of protecting national security serves to gather public support for the attempts to eliminate terrorist groups, thereby preserving the ideological predominance of the State and the inherent configuration of power.

Nonetheless, the protection of national security offers a powerful moral justification for contemporary high policing practices. To this end, the amassment of intelligence is now deemed necessary, and the accompanied infringement of human rights is legitimized and tolerated to an extent. However, it should be noted that not all contemporary high policing practices are justified. While the pre-emption of terrorism is of paramount importance, extreme forms of intelligence extraction involving the breach of human rights and democratic values, notably torture and preventive detention, attract international condemnation (Brodeur, 2010).

The notorious CIA's detention and interrogation program is a clear example. Terror suspects detained in the Guantanamo Bay detention camp are subjected to the so-called enhanced interrogation techniques by the CIA for the purpose of extracting pre-emptive intelligence. The use of waterboarding, cramped confinement, and sleep deprivation on terror suspects, to name but a few, amount to gruesome torture (Mctague, 2014). The use of torture has been defended by the United States as a matter of expediency: i.e. pre-emptive intelligence must be obtained in time, if massive destruction of civilization is to be prevented. This disregards the fact that no terrorist attack is known to be pre-empted based on the intelligence extracted through torture, and has sparked global public outcry. However, as Brodeur (2010) points out, there is in fact no known terrorist attack being pre-empted based on the intelligence extracted through torture. The use of torture is thus deemed unjustified and global public outcry was sparked as a result.

The illegitimacy of torture, and preventive detention, stems from their infringement of the legal spirit that forms the cornerstone of democracy. The practices in question constitute a breach of the Fifth and Eighth Amendments of the United States constitution, according to which torture and the deprivation of liberty without due process of law are prohibited (Legal Information Institute, 1992). As stated in the Eighth Amendment, cruel and unusual punishment is outlawed by the federal government, and therefore the use of torture is an apparent violation of the constitution (Legal Information Institute, 1992). Under the Fifth Amendment, terror suspects should be presumed innocent until proven guilty (Legal Information Institute, 1992), but they are incarcerated in preventive custody as if they have been convicted, despite the fact that they have not been tried. The administration of preventive custody is thus at odds with the spirits of due process underpinning democracy.

As exemplified by the CIA's operations, high policing agencies are concurrently judges, juries and administrators, and they are granted unfettered discretion in the name of counter-terrorism. The conflation of legislative, judicial and executive powers embodied by the practices in question, as Brodeur (2010) argues, is the most unacceptable feature of high policing to democracy, for high policing agencies are warranted so much power that they have now become 'extra-legal'. High policing agencies can now detain citizens for crimes that have yet to be committed, or worse still, for 'crimes' that have yet to be criminalized. The fine balance between governmental powers and civil liberties is lost in this sense. The conflation of powers, as Brodeur succinctly concludes, 'makes the most murderous political regimes' (2010: 233), which explains the public outrage against CIA torture.

Decades after Brodeur published his paper on political policing in 1983, new characterizations of high policing have developed, one of which is catalyzed by the escalation of international terrorism: the militarization of policing (Brodeur and Leman-Langlois, 2006). Traditionally, domestic security issues pertaining to the suppression of crime fall within the realm of the public police, while foreign security issues regarding international confrontation come within the ambit of the military. However, since terrorism constitutes both crimes and war, it simultaneously creates internal and external security concerns and therefore requires policing from both the public police, and the military. Being tasked with the subversion of terrorist organizations, high policing agencies consequently straddle the frontiers of both the police and the military, and obfuscate the conventional division of labour between the agencies (Brodeur and Leman-Langlois, 2006).

Inherent to the subversion of terrorism, intelligence has to be collected covertly for initial detection and eventual disruption, and high policing therefore relies heavily on the use of informants, whose ultimate goal is to extensively infiltrate into targeted organizations (Brodeur, 2010). Although low policing also employs covert informants for intelligence collection, it depends more on appealing to the public for information (Brodeur, 2010). Despite the emergence of an array of technical surrogates of human natural senses such as CCTV and wiretaps as a result of the information revolution, the use of human sources remains the hallmark of high policing (Brodeur, 2010).

Generally speaking, the use of informants is highly unpalatable to society at large, for 'not only [is] the use of police informants the most intrusive instrument of surveillance but it is also the most destructive of the social fabric, as it thrives on betrayal and fosters mutual suspicion and demoralization' (Funder, 2003: 28). The production of social paranoia, and its resultant distrust risk eroding social cohesion (Brodeur and Leman-Langlois, 2006). Worse still is the utilization of criminal informants, which Brodeur (2010) considers an abuse of human rights.

Crime has been a valuable asset of high policing. As a matter of fact, high policing has a long history of exploiting criminals and delinquents, notably prostitutes, for the extraction of intelligence (Brodeur, 2010). Criminal informants who provide intelligence on a voluntary basis engage in a contractual relationship with high policing agencies. So long as they can produce practical intelligence, their criminality can be tolerated or even pardoned, for they can perform tasks that no other informants are willing or allowed to commit (Brodeur, 2010). While high policing agencies pledge to preserve civil liberties, their very act of selective law enforcement in a sense works against their own promise, for citizens might be put in jeopardy when known criminals are left at large (Manning, 2012).

On the other hand, whenever consensus cannot be reached between high policing agencies and intended criminal informants, the threat of law enforcement is readily abused as an effective recruitment strategy that arguably operates by virtue of blackmailing; in particular when entrapment – an immoral practice of criminal incitement – is involved (Brodeur, 2010). The latter constitutes a grave infringement of human rights. It should therefore be obvious that law enforcement is merely a bargaining chip in political policing, and the disregard of law in this sense again demonstrates the extra-legality that high policing agencies are privileged to.

What is more troubling, albeit not surprising, is the State's willingness to license informants to commit crimes for the sake of infiltration, as exemplified by the Canadian Bill C-24 (Brodeur, 2010; Brodeur and Leman-Langlois, 2006). Although the use of criminal informants raises legal and moral dilemmas, it is justifiable in the case of counter-terrorism, for police infiltration into terrorist organizations is highly difficult.

In contrast to the period of the Cold War, in which the objects of infiltration resembled foreign security intelligence themselves, in the age of global terrorism, belligerents tend to be stateless groups composed of members of various ethnicity and nationality (Buzzetti, 2003, cited in Brodeur and Leman-Langlois, 2006). As a result, the socio-demographic composition of terrorists is significantly different from that of the high policing agencies. Therefore, infiltration of foreign agencies into terrorist organizations is fraught with difficulties, and high policing agencies consequently need to resort to existing members or ex-members of such groups for information: a strategy Brodeur and Leman-Langlois (2006) coin 'ex-filtration'. Having said that, ex-filtration is highly challenging, if not impossible, in practice.

Due to the difficulties of both infiltrating and ex-filtrating human intelligence, signal intelligence – collected using various technological devices – took precedence over the use of human informants in counter-terrorism (Brodeur, 2010). However, the failure of the United States intelligence community to prevent the September 11 attacks and other botched counter-terrorism operations acted upon mistaken intelligence have prompted criticisms of the over-reliance on information technology. As a result, human intelligence has regained prominence (Brodeur, 2010). The illegitimacy of the over-reliance on signal intelligence arguably lies in the fact that it creates and sustains the pervasive sense of insecurity.

Since the collection and storage of intelligence are made ever more accessible to high policing agencies with the advent of the information revolution, the resultant 'compulsive data demand' (Sheptycki, 2007: 73) renders security intelligence subject to constant information overload. Overwhelmed by the sheer volume of raw data, independent verification of the authenticity of information is close to impossible. As a result, security intelligence has created, albeit unwittingly, a false public perception that society is at risk of terrorism based on unverified intelligence. The consequent infliction of unnecessary fear and anxieties on the collective psyche in this case, together with other instances of misapplication of unproven intelligence, devalue both police and state legitimacy (Flyghed, 2002 cited in Sheptycki, 2007; Innes and Thiel, 2008).

Due to the pre-emptive nature of high policing, its operation has largely been kept secret for the sake of protecting its members, and securing the successful frustration of terrorist

organizations (Innes and Thiel, 2008). The shroud of secrecy prevents the assessment of the legitimacy of high policing practices, for very little is known about their actual scale and operational methods. Without knowledge of the genuine extent and extremity of high policing practices, their enormity can never be accurately evaluated. Thus, one could almost be certain that existing assessments of high policing practices are, at best, informed judgements.

While there are good reasons for high policing agencies to act clandestinely, there are valid reasons for citizens, in particular the Muslim community, to question the legitimacy of such practice. The lack of transparency and accountability of high policing agencies rightly cultivates concerns for the extent of the invasion of privacy as well as the potential cover-up of criminality (Ellison and O'Reilly, 2006). After all, given the power high policing agencies possess, and the immense pressure stemmed from their obligation to protect national security, there is no knowing what lengths they will go to, and may take the same approach as 'Dirty Harry' – to accomplish a morally good end through an ethically and legally improper means (Klockars, 1980).

These concerns have been intensified in the ascendance of neoliberalism, where State security provision has been increasingly outsourced to private security consultancy firms. It is now possible for the State to shield criminality – whether committed by state intelligence or corporate agencies on behalf of the former – from public accountability through taking up the corporate veil of commercial confidentiality (Tombs and Whyte, 2003). Therefore, on the one hand, the security service gestures to reveal its operations in response to the public demand for more transparency and accountability, as shown by the publication of The Strategic Defence and Security Review, and the establishment of the MI6 website informing citizens of the latest threats; on the other hand, it is effectively looking for new ways to evade such disclosure (Thiel, 2009).

In a nutshell, despite being of practical value, the cloak of secrecy has seized the public mind with speculations and made its legitimacy questionable.

To conclude, this paper has depicted the general features of high policing: it is political and absorbent; it aims to preserve a specific configuration of power; it grants its agencies conflated legislative, judicial and executive powers; it uses informants extensively, notably delinquents, and it is shrouded in secrecy. In addition, it has introduced new characterizations of high policing in the age of global terrorism, namely the militarization of policing, and the renewed objective of protecting national security.

This paper has also addressed the legitimacy of contemporary high policing practices with specific regard to counter-terrorism. A blanket and absolute assertion of its legitimacy cannot be made, for each practice ought to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis and the issue is fraught with controversies. While the accumulation of intelligence is justified by the need to pre-empt terrorism, extreme forms of intelligence extraction, coupled with the privilege of extra-legality, are unacceptable. While the sustenance of secrecy is justified by the need to protect informants, the lack of transparency and accountability are to be condemned. While the exploitation of crime and abuse of law enforcement are denounced, they are justified for the greater good.

In light of the growing trend of global terrorism, high policing will only become more and more active, and so will the debate surrounding its legitimacy. As beneficiaries, we certainly accept a limited infringement of human rights, but we ought also to reflect upon

the legitimacy of the notion of greater good. On whose authority are we in a position to compromise the liberties of minorities?

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Critically Assess the Effectiveness of Crime Prevention Interventions in the Physical Environment

Gemma Stephenson

''Social life is conducted in social space'' (Bottoms, 2007: 137). Bottoms proposes that each social setting has its own guidelines of conduct and that breaching these individual procedures can create potential for deviance (Bottoms, 2007). It is additionally argued by geographers that places are not just the backdrop of our interactions but that they actually mould the nature of the social interactions themselves (Bottoms, 2007:137). It is clear from everyday life that control strategies have to be embedded in environmental features and structural relations in order to control potential deviance that could occur within society (Shearing and Stenning, 1984). This relates to Mills' (2010) work in *The Sociological Imagination* where he argues that it is essential to connect both private and public concerns within the social world and to analyse how private and public issues both interact and influence each other. This, in turn, will help to identify the connection between structural apparatus and demonstrate how this can directly affect the behaviour of individuals. Crime prevention interventions within the physical environment can relate to this as it comprises of a number of agents which include both structural developers, politicians and people who negotiate the existing space on a day-to-day basis (Bottoms, 2007). However, the effectiveness of these techniques has to be called into question. As Fussey, et al (2012) suggest, social control is no longer social but we have become solely obsessed with management. This suggests that methods put in place to control and prevent crime may have moved away from their primary goal and could actually be being used to help manage and survey individuals within society. This assignment intends to critically assess the effectiveness of crime prevention interventions within the physical environment with relation to situational crime prevention (SCP) and crime prevention through environmental design (CPED). The essay intends to provide an understanding and a depiction of crime prevention techniques used within the physical environment along with a running commentary relating to the effectiveness of urban society becoming a technologically managed system based upon crime prevention and control; a system which is fundamentally obsessed with management of the population (Coaffee, 2012). Finally, this is followed by a concluding paragraph which wraps up the assignment and concludes the argument by weighing up both the advantages and disadvantages of crime prevention in the physical environment.

SCP can be defined as altering the environment in order to reduce the possibilities and opportunities of crime occurring. Hausmann's reconstruction of Paris in 1848 consisted of creating sweeping boulevards in order to decrease revolutionary action and to make it easier to monitor and move the army through the city. This may be one of the first cases of dramatic SCP in history (Jordan, 1995). Urban development for Rio de Janeiro in the 20th century was another major case of CPED. Both of these examples address the macro structures and approaches to crime prevention, different micro level developments such as gated communities have led to massive urban transformations. For example, Blakely and Snyder (1997) suggests that we now live in a security zone where everyone is opting to live in enclosed neighbourhoods with a 3:1 ratio of gated communities to normal housing in California. This is a definitive example of privatisation of public space. Other examples of SCP include the Ring of Steel which was employed after the 1990's London Provisional IRA terrorist attacks. This led to society importing militarised aesthetics into everyday life

(Coaffee, 2012). Criminologists and policy-makers now use geo-demographic information to provide a detailed analysis of spatial patterns and crime. For instance, The British Crime Survey is often used in conjunction with ACORN (A Classification Of Residential Neighbourhoods) to categorise postcodes, census data, consumption and lifestyle surveys in order to predict vulnerable areas to crime (Bottoms, 2007).

The rise of neo-liberalism in a modern day society has led to the intensification of SCP techniques directed towards the reduction of crime and delinquency. Neo-liberalism advocates for reductions in government spending to increase the role of the private sector within the economy (Roy et al., 2006). This has introduced private companies into crime prevention strategies amongst other areas within society with a classic example relating to bouncers within the night time economy (Hadfield et al., 2003). A further aspect of neo-liberalism is the passing of responsibility from the state to individuals within society (Roy et al., 2006). This, however, suggests that prevention techniques employed by private companies may in fact be purely profit-based opposed to employing the most effective strategies of crime reduction. This, in turn, suggests that some methods used in the environment to reduce crime may not be the most effective methods of crime prevention.

SCP bases itself upon rational choice theory which dramatically moves away from the deterministic ideas of positivism, rehabilitation and treatment of the offender. Newman (1966) used the concept of defensible space to argue that it may be conceivable to modify the environment through CPED to diminish the opportunities for crime. An example of this relates to Blue Water shopping centre, Kent, which banned the wearing of baseball caps and 'hoodies' to reduce the opportunities for crime to occur (BBC News, 2005). Rational choice approaches are proactive opposed to reactive which means that, in this instance, they think rationally about how to alter space to prevent crime and also assume criminals to be rational beings (Zey, 1997). Newman (1966), however, reworked his ideas of defensible space and stressed the need to move beyond urban design. This suggests that crime prevention techniques in the physical environment alone may not be effective and it may be necessary to also consider community relations and to increase public responsibility (Newman and Thornley, 1996). Rational choice theories can also be linked to Beck's (1992) work on the risk society thesis as he suggests that measuring risk is a systematic method of managing hazards and insecurities induced by modernisation itself. He suggests that everyone in society now weighs up the risks involved with any given situation. Right realist Wilson (1987; cited in Kemshall, 2003) follows from this and suggests that individuals weigh up the costs and benefits involved with committing a crime which includes the risks and rewards associated with the given task. Similarly, Feeley and Simon's (1994; cited in Kemshall, 2003) concept of actuarial justice also relates, which originated in accountancy and focuses on risk calculations. They suggest that crime prevention should be based upon the most cost effective method of control. SCP does, however, suggest that all deviants are rational which is impossible to assume. For example, in relation to suicide bombers, it may be reasonable to propose that they will not be measuring the risks of their actions and that crime prevention techniques may be ineffective to specific cases like these due to the sheer irrationality of the behaviour at hand. This suggests that SCP may only be effective in certain cases. In addition to this, the result of predictive methods and pre-crime society is the intensive securisation, surveillance and exclusion along with the increase in prison population due to the upsurge in criminalisation (Zedner, 2007). The use of pre-crime methods could also have negative effects on individuals who are deemed risky. Labelling and social sorting may be products of a pre-crime approach which Lyon argues is near impossible to alter once individuals are categorised (Lyon, 2005). The UK crime control regime today nevertheless is based solely

upon crime prevention strategies with the main forms including an increase in visible policing and CCTV to deter crime.

Furthermore, in many cases the crime event is often neglected. However, rational choice theorists advocate that it is much easier to insert crime prevention techniques opposed to changing offender's thoughts. Such models of crime prevention agree with Garland's (2001; cited in Hayward et al., 2013) idea of the criminology of the self. In short this can be defined as the offender being any one of us who is presented with the right opportunity. The idea of mathematically calculating how much crime is to do with opportunities was introduced by Becker who was an economist (Becker, 1976). This, in turn, relates to Clarke's (1983) typology of SCP which consists of the need to increase efforts by controlling methods, increase risks by formal surveillance and finally, reduce the associated rewards, by removing inducements and abiding to the broken window theory in relation to rapid repair of vandalism. All of these methods aim to reduce the possible opportunities for crime to occur. Felson (1994; cited in Felson and Boba, 2009) also proposed the idea of routine activity theory which suggests that you need a motivated offender, a suitable target and the absence of a capable guardian in order for a crime to occur. This suggests that it is space which is the problem opposed to the offender. An example of where suitable guardians are employed within the environment includes bouncers within the night time economy. It has however been suggested that SCP can make the streets empty which reduces the amount of informal social control and in turn reduces the amount of capable guardians which calls into question its effectiveness. Duneier (2001) argues that if the homeless are removed from the streets then this could actually make the streets more dangerous. David (1992; cited in Marcus, 2006) also suggests that nobody wants to go out in Los Angeles anymore as no-one is on the streets due to zero tolerance policing and SCP. He suggests that SCP would be more effective if the homeless were still active within society.

Reeve (1996) speaks of the commodification of public space where everything is now built around consumption. This is due to the decline in the town centre in the post-industrial period which led to new labour increasing retail to revitalise the area. This is all tied into globalisation due to Britain importing products from other countries opposed to producing them ourselves. However, in relation to SCP this suggests that individuals who do not actively consume are excluded from society (Davis, 2006). The service proletariat is excluded even though they are the basis of society itself. Often the deprived, and in some cases, ethnic minorities are moved to the edge of the city to de-intensify tensions. This, however, simply leads to displacement of the problem at hand. By displacing these issues within society we are actually pushing away the people who need the most assistance and it fails to analyse the root cause of the problem which could include poverty, deprivation and spatial exclusion (McLaughlin and Muncie, 1996). We now see a reversal in the role of the city as it no longer brings people together but instead plays a vital role in segregating people who are in need of the most help. This suggests that crime prevention techniques within the physical environment may not be effective as they may simply move the problem to other areas opposed to reducing the problem in general. An example of where this may occur includes creating curved benches in city centres to prevent homeless people from sleeping in certain areas. However, this fails to reduce the amount of homeless people on the streets; it instead just moves the problem to other areas of a neighbourhood. This has led to poor people becoming criminalised for using public spaces as a means to survive (Davis, 2006) and relates to zero tolerance policing which imposes automatic punishment for infractions of a stated rule (Punch, 2007). This links to Cohen's (1991) ideas of widening the net and refining the mesh as it implies that more people are being caught for lesser crimes which did not used to be classed as criminal. This, however, leads to a rise in

prison population caused by individuals failing to abide by alternatives to imprisonment which includes anti-social behavioural orders which is a contract delivered by the court to regulate individual behaviour Along with this, SCP also only relates to street crime and crime which occurs within public space. It fails to recognise the importance and destruction caused by white collar crime and also private crime which includes both domestic violence and child abuse (Parmentier, 2011). This suggests that crime prevention techniques may be effective in relation to street crime but in reality is ineffective at targeting the more serious crimes which cause the most damage to society.

Beccaria (1995) argues that it is necessary to induce fear in order to prevent crime as fear controls us. Deterrence is based upon the idea of the fear of being caught and is the main aspect of SCP as fear goes alongside rationality. An additional theory comprises of hedonism which suggests that crime can be pleasurable (Feldman, 1997). It is necessary to reduce the pleasure and increase the risk associated with a criminal activity in order to reduce crime overall. Some individuals, however, enjoy the fear of being caught. This is also known as the carnival of crime, which suggests that crime prevention techniques may be ineffective and could actually increase the levels of crime opposed to preventing delinquency (Presdee, 2003). Deterrence is a forward looking approach and is also a reductionist principle. This relates to the idea of utilitarianism as it aims to achieve for the greater good and for the greatest number of people. Examples of methods of SCP that are employed as deterrence strategies include improved street lighting, removal of bushes and the installation of CCTV units (O'Malley, 2010). While some of these can be categorised as surveillance, much of it is simply behavioural channelling. This involves making behaviour harder or even impossible to perform at all. The fact that many CCTV units are actually not connected to a recording system suggests that these are purely forms of deterrence (O'Malley, 2010). It could be argued that CCTV is an effective form of SCP. It can be used in a number of different circumstances which include monitoring individuals in society and monitoring the police. A specific case relating to this involves Kelly Thomas, a homeless man in California who was beaten to death by two police officers in 2011. Due to CCTV footage showing the police using excessive force on Thomas, the two officers had to go through a lengthy trial which led to them both losing their jobs. Later, however, they were acquitted of their charges (Fox News, 2014). Further examples of where CCTV has provided useful evidence to a court case involves David Copeland (BBC News, 2011a) who was a nail bomber and also the murder of Joanna Yeates (BBC News, 2011b). Using CCTV footage in cases like these however could make the evidence more emotive and in turn could lead to prosecutorial bias (Mullings et al., 2012). CCTV nevertheless can be effective in many other ways which includes jogging people's memories about a specific set of events in order to improve accounts of eye-witness testimony. This suggests that as well as deterring crime and catching deviants CCTV can also be used to help build cases in relation to witnesses of specific crimes (Mullings et al., 2012). Tilley (1999; cited in Painter and Tilley, 1999) found a mixture of findings relating to the effectiveness of CCTV as a method of SCP and found that for each study conducted that states that CCTV is effective there are further studies stating that it is actually ineffective at reducing and preventing crime.

Foucault (1977) has suggested that techniques which are used in prison have now been adopted everywhere in the wider community. This is the idea of the panopticon and relates to the shift from punishment of the body to punishment of the soul through surveillance in modernity. This idea is based upon the premise that the constant risk of being watched in society leads individuals to self-police their behaviour. An example of this is the use of speed cameras. Many people see warnings for a speed camera and monitor their speed due to the risk of being fined. This suggests that crime prevention techniques within the

physical environment may actually be an effective form of social control. However the Home Office conducted a study which actually suggests that most people do not even notice CCTV camera's which calls into question their effectiveness at making people self-police (Honess and Charman, 1992). A further limitation to CCTV as a form of SCP relates to fact that private firms and even the government do not actually have the capacity to control everyone. This relates to the idea of the Orwellian society (Dice, 2011). For example to monitor one person for 24 hours it takes roughly 40 people. This is ineffective, unproductive and also deviates away from Feeley and Simon's (1994; cited in Kemshall, 2003) concept of aiming to manage people in the most cost effective way possible.

In conclusion, the effectiveness of crime prevention techniques within the physical environment is debateable. Many researchers have argued that SCP simply displaces the problem opposed to trying to uncover the root cause of the issue within society (McLaughlin and Muncie, 1996). This suggests that crime prevention strategies may not be as effective as other techniques which have been used in previous years. These include the focus on rehabilitation of the offender and also restorative justice which both try to solve the underlying problem of why crime is being committed in the first place and aim to re-build relations between the offender and the community opposed to simply segregating the offender (Fergusson and Muncie, 2010). SCP, however, does not aim to stop crime but instead aims to reduce crime and it may be fair to suggest that it is effective at reducing the situational opportunities for crime to be committed (O'Malley, 2010). However, CPED may actually lead to an increase in dangerous crime due to the increasingly difficult nature of committing a criminal act in modern day. For example, car-jacking has increased as it is now easier to steal a car when someone is inside opposed to trying to avoid potential alarms, immobilisers and other crime prevention methods which have been put in place. In summary, it may be fair to suggest that SCP techniques are effective at reducing criminal opportunities. However, in relation to stopping and preventing crime, it has been suggested that 'nothing works' (Martinson, 1974). Even though this was first used in relation to rehabilitative techniques, it may also be applicable to the effectiveness of crime prevention techniques within the physical environment.

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Should controlling crime be at the heart of police work or should other functions be more significant? Answer with reference to academic literature on the competing functions of policing.

Charles Stockhill

Since its formation in 1829 by Robert Peel, the Police has undergone significant changes in a wide range of areas, none more so than its purpose and function. With the effects of industrialisation, changes in economics, world events, and globalisation, the Police remit has been significantly added to, and manipulated, creating the balancing act seen in Police work today (Bittner, 1970). Much academic consensus suggests that the role and function of the Police extends well beyond controlling crime. Reiner (1992) describes policing as an omnibus role incorporating crime prevention, the preservation of state security, detection, peace keeping, and public order maintenance, thus highlighting the way in which modern police have functions other than controlling crime. Whilst the existence of this multitude of roles can be mostly agreed upon, much debate exists surrounding the proportion of the job each function should take up. For example, should controlling crime be at the heart of policing, or is order maintenance the most important aspect? This debate will serve as the discussion in this essay. I will attempt to assess each role by providing examples of practices and literature which highlight the significance of each function suggested by Reiner (1992).

The first function of the Police suggested in Reiner (1992) is crime prevention. In the mid 1960's crime reduction began to make its mark on policing work and by 1965 a number of constabularies had formed crime prevention sections. Byrne and Pease (2006) describe how the Cornish Committee in 1965 recommended that one officer, with a minimum rank of inspector, should be designated as the 'force crime prevention officers' (2006: 288). Additionally they describe the recommendation that all towns with a population over 150,000 should establish crime prevention panels in 1967. Weatheritt (1986) summarised an unpublished list of tasks suggested by the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) which should fall under the remit of crime prevention officers. The list spanned from inspections of properties with difficult security features, to advising builders and architects, alongside creating 'two-way relationships between beat patrol officers and crime prevention officers' (Weatheritt, 1986; cited in Bryne and Pease, 2006: 290).

Whilst many suggest the importance of crime prevention work others believe that a stigma has been attached to this kind of police work; Weatheritt (1986; cited in Bryne and Pease, 2006) suggested crime prevention could be seen as undemanding work and a 'pre-retirement placement for officers' (1986; cited in Bryne and Pease, 2006: 289). Research found that only one percent of officers were working full time on crime prevention activities (Audit Commission, 1999; and Bryne and Pease, 2006) which seems a staggeringly low percentage given the nature of the task. Many have commented in attempts to explain the unwillingness to complete preventative tasks. Bryne and Pease (2006) have suggested that it perhaps stems from a "wish for thrill" and excitement amongst Police officers. In short, officers would rather be arresting offenders, detecting crimes, and doing more exciting tasks, than completing preventative work. With this said, many academics also note that a new type of policing has started to emerge. It emphasises accountability and leadership (Leishman et al, 2000), highlighting prevention as one of the

responsibilities of all police officers, thus showing its rising importance amongst the Police. Tilley (2006) describes the progression and development of crime reduction through community, problem-orientated, and intelligence-led policing; again demonstrating the desires of many politicians and officials for a more proactive police force.

In terms of preventative policing, perhaps one of the key aspects is that of problem-orientated and intelligence-led policing. Problem-orientated policing aims to identify and target specific problems in the community, Tilley (2006) describes six such examples: 'Repeat victimisation, Hotspots, Prolific offenders, Hot products, Hot classes of victim, Seasonality' (2006: 380). Each example calls for specific responses, thereby allowing police resources to be more targeted and efficiently used. Intelligence-led policing, simply put, aims to use the collection and analysis of intelligence to develop responses, which result in increased effectiveness and efficiency. Both are examples of police strategies which can be used to prevent crime, however, the consideration here is how much emphasis should be placed on preventing criminal activities, and whether it should be at the heart of police work.

Whilst many agree that preventing crime is, and should be a majority part of police work, many have questioned whether any police strategy actually impacts crime. Firstly many academics have criticised the extent to which police strategy alone can reduce crime (Eck and Maguire, 2000; Audit Commision, 1993). Clarke and Hough (1984; cited in Carrabine et al, 2009) found that a patrolling police officer is 'likely to pass within 100 yards of a burglary in progress once every eight years, and even then might not know that the offence was taking place' (Carrabine et al, 2009: 343). Further evidence to suggest the minimal impact of police work on crime comes from Kelling et al (1974) who noted that large changes in patrol cover had little effect on any aspects of crime.

Criticism of targeted crime prevention strategies highlights the probability that methods such as 'hot-spot' policing may inadvertently lead to displacement of criminal activities, and not actually prevention. This can be seen in the case of Zero tolerance policing in New York in the mid-1990s. Whilst politicians and officials were quick to deem the programme a success, many noted the difficulty surrounding identifying specific reasons for declines in crime rates and measuring the efficacy of police strategies. With this said, we can see how difficult it is to quantify the success of the Police when it comes to preventing crime. Perhaps the fact that we cannot observe an effect from police strategies for prevention suggests that it isn't a function at the heart of police work.

In addition to crime prevention, Reiner (1992) suggests detection of crime as another example of the 'omnibus role' of policing. Emsley (1996; cited in Maguire, 2006) describes how even post-1829 detective work was still regarded with suspicion, and notes how, from its inception, the 'New Police' was focused towards 'order maintenance, street patrol and the prevention, rather than the investigation and detection of crime' (Maguire, 2006: 365). Critchley (1978) and Ascoli (1979; cited in Maguire, 2006) both describe how suspicions of investigative work may have been regarded as an 'association with autocratic governments and 'continental methods'' (Maguire, 2006: 365). This distrust of investigative work limited the outcomes of any attempted detection of criminal activities, and consequently was minimally used until the 1870s, when it was agreed to form an autonomous Criminal Investigation Department (CID) made up of 250 officers in London. For the first time, the 'New Police' forces were actively able to detect, arrest, and prosecute offenders, so 'crime control rapidly became established as a major plank of the policing agenda' (Maguire, 2006: 365) and, perhaps more importantly, part of the political agenda. As public interest

into criminal investigation grew, the ability to find criminals and protect its citizens became a key responsibility (and consequently –a key tool) of the 'centralised state' (Maguire, 2006: 365).

We can see how many agree that a general function of policing is crime control, specifically the detection of crime, however many have suggested that whilst it perhaps should be at the heart of police work, detection figures show that police are either not doing well enough in terms of clearing up crimes, or something other than detection is at the forefront of police work. Carrabine et al (2009) describes how the proportion of cases where 'a suspect is identified and charged' (2009: 344) has been used as an indicator for effectiveness in crime control. He describes the downward trend in the 'clear-up rate' noting that around only 25% of cases are cleared up. However, Carrabine et al (2009: 344) does concede that the figures are falling at different rates depending on the crime type, noting that for violent crimes in 2002-03, 50 per cent were cleared up, whilst 93 per cent of drug offences were cleared up (Simmons and Dodd, 2003). However, as with all crime statistics, specific methodological limitations can have an effect on their trends, and therefor only show a proportion of the full picture. For this reason we cannot definitively say that the Police are failing at crime detection, nor can we say they aren't. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that detection and crime control are both key functions of the Police. Whilst some may argue that detecting crime is the most important part of police work, others may suggest that an alternative function is (or should be) at the heart of policing.

Another suggested function of the police is that of public order maintenance, and keeping the peace Reiner (1992) tasks which often do not involve crime control, or contact with perpetrators of crime. These tasks are wide and varied in nature and can include 'calming disturbances, negotiating conflicts and responding to a wide range of emergencies' (Carrabine et al, 2009: 277). One observation noted by many, including Punch and Naylor (1973), refers to the Police as an available-all-hours 'social service' for the public to utilise. Whilst much of police work involves enforcing law, Banton (1964) suggests that the Police use forms of 'peacekeeping' to intervene and resolve disputes noting that, 'the most striking thing about patrol work is the high proportion of cases in which policemen do not enforce the law' (1964: 127). This again suggests that if law enforcement is not a factor in much of police work, then controlling crime cannot be at the heart of policing. This perhaps indicates that the actual core role of the Police is maintaining public order and 'peacekeeping'.

Moreover, if we look back throughout the last century, we find numerous instances of 'dis-order,' which often have been attributed to police actions. Perhaps the best example is that of the Brixton Riots in 1981. The Scarman Report (1981) highlights how Police actions in the area, namely operation swamp 81, created a 'disposition towards violent protest' (1981: Para 2.3). Operation swamp 81 was an attempt at proactive policing similar to that of zero-tolerance policing. However, the report found that the Police had disproportionately used 'stop and search' powers in a way in which it targeted black and ethnic minority members of the community. Brixton 1981 serves as an example of how attempts at crime control can create issues for public order and, in a way, demonstrates the complex balancing act that police forces have to conduct themselves in, in terms of crime control and order maintenance. Such instances of dis-order serve to illustrate how police work can vary from preventative policing on the beat, to order maintenance in riots and urban dis-order.

However, Waddington (2006) notes when policing issues of "contentious politics" issues surrounding the legitimacy of the Police can be raised. Waddington (2006) comments that unlike typical law enforcement, where the criminal is 'beyond the moral community' (2006: 395), when dealing with dis-order created by those motivated by ideals, 'any police action may be interpreted as illegitimate' (2006: 395). If we think about how the Police have to respond to the questioning of their legitimacy, we can see yet another example of peace keeping as they try to 'don the mantle of moral superiority' (2006: 395). Even as they are forced into being the 'meat in the sandwich' trapped between protesters' and campaigners' 'freedom to express contentious opinions' (2006: 415), and the vested interests of government and other state, economic, and social institutions. Perhaps then, this suggests that order maintenance and peace keeping is, and should be, at the heart of police work.

As I have so far alluded to, the Police of today have numerous different functions and have to perform an intricate balancing act when it comes to performing each one. As the various different functions originate from varying historical methods of social control, it is no surprise then, that each has brought its own ideologies and practices, which in today's police work have created continual tensions. For example, the prevention of crime through patrolling or 'beat' policing, and the capturing of offenders has developed from similar functions of eighteenth century constables and watchmen. Whilst those activities likened to order maintenance i.e. 'riot control' can be seen as military type behaviour with its specific tactics and 'armour'. This dissension from various historical strands is a key to understanding how the Police operate today, and has been discussed extensively throughout academia (Rawlings, 2002; Vogler, 1991).

The 'balancing act' appears to demonstrate how the Police have perhaps been given too much to do, and/or not enough support in order to fulfil their functions. In my opinion, the various statistics available appear to show how police are not achieving their objectives to the fullest degree. If we take crime statistics for example, since around 1992 the number of reported crime has steadily fallen; however, we still cannot attribute it in any way to policing (Kelling et al, 1974) as the effect that police strategy alone can have on crime rates is minimal at best, and additionally is immeasurable (Clarke and Hough, 1984). If crime prevention is truly at the heart of police work, then we should be able to see evidence of the effects of police strategy on crime rates. Furthermore, perhaps we can also consider the 'clear up rate' and crime detection in a similar way. If so, then the first two of Reiner's (1992) suggested functions of the Police could be deemed as failures.

However, perhaps the problem lies within the numerous facets of social order for which the Police are responsible. Common sense would indicate that the more tasks and functions a group or organisation has, the less effect they will be able to have on each individual role. With that said, it seems that with today's society growing and developing, it doesn't appear likely that the number of functions of the Police will be decreasing any time soon. This begs the question – what can be done to improve the situation?

Firstly, perhaps the use of partnership schemes should be conducted in a way that alleviates pressures from the Police. If a group or organisation can take on one of the functions of the Police, perhaps crime prevention, maybe it would allow more focused methods, possibly yielding identifiable effects on crime rates. Additionally, by taking some responsibilities from the Police, the use of partnerships could free up the Police to

concentrate on their other functions i.e. detection of crime, thus affecting 'clear up rates'. Whilst this suggestion can be seen as reductionist, or oversimplifying the problem, it could be a step in the right direction. I do however concede that outsourcing police work may bring into question issues surrounding legitimacy and authority.

All things considered, I think many may agree that police work does appear to be vast in nature, resulting in resources, and Police, being over stretched; consequently something needs to change. Perhaps another key partnership, which Police should form, is with academia. As Bittner (1970) suggests, the best way to continually improve policing is through higher learning, suggesting that in society today 'the university has become the sole home of every form of research, study and exercise of critical reason' (1970: 121). By partnering with academic institutions, and academics, policing institutions could access the wealth of research, and discussions that continually assess and review police activity, thus allowing an informed self-development of the Police.

In conclusion, in this essay I have attempted to describe and assess each of Reiner's suggested functions of the Police, whilst providing some practical examples of these functions in history. I have shown how police work is varied in nature, and how the Police remit far exceeds crime control. In answering 'should controlling crime be at the heart of policing', perhaps it is important to consider the suggestions of Bittner (1974) and Brodeur (2010) who postulate that it is not what the Police accomplish, or intend to accomplish that defines police work. Instead, the Police should be seen as a specialist resource with 'the core capacity to use force if necessary' (Reiner, 2013: 116) alongside a 'wider set of powers that are not legally available to ordinary citizen[s]' (Reiner, 2013: 116). As such, we shouldn't be asking what function of the Police is more important, but how can this 'specialist resource' cope with increasing demands for different services. Finally, to use Waddington's (1983: 34; cited in Reiner, 2013) analogy, 'the police are the social equivalent of the AA or RAC patrolmen [it doesn't matter which part of the car they are best at fixing as long as they can] intervene when things go unpredictably wrong and secure a provisional solution' (1983: 34; cited in Reiner, 2013: 166).

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