IDEATE

The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

Introduction

IDEATE: The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology publishes the very best work from students within the Sociology Department at the University of Essex.

This edition presents work across a wide range of topics including: postmodernism, religion, the pharmaceutical industry, policing and violence, various explorations on gender (gender and the labour market, gender and illness, gender and postmodernism) and research methodologies (ethnography, the use of digital sources, data analysis). It contains both essay assignments and social research projects.

All of the work published here has gained a mark of 80% or higher.

Regrettably, due to the high number of eligible submissions to the journal this year, and the resulting pressure on our small editorial team who work on a voluntary basis, we have been unable to publish all eligible work. For this reason, our focus has been on those who have not previously been published in IDEATE.

We would however like to give credit to those other students whose work has once again attracted a high grade and who would otherwise have been published in this edition. Details of their assignments are given immediately beneath *Contents*.

Best wishes,

The IDEATE Editorial Team

Contents

Alexandra Kimbo: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [What Factors Contribute to the Financial Success of the Pharmaceutical Industry?](#)

Eirini Koraki Folli: SC104 Introduction to Crime, Law and Society

- ['Police Authority Rests on their Holding a Legitimate Monopoly of Violence'. Discuss.](#)

Bethany Long: SC101 Researching Social Life I

- [Write a Summary and Critique of one of the Following Publications. Refer to Wider Methodological Debates and Work in your Analysis. Hobbs, D. 'Researching Organised Crime' in King, R., Wincup, E. (2000) Doing Criminological Research. Oxford: Oxford University Press.](#)

Lauren Patterson: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [Racism with Inter-Racial Families](#)

Joanna Robinson: SC101 Researching Social Life I

- [Outline and Discuss the Key Principles of Research Ethics. Why are Researcher Ethics Important? Refer to BSA Guidelines to Ethical Research and Published Research in your Answer.](#)

Julie Sandhalla: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- ['Major Corporations like the Leading Pharmaceutical Companies have too much power'. Do you agree?](#)

Ellie Sannerude: SC101 Researching Social Life I

- [Is Ethnography the Best Way to Research Subcultural Populations? Justify your Answer using Examples from Published Research.](#)

Robert Smith: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [The Level of Religious Involvement is Higher in the United States than in Greta Britain. Discuss the Possible Explanations and the Implications for the Secularisation Thesis.](#)

Hannah Thomas SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- ['Major Corporations like the Leading Pharmaceutical Companies have too much power'. Do you agree?](#)

Kaitlin Trennery: SC111 The Sociological Imagination

- [The Postmodern Gender Order](#)

Chloe Ward: SC107 Introduction to Social Anthropology

- [In the Context of Accusations of Child Domestic Abuse, Discuss Jonathan Turley's Argument that Consensual Polygyny should be Legal in the U.S. on the Basis of his Argument, Would Consensual Polyandry also be Legal and if so is it Suitable in Capitalist Western Societies? Explain the Reasons for your Response.](#)

Second year essays

Hannah Bird: SC212 Sociology of Education

- [What are the Implications for Equality of Educational Opportunity?](#)

Molly Dale: SC212 Sociology of Education

- [What are the Implications for Equality of Educational Opportunity?](#)

Amelia Levey: SC203 Researching Social Life II

- [Does Peer Pressure Amongst Young Females Influence their Individual Alcohol Use?](#)

Emma Woonton: SC203 Researching Social Life II

- [Do Women Adopt Certain Strategies to Cope with Living with a Chronic Illness?](#)

Third year essays

Bogdana Storozuk: SC385 Models and Measurement in Quantitative Sociology

- [Secondary Data Analysis Report: Gender and Attitudes Towards Social Welfare; BSA 2010](#)

Emine Tarim: SC301 Current Disputes in Sociology: Sociological Analysis III

- ['The West' is a conceptual construct. Outline and assess the implications of this statement.](#)

Students with eligible work not included in this edition

Great credit is due to those students whose work has attracted a high grade more than once now and who would also – but for want of editorial resources - have been published in this edition. They are as follows:

Liberty Faygo, SC111: The feminisation of poverty in the UK.

Ingrid Haave, SC111: Does poverty still remain a social issue in Norway?

Bethany McCarthy, SC101: Outline and discuss the key principles of research ethics. Why are research ethics important? Refer to BSA guidelines to ethical research and published research in your answer.

Amie Mills, SC164: What are the main characteristics of Kenneth Clark's 'Dark Ghetto'? In your answer, refer to the social, psychological, economic, and geographic/physical aspects of the ghetto. Do you think there can be any hope for those who live in the 'Dark Ghetto', and if so how can ghetto dwellers change their situation?

Georgiana Nica, SC101: Article or book chapter analysis: Hobbs D (2000) Researching Organised Crime. In R King, E Wincup (eds) *Doing Criminological Research.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Angella M Denman, SC111: The socialisation of gender roles and its impact on working women.

Christina Sewell, SC107: In the context of accusations of child and domestic abuse, discuss Jonathan Turley's argument that consensual polygyny should be legal in the US. On the basis of his argument, would consensual polyandry also be legal, and if so is it sustainable in capitalist, Western societies? Explain the reasons for your response.

Hayley Wood, SC104: Police authority rests on their holding a legitimate monopoly of violence. Discuss.

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Christopher Cunningham, SC277: Discuss the need for ethics in Anthropological research. Focus on past abuses of varied groups and individuals by ethnographers that necessitate ethics. Focus on how rigid ethical standardization can be detrimental to ethnographic research.

Iulia-Alexandra Neag, SC213: A job interview: Goffman's dramaturgical model of social interaction.

Vikki Nevill, SC203: Mothers raising children with disabilities:
The effects on work, social life and mental health.

Martin Perchard, SC203: Student Voices: Demands of the Transition to University

Justina Prusinskaite, SC203: What is the attitude of British students of Essex University towards the native and non-native educators and how can they affect students' learning experience?

*****

Alina Carabat, SC385: The impact of media engagement on attitudes towards immigration.

Rebecca Combes, SC310: Analyse the process of 'normalisation' in relation to young people and illegal drug use. Is this a useful concept?

Devon De Silva, SC326: Can the Stigma Associated with Mental Illness be Reduced?

Vince Eade, SC388: The meaning of whiteness and race in the materials covered.

Thomas Harper, SC387: In what ways does the commemoration of 9/11 address the psychological impact of the event? Discuss with reference to particular examples of commemoration.

Nadine Hendrie, SC304: Through what processes has the ill treatment of both civilian's and combatants become a normalised aspect of contemporary conflict?

Danielle Richards, SC301: Outline and assess Du Bois' contribution to a sociological understanding of 'race'.

Alexander Rippingale, SC382: 'Children are often failed by the very measures intended to improve their lives' Discuss with reference to the child protection process in England and Wales.

Ka Hei Sham, SC304: Through what processes has the ill-treatment of both civilians and combatants become a normalized aspect of contemporary conflict?

Charles Stockhill, SC382: Critically discuss the complications of controlling people trafficking and the difficulties in protecting the victims

Apart from its possible effect upon self-concept how can labelling people as criminals amplify their criminality?

Zygimantas Baksa

We live in the contemporary world where labelling people became the most common phenomenon that almost every of us, in some way through the life, experience it. As Becker (1963) states, labelling theory has an effect on everyone no matter what age, sex, race or in which social class a person is. Labelling theory claims that deviance and conformity result not so much from what people do, but from how other people respond to those actions; it, also, highlights social responses to crime and deviance (Macionis and Plummer, 2008). Moreover, the labelling theory was the first theory to take into the account both individual criminality and the impact of social reaction on criminal behaviors (Maddan and Marshall, 2009). The theory of labelling started to develop in 1938, when Frank Tannenbaum, who was an Austrian-Amercian sociologist, criminologist and historian, originally came up with the idea of labelling theory. He argued that because of labelling 'the person becomes the thing he is described as being' (Tannenbaum, 1938:20). Moreover, Frank, also, found that the greater attention placed on one's label, the more it will affect a person's self-concept (ibid). As a result of the Frank's ideas, in the early 1960s and 1970s, the labelling theory received a significant attention and became a dominant theory of crime (Plummer, 2001). Furthermore, other sociologists, such as Howard S. Becker in 1951 and Edwin Lemert in 1963, started to focus on the labelling theory and made a significant contribution to it (Cullen and Wilcox, 2010). Firslty, Edwin Lemert has developed two key terms of primary and secondary deviance that help to distinguish original and effective causes of deviance (Cullen and Wilcox, 2010; Plummer, 2001; Miller, 2009; Maddan, 2008). As a matter of fact, these two kinds of deviance, that emerge labelling, has an effect upon self-concept as well as show how labelling people as criminals might amplify their criminality. Secondly, Howard S. Becker outlined the broad problem of labelling and raised questions we all should take into account when thinking about labelling (Crabbine et al, 2014; Plummer, 2001; Macionis and Plummer, 2008). However, in 1970s labelling theory came under attack from all sides (Plummer, 2001) and a lot of authors such as Bordua, Gouldner, Akers, sociologists and criminologist started to criticize labelling theory in all terms. This essay will analyse the labelling theory and its outcomes, will illustrate how labelling people affects their self-concept and how labelling people as criminals might amplify their criminality, while using primary and secondary deviance examples. I will also outline how media plays its part in the labelling and how it causes moral panics and criminality amplification by socially described groups as deviants. Apart this, the essay will also highlight the criticism on labelling perspective and its ideas.

Apart all effects that labelling might cause, the cause of self-concept change is inevitably. Charles Horton Cooley (1902), as well as Mead (1934), was interested in the development of the self and as a result, now he is known as a developer of the looking-glass self-concept (Cooley, 1902). The main idea of looking-glass self-concept is that people tend to apply to themselves what they imagine or think other people think of them (Wiley, 2009). For example, if a man who committed a crime was labeled by his parents or girlfriend that he is a mean person he tends to think of himself as a mean person. It is basically true that our self-concept is affected by the evaluations that others have of us (Macionis and Plummer,

2008) and more importantly, of how we see those evaluations (Gecas and Schwalbe, 1983). However, apart its possible effect upon self-concept labelling, people as criminal have other causes such as criminality amplification.

In order to talk further about criminality amplification it is essential to explain the connection between deviance and labelling. A great American sociologist Howard S. Becker (1963:9) who significantly contributed to labelling theory development and wrote a book in 1963 "*Outsiders*" that was one of the first books based on labelling theory and deviance, Becker (1963) described labelling and deviance connection as follows:

> Social groups create deviance by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label (1963:92).

Becker's analysis shows that connection between deviance and labelling is close, implying that once a person was recognized as deviant he is being labelled right after. This phenomenon was a great interest for another key person to labelling theory Edwin Lemert, who analysed further and developed labelling theory in 1970s (Maddan, 2008). Lemert, who coined two terms of primary and secondary deviance, argues that primary deviance emerges from many ways of norm violation. For example, under-age drinking can provoke little reaction from others and it has a little effect on self-concept (Carrabine et al, 2014), while secondary deviance emerges right after a person has been publically labeled as deviant (Lemert, 1967). However, primary deviants suffer from the wide range of consequences. Many of them include the applications to criminals of such labels as sick, criminal, insane and so on (Beirne and Messerschmidt, 2000). Furthermore, Lemert states that secondary deviance 'refers to a special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems created by the social reaction to deviance' (1967:40). His establishment of secondary deviance is related to the fact that labelling people as criminals can amplify their criminality. For example, a person labeled as a drug experimenter could become an addict; the recreational drinker could become an alcoholic; the joy rider could become a car thief (Maddan and Marshall, 2009). Moreover, when the society begins to notice and suspend deviant behaviors, the application of the labels increases and deviant acts amplify. If, for instance, a group of people begins to describe a young man as a 'boozer' or a 'drunk' or even an 'alcoholic' and then push him out of their group and never let him back because of his behavior, he may become embittered, drink even more and seek the company of others who accept his behavior (Carabinne et al, 2014). Then secondary deviance emerge meaning that an individual engages in repeated norm of violations and begins to take on a deviant identity which implies that the action of labelling a person as a criminal or deviant amplified his criminality because he engaged in repeated norms of violations. What is more, secondary deviance also draws from the idea of W.I. Thomas (1928; cited in Marshall, 1998) that 'when people define situations as real they become real in their consequences'.

Moreover, an individual who took on a secondary deviance is also much more likely to gather with others who have been similarly labeled, so becoming a part of a subculture that 'stands outside of the framework created by the norms of the original social group' (Cullen and Wilcox, 2010:3). Furthermore, other authors such as Tannenbaum (1938: 20) also noted that the isolation that goes from labelling leads an individual 'into companionship with other children similarly defined, and the gang becomes his/her means of escape',

which implies that labelled person engages in the gang subculture and commits various crimes. What is more, persons who belong to subcultures are more likely to be seen as criminals and deviant than those, who do not belong to subcultures. As a matter of fact, Steffendmeier and Terry's (1973) experimental study proved that persons dressed as hippies and who belonged to subcultures were more likely to be reported for shoplifting than persons dressed normally. Having described the main ideas of self-concept change and primary as well as secondary deviance it is clear that these all concepts are closely related and comes after labelling. Moreover, as it discussed above labelling people as criminal might amplify their criminality and those who were labelled frequently end up in the subcultures of the gang as well as in criminal activities.

Apart all this, other factors, such as media have a lot of to do with deviance and crime amplification. Such authors as Stanley Cohen and Jock Young studied the media and drew the connection line between media and crime amplification. For instance, studies of the media by Cohen and Young show that media may formulate social reaction and it may result in groups such as gays being labelled "folk devils" (such as aids carriers). The main labelling's traditional belief is that negative social reaction, in the form of labelling, causes an actor to become one with the deviant activity placed upon him, and, in many cases, leads to development of further deviance (Marsh and Melvill, 2011). Some theorists believe that labelling people as deviant propels to future deviance and crimes (Marsh and Melvill, 2011). Moreover, Jock Young focuses on the phenomenon when media defines deviant behaviour in its way, and society accepts it. As a result, it increases rather than reduces deviance (Krinsky, 2013). As Jock Young argues, this kind of action that media takes call out moral panics and states that:

> The media, then—in a sense—can create social problems, they can present them dramatically and overwhelmingly, and, most important, they can do it suddenly. The media can very quickly and effectively fan public indignation and engineer what one might call 'a moral panic' about a certain type of deviancy (Young, 1971: 37).

This quote shows how much power media has in its hands. However, it was Stanley Cohen, who provided the definition of moral panic that a lot of researchers were citing (Rohloff and Wright, 2010). In his book *Devil Folks and Moral Panics* Cohen emphasizes that, like the moral panics of which it is often a part, the process of deviance amplification is driven largely by mass media (Krinsky, 2013). Cohen (1972) explains:

> We react to an episode of, say, sexual deviance, drugtaking or violence in terms of our information about that particular class of phenomenon (how typical is it), our tolerance level for that type of behaviour and our direct experience—which in a segregated urban society is often nil. Wilkins describes—in highly mechanistic language derived from cybernetic theory—a typical reaction sequence which might take place at this point, one which has a spiraling or snowballing effect (1972: 8).

What Cohen means by spiraling effect is that in some cases deviance tends to spiral. For example, provocative media reports on deviant or unacceptable behaviors result in even more attention being paid to those who were labelled and recognized as deviant, the gangs, for example, so isolating them from the rest of society, which often causes them to connect more strongly with each other and lastly, it causes greater deviance and criminality because of their actions and stronger connection (Krinsky, 2013).

However, many criticisms have been posed against the labeling theory and its findings. For instance, Akers (1967) outlined the main problem with the labeling theory and state that:

> we still do not know very much about even the official distribution and variations in rates of some kinds of deviance and are practically ignorant of the true distribution of nearly every type of deviant behavior (1967:459).

The critique says that in terms of the labeling, we still do not know very much about the true extent of rule-breaking. Because of the lack of knowledge of rule breaking we are not able to study the social response to it (Miller, 2009). Another interesting point of critique to labelling theory is Lemert's (1974), which notices that the labeling theory does not completely explain the processes in what society engages when deviant act is made; a reaction could identify a deviant act, but the theory does not explain why the behaviour is considered as deviant. There was also a critique made upon the criminality amplification. According to Thorsell and Klemke (1972), it is not easy to study the labelling theory without thinking about deterrence or crime. Deterrence means that sanctions will deter a person who was labelled as criminal from engaging in further criminal behaviour, letting him to make a rational choice, whereby an offender 'will weigh the cost and benefits of any future offending through the lens of the previous punishment' (Maddan, 2008:29). However, one of the most interesting questions remains whether the person who was labelled as "criminal" is going to be engaged in more crime or deterred from future criminal behaviour (Paternoster and Iovanni, 1989).

To sum everything up, it is possible to say that the labelling theory and its causes were constantly changing and developed over the past fourthy years since 1960s, when the labelling theory was discovered. Its ideas were adjusted to explanation of criminal behaviour. Once a criminal made an offence, theorist tried to explain it by the ideas of labelling. Various sociologists proved that labelling people as criminals have an effect on themselves, as a criminal goes through different phases of primary and secondary deviance, for instance. Primary deviance happens when a criminal was labelled as deviant because of the actions he takes, however, it is easy forgettable, but has a little effect on criminal's self-concept. Furthermore, the secondary deviance emerges from primary deviance and happens when the person who was labelled, for example, as criminal, were pushed from the group of the people he was hanging out, and starts act as he was labelled. As a result, in most cases, crime amplification is a consequence of labelling people as criminals. Besides that, the labelled person could end up in various subcultures, such as gangs, that condone his behaviour and contribute to further deviance, which implies that the crime amplification will be rising because of the labelling. Apart all this, the media plays a crucial role in labelling and amplification of crimes of labelled people, as well. It has abnormal power over society and the media can make everyone believe their story, thus they can call out moral panics. When this happens, people start to panic and the greater attention is placed on those people who were labelled and recognized as deviant such as criminals. As a result, they are isolated from society, which makes criminals' bond with each other stronger and it causes the bigger deviance and crime amplification because of their actions. However, all the reasons and explanations for crime based on labelling were arguable and criticized by others that made labelling perspective even more arguable and its ideas even more precise. All these reasons, primary, secondary deviance and media's part in labelling show us that labelling people as criminals really has an effect on their self-concept as well as causes the amplification of crimes in various ways.

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Is Ethnography The Best Way To Research Subcultural Populations? Justify Your Answer Using Examples From Published Research.

Nicola Rae Campbell

There is a controversial debate within sociology as to whether or not subcultural populations should be studied, and if so, how best to carry out research into such secluded groups – perhaps there is a reason as to why they are not in mainstream society which should be respected rather than intruded. However Sociologists are interested in all aspects of culture, whether this is macro or micro in scale, resulting in different methodologies to suit certain subject groups. Within this essay I am going to define what ethnography and subcultural populations are, in order to identify the underlying relationship between the two. I am then going to illustrate this relationship through examining several ethnographic studies; from Venkatesh's (2008a) semi-covert study *Gang Leader for a Day*, Willis' (1977) overt study of *Learning to Labour*, to Laud Humphrey's (1970) covert *Tearoom Trade*. This will enable me to make an informed comment on whether subcultural populations are best studied through ethnography.

Ethnography is defined as 'acts both of observing directly the behaviour of a social group and producing a written description thereof' (Scott, 2014: 223) referring to both the participant observation of a group of interest and how this is transferred from field notes to be later publications. Subcultures can be referred to as 'a local or specialized culture embedded in a larger culture' (Scott, 2014:738-739) whereby groups can be coined as different, through subverting societies main norms, beliefs and values whilst having their own. For example, youth could be defined as a subculture, whereby important values may be related to either social networking or violence as a way of gaining status, as suggested by Merton's concept of how 'anomie causes deviance' (Hilbert, 1989: 242). Denoting how the normlessness of a society can drive individuals to form a subculture, possibly delinquent, through not being able to achieve legitimately through the education system which is based on middle-class values, creating their own culture from which they can gain status through for example, vandalism or theft. Captured in the field of research itself, ethnography is based upon the words and actions of individuals, which is extended upon through the use of interviews with the participants: taking place in overt research, where the sociologists status in known, to avoid suspicion from subjects. As ethnography can be undertaken in a variety of forms such as covert and overt. It is important to note the impact that this has on the researchers role, and whether they are carrying out their ethnography as a participant (fully immersing themselves into the subject's social world) or non-participant (mainly observing whilst undertaking research) as this can have an immediate effect on the data gathered. For example, have they risked bias within their work through the notion of 'going native' (Bryman, 2012: 445) by becoming too 'wrapped up in the worldview of the people they are studying' which can be caused by the time scale of ethnographic studies, many taking years to complete. There are several positives and negatives of using ethnography as a method, all of which will be explored through analysing ethnographic studies, which are in the form of a research diary; consisting of observational, methodological, theoretical and analytical notes. (Ryan-Flood, 2014).

There are different perspectives on criticism of ethnography such as the 'natural science critique' (Brewer, 2000: 19) which argues that the methods used in sociology should be similar to that of the natural sciences (chemistry, biology and physics) with the main notion of working upon a cause and effect relationship and using a standardised system of collecting data, which is not possible in ethnography as it is concerned with understanding the meaning of the actors' social world rather than attempting to make generalisations about society. The contrast between the natural and social sciences is highlighted through the use of what method is used – qualitative methods such as ethnography can include the use of unstructured interviews and participant observation which is recorded in through field notes in strong contrast to a structured interview with pre-coded questions being used in quantitative research. Another criticism of ethnography is that of postmodernism. Here the idea of 'myth' (Brewer, 2000: 24) is utilised in relation to there being no true knowledge about society, 'scientific knowledge is relative…there are no guarantees as to the worth of the activities of scientists or the truthfulness of their statements'.

The first ethnography that I am going to examine is Sudhir Venkatesh's *Gang Leader for a Day* (Venkatesh, 2008a). This study took place unexpectedly as Venkatesh who was planning on doing family surveys for a university study in Oakland Chicago, was mistaken as being 'Julio, the Mexican gang leader from the east side' (2008a:13) to which he was taken hostage as his identity was not clear to the subcultural population of the gang. This was in response to ordinal questions about self-perception, 'how does it feel to be black and poor?' to which the response was 'Fuck you!' (2008a:14). Not only does highlight issues of the way in which a question is asked –such a question may intimidate or create a tension of having to feel different from others due to being either black and/ or poor. It also pinpoints the issue of access when looking at subpopulations. After having kept Venkatesh hostage, a rapport between him and J.T, the gang leader began to develop through a mutual understanding of them having a similar background of education and ambitions. J.T's argument of 'you shouldn't go around asking them silly-ass questions…with people like us, you should hang out, get to know what they do, how they do it' (2008a: 21). Demonstrates how in order for the researcher to gain a true insight into the world of those being researched, they should fully immerse themselves within it, as reiterated by Venkatesh himself 'I realised that if I wanted to understand the complicated lives of black youth in inner-city Chicago, I had only one good option: to accept J.T's counsel and hang out with people' (2008a:22). Throughout his stay Venkatesh became closer to J.T, primarily through the access to which J.T was giving him by acting as his 'champion' (Bryman, 2012:435) which Bryman suggests is a person who will vouch for you and protect you as the researcher. This was because J.T himself valued the research for it was giving the wider world a view into what it actually like to be a gang leader. J.T had an 'ambition to move up in the gang's hierarchy' (Venkatesh, 2008a: 24). Important findings include that of the gang's functions for example, Autry, a club director, 'felt that the gang helped the community – giving away food, mediating conflicts…but he also stressed that the community spent a lot of time "mopping up the gang's mistakes"' (2008a: 97). This insight is of great importance, identifying the gang's relationship with the wider community as one of mutual give and take. As mentioned earlier, an issue with ethnographic research is using bias and 'going native' (Bryman, 2012: 445), this is reflected in Venkatesh's work with the utterance of 'I sometimes came off as defending the gangs and their violent practices or as romanticizing the conditions in the projects' (Venkatesh, 2008a: 177). This is a consideration to take into account when choosing to do a ethnography as compared with, for example, a standardised questionnaire or structured interviews which are set on the basis of objectivity however through looking at Venkatesh's study, it is clear to see that there was no better way in which he could of gathered the same depth of information other

than to become a gang member himself. A useful source when looking at Venkatesh's *Gang Leader for a Day* (2008a) is a video made by Venkatesh himself outlining why and how he did his research (2008b). He emphasises how not enough was known about 'the gang and drug problem' and how his research was designed for him to 'get inside' the world of gangs, drugs and the community which was spread over '7-8 years' (2008b). The emphasise on his and J.T's relationship is what enabled such in-depth research to occur, as it was J.T who suggested that research should be carried out in the real world and not through trivial questions which merely touch on a subject, as it will not uncover any true meaning or reasoning. Within this video, J.T is described as an 'anomaly', whereby he had a degree but chose to come back to run the gang within the Robert Taylor estate in Chicago; becoming a strong point of interest for Venkatesh as they both had similar backgrounds of working in mainstream society. He wanted to find out why J.T would chose a subcultural hierarchy rather than that of mainstream society, and why some people have to turn to the gang for help such as financial security. Venkatesh explains how J.T offered for him to become 'Gang Leader for a Day' in order to prove that it isn't a straight forward job, Venkatesh says that he 'didn't shoot any guns or do anything illegal but I had a chance to walk with him and see the kind of difficult things that he had to do...trying to find a place for 250 guys to meet'. Venkatesh's study has been of significance in the field of ethnographic research, identifying its importance in accessing subcultural groups such as gangs who are often in closed and secretive settings. Quirke (2008) who carried out a review on Venkatesh's argues that 'The book as it stands serves as a rich, appealing introduction to sociological issues of race, social class, crime, organizations and research methods, rather than an in-depth analysis or a final word on these subjects' Quirke (2008: 4-5), this was mainly due to the book being aimed at the generic audience, not just academics, unlike other ethnographic research which will now be explored.

Willis' study of *Learning to Labour* (1977) is in contrast to Venkatesh's (2008a) study both in terms of methodology used and subject matter. Willis focused on the subcultural population of the working-class, who are more accessible than subcultural gangs, and the notion of continuity in terms of intergenerational movement in relation to the class system or lack of. This is an example of an overt study which was carried out over a 3 year span, concentrating on the movement of working-class boys from school to employment whereby 'the methods used were case study work, interviewing, group discussions and participant observation' (Willis, 1977: Preface); emphasising the 'meanings and values as well as the ability to represent and interpret symbolic articulations, practices and forms of cultural production' (1977: 3). This is of significance to ethnographic researchers as it is their aim to uncover the true meaning of the world for the social actors they are studying. This book is split into two main sections: 'Ethnography' and 'Analysis' (1977: v). Ethnography focuses on the elements of the working class culture such and its 'opposition to authority' (1977: 11) as uncovered by several group discussions, for example Joey, one of the 12 boys, said 'they're able to punish us...they stand for a bigger establishment than we do...it's, uh, resenting authority I suppose' (1977: 11). A benefit of using group interviews is the spontaneity; participants are able to bounce off one another, uncovering more than a structured interview would as there is an element of clarification which is available to both the researcher and the participants. For example 'PW: really? Joey: Yeah, we says, 'One won't come off', she says 'take yours off as well. I said, 'you'll have to chop my finger off first' (1977: 11), the last statement here demonstrates resentment to teaching authority. Other factors that Willis took into consideration whilst carrying out this study include 'sexism', 'racism' and 'labour power, culture class and institution' (1977: v). The second section of the study focuses on 'analysis'; which includes the entities of 'penetration of the conditions of existence of its members and their position within the social whole'

(1977: 119), as well as looking at the role that ideology has to play within the life of the working-class boys: 'He believed that education can have unintended influences on pupils who make conscious decisions themselves' (Lise, 2007: 2), rejecting the Marxist idea of a 'deterministic relationship between the economy and the way the educational system operates' (Lise, 2007: 2). Willis' (1977) over-riding conclusion is that the working-class culture encourages 'the lads' (1977: 106) to stay within the working-class through refute of the educational system as 'their unofficial and informal self-preparation for work not only directs them towards, but also makes the passage into a certain kind of work more uneventful and problem free' (1977: 106), as the lads saw it as their choice to refuse mainstream values. This study has been effective both in terms of its goals of finding out 'how working class children get working class jobs' (1977) through the use of applying appropriate methodology to the subjects; by using an inductive approach Willis was able to keep an open mind when interviewing or holding group discussions. The use of an unstructured approach was of great importance, giving a deeper insight into the 'lads' point of view. Covert methods would have been inappropriate to use around children, especially due to issues of vulnerability, within this research, Willis was clearly identified as a researcher which may have minimally effected the outcome but it was only ethically viable as being overt, in order to gain access to the school setting. This is in contrast to for example, Laud Humphrey's study of the *Tearoom Trade* (1970) whose ethics are still in question today.

Humphrey's study of the tearoom trade was focused on the subcultural group of the American homosexual subculture – a group which was not openly available to research being seen as sexually deviant, both of the participant and the researcher choosing to engage/ be aware of activities within the 'tearoom'. Within his study, which took place in several unnamed American cities during the 1960s, Humphrey's covertly observed 'clandestine homosexual behaviour taking place' (Humphreys, 1970: vii) by obtaining the status of 'Watchqueen' - 'the role of the lookout' (1970: 27). By encapturing this role, Humphreys was able to infiltrate any suspicions of the homosexual subculture by becoming a 'natural part of the life of the observed' (1970: 26), gaining access to an otherwise closed setting and group. Humphreys notes that the main aim of his ethnography was to 'observe the activity across a representative range of times and places' (1970: 28) in order to make his work applicable to the subpopulation as a whole. It is clear to see that this study was only achieved through being covert as the homosexual population in Tearooms was not an active cohort to be studying as they were secretive however the use of going undercover raises ethical issues of deception and trust. For example, he noted some of the number plates of participants and traced them back to their home address, some of which had wives and families, causing distress, particularly as no consent was given. After understanding the rules and roles discussed within chapter 3 (1970: 45-58) such as 'avoid the exchange of biographical data', identifying the experience as impersonal. A reason found for people participating in tearooms is associated with the notion of risk and them being 'games of chance (1970: 81). Ethical problems raised to question within this study include that of 'misrepresentation', in terms of their own identity, 'confidentiality' of the participants, and 'consequentiality' regarding what happens as a result of research. For example, Smith (2013) reiterates how Humphreys was able to 'understand the identity, lives, and rationality of those men involved in the so-called tearoom trade' through the use of covert ethnography however this provoke many ethical debates regarding the methodology used.

Within this essay I have defined what both ethnography and subcultural populations are, outlining their relationship to one another which has been illustrated through the

examining off three ethnographic studies: All share commonalities in how the method of ethnography, otherwise seen as total immersion into a social group, can be seen as the only way for sociologists to gain and maintain access in order to gain true knowledge of a subculture which is located within a closed setting. Access, especially in covert studies such as Venkatesh's (2008a) are aided with a 'gatekeeper' who in this case was J.T, allowing full access, whereas in Willis' study his access would have been granted through the schools leadership group to gain consent due to his participants being children and therefore vulnerable to research. If I were to look further into the relationship between ethnography and subcultural populations I would like to look in particular at Holdaway's (1983) *Inside The British Police* which was aimed at the way in which policing is conducted. Overall I would suggest that ethnography is a suitable method when attempting to widen knowledge on a subcultural group, whether that be a gang, working-class children, homosexuals or for example drug users however it would lie with the researcher as to whether it is ethical and necessary for society to carry out the research.

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Outline and discuss some of the challenges sociologists face when using digital documents for research. How can these challenges be addressed whilst ensuring the data collected is valid and reliable?

Tim Chechlinski

At the time of writing the breaking news of a gun massacre in Paris is splashed across television and online media. The journalists by their own admission are heavily reliant on Twitter, YouTube and Instagram. They acknowledge this during a studio broadcast on the BBC News (2015) saying the images, videos and tweets are building up a coherent picture of the breaking events, describing their reliance on this as 'remarkable'. By 2015 endless fields of research are dependent on online sources and the digital documents within. Sociology is not exceptional in this. A sociologist can build up an event or personal biography, without researching further than digital documents such as blogs, news websites or social networks. However there are major challenges to this. Pre-prescribed narratives, corporate and private misinformation through motives and permissions of the document owner, search engine personalisation and the grey area of illegally published material versus public, are all areas that potentially prohibit and obscure information for the researcher. The initial key to overcoming these problems for researchers is the awareness of them. Once aware, even these documents can be used, along with others to create valid qualitative sociological research. Refining the information discovered and securing validity are all crucial in over-coming the challenges faced by research into digital documents.

The definition of digital documents differs significantly from the traditional definition of document (Buckland, 1997). Indeed the traditional definition, referring exclusively to text, in some cases official, court officiated texts, would not work in the internet era. The digital document encompasses numerous types and including (not limited to): specialist blogs; diary style blogs; forums; news sites; podcasts; social networking feeds (Twitter and Facebook); court documents; business registrars; domain name registrars; amateur videos (YouTube); music; images; software release notes; internet archives and press releases (Allen-Robertson, 2013). Suzanne Briet (1951:7) described a document as 'evidence in support of a fact', in that anything can be a document if it is treated as such, citing that a stone in the wild was not a document, but placed in a museum could be. With digital documents that same stone, can be photographed or filmed, tweeted about, blogged about and once in the public domain online, becomes part of a digital document. A flexible understanding of what a document is, is required to indulge in the contemporary world of ethnographic research.

The internet is made of billions of these digital documents, nearly all offering a piece of some narrative. These can all be potential useful sources of useful information for a sociologist, offering both quantitative and qualitative data on an industrial scale (Bryman, 2012). The first step into the field of online research is the search engine, epitomised by Google. Google, despite its seemingly extensive deep searches and up to the minute search results, has undeniable flaws when performing extensive research. Google has developed a tool across all users that personalises the search to the individual. In takes into account locality and previous searches, which can heavily distort the research angle. Search results

can also be weighted towards commercial interests and popular sources. To combat this the researcher could use other search engines, some offering more specialist search types. Google itself offers 'Google Scholar' for academic papers. However for ethnographic research, there is a limit to searching abilities; it's been suggested that less than half the population of websites are searchable via search engines (Allen-Robertson, 2013; Bryman, 2012).

Another problem with using Google as the primary source of research is that the 'wild west era' (Dent, 2014) of the internet is very much coming to an end. It can now be seen as increasingly policed by governments. While injunctions have limited sway on the internet, often being broken on Twitter, Google have now been obliged to become compliant with 'the right to be forgotten' law in practice across the European Union. From 2014 onwards an individual can request to have certain information about themselves removed from the Google results page. Now the comprehensive nature of digital documents comes into question, in a world where research can be prevented due to legal rulings (Court of Justice of the European Union, 2014). A connected issue is the inability to use the search engines correctly. A working knowledge of the internet and the subject field is required before indulging in online ethnographic research. Failing to use the relevant keywords, can lead to many dead ends in research. Rogers (2013) speaks of the need to have a greater understanding of concepts such as tag clouds and PageRank, to help expand our understanding of the way the web works and to enhance our research abilities.

According to Rogers (2013), the head of Encyclopaedia Britannica described the relationship between Google and Wikipedia as 'symbiotic'. A remarkable amount of searches on Google will offer a Wikipedia page in the first few results. This is an easy but potentially perilous route to go down for initial research. Described by Allen-Robertson as a useful springboard to other research, Wikipedia is an online encyclopaedia which according to founder Jimmy Wales "improves all the time" through the editing by its readership. Public editing is a double edged sword. It can on one hand offer the best information available, on the other hand can be easily sabotaged or erroneous. This is true of many websites. Years before the creation of the internet, historians Langlois and Seignobos (1908) spoke of the factors for the distortion of truth. They were: to further their own ideals; personal vanity; creation of drama and to promote the significance of the events of the day. These stand up remarkably well in the world of internet mendacity. With regards to ethnographic research, a biased source can be used, so long as the bias is understood. Allen-Robertson (2013) says that a biased source can offer just as much of an important source of information as a supposedly neutral source, when attempting to create a picture of a bigger issue. Wikipedia can be used with caution, but only as a launchpad which can create a snowballing effect in research; further research is always advised.

Digital documents offer challenges not found in printed research. The pace of change online means that during research not only can a website radically change content (even changing hands or closing), but new websites can appear offering brand new lines of interest and scrutiny. The internet is constantly in flux and some fields should be approached with caution. To exemplify this point and expand on the perils, and indeed advantages of using digital documents for ethnographic research is to use the internet to search for information on the recent child abuse scandals in the United Kingdom. The mainstream news websites such as the BBC or Guardian should be the source of reliable information and a place for validation of information. However when referring to these stories they are limited in their reporting due to a plethora of legal precedents and injunctions. Lord McAlpine sued Twitter users for implicating him in a child abuse scandal (BBC News, 2013). The

information on the mainstream websites is very much implied. However a smart search offers thousands of digital documents all referring to the child abuse scandal. A potential goldmine and minefield at the same time. On one hand the numerous blogs offer the names, dates and locations connected to scandals that are unreported in the mainstream media. Some details crop up repeatedly (spotting patterns is a useful asset when searching digital documents), whilst some more spurious claims remain limited to one or two more farcical websites. Blogs, photographs, videos, a timeline of tweets all support these stories that help build a horrific narrative of covered-up child abuse. While these can be examined as part of an ethnographic study to the reaction to the scandals, they are at present less valid as part of an examination of the scandals themselves. Much information found in digital documents could normally be validated through news or official websites. The aforementioned legal issues prevent this, leaving much of the research here considered unreliable. In these cases it may be necessary to accept that this is a grey area and either dismiss the information entirely or accept potentially unreliable information as part of the research (Chen et al, 2004).

To verify a digital document in the first place can be a challenge in itself. Often websites through the use of hyperlinks can offer further sources to follow the narrative of the research. This can be advantageous and lead to further useful research, however there must be questions raised over why the hyperlinks have been placed there and what hyperlinks are missing. Scott's (1990; cited in Bryman, 2012) criteria for quality assessing a document can be easily applied to digital documents: why was it created; what is its purpose; is it there for commercial gain and does it take a particularly strong stance in an argument? These questions when applied to digital documents help to understand their use.

A sociologist researching the sociology of superfoods for example, would find use in asking these questions. Across the internet endless websites promote the benefits and disadvantages of apparently particularly health products, for example green tea. Many websites would have the reader believe the virtues of green tea as helping to prevent cancer, Alzheimer's, as well as promoting it as a weight suppressant. These websites hyperlink to other websites telling other positive stories about green tea, showing support for the claims. However when put under scrutiny, the question of where these claims were born arises. If the impressive claims were proven true they would appear on many international government's websites to help promote their nation's health. To get clarity on this issue the nearest thing to the official UK government stance on green tea is the NHS Choices (2015), which throws into doubt many of these claims, citing one-off unverified studies in many cases. The source of these lists of the benefits of green tea is unknown. The most cynical view is that it is originated from the tea industry for the benefit of selling more green tea and has been promoted to the point of apparent truth by green tea fanatics. A researcher should be alert to the potential invalidity of large parts of the internet, although this is not to say it's all inaccurate. However just because something has been repeated on several thousand digital document does not make it true. Awareness of this has the potential to be used as part of an ethnographic study (Ford, 2012).

Sourcing digital documents does not always have to be the potential minefield for researchers that perhaps may be suggested here. Allen-Robertson (2013) describes digital documents as 'well organised, searchable, replicable and malleable to a greater extent than physical documents' (2013:18). One huge advantage many digital documents have is time stamping. Blogs, tweets, news websites almost always have the time and date attached indicating when they were put online. There should be a slight warning that there may be

room for error and some may use it to their advantage and add false timestamps, to add their part to the narrative, as described by Langlois and Seignobos (1908). Otherwise it is a fairly infallible part of online research. The gun attack in Paris on 7 January 2015 is still developing at the time of writing, however serves as an example of the benefits of digital documents. Aside from newspaper articles, there are no physical books or journals about this event. A sociologist wishing to examine the reactions of different parts of society needs look no further than the internet. It is simple to track the events, as it happens or after the event, due to the sheer amount of varying digital documents already available, that are easy to search for, organised, well linked, easy to verify and nearly all of them time stamped to help chase the narrative. Contemporary responses to these type of events have developed to an almost pre-destined narrative. As the story breaks the focus is on information, the how, when, why and who. This is often where social media leads, in particular Twitter becomes a vital source of information, which is often later clarified on news websites. The story will then expand in various ways through united support for the victims and disgust for the attackers, in this case "Je Suis Charlie" in reference to the massacred journalists and cartoonists. While those who can will publically mourn the slain victims, the internet often comes up with a creative response, in this case poignant cartoons appeared in direct response to the attacks on not only Twitter, but blogs and news websites. It is now almost the expectation for a contentious response to appear, indeed within twenty-four hours Choudary (2015) had written a piece online supporting the attacks. Even before the dust has settled the internet not only becomes the main reporter of the story, but the focus. The reaction and the response online are now so rapid, that they are part of the story. At these times the content of digital documents, despite being a secondary source, in most cases, can be just as valid as the primary sources. Societal reactions to these events and indeed almost everything that happens of any significance can researched and monitored (Allen-Robertson, 2013).

The evolution of the document from its exclusively physical form to the contemporary digital document, which encompasses a virtually endless set of cross referenced formats, gives the modern sociological researcher a distinct advantage over their predecessor in terms of time and effort. However the sheer openness of the internet, allows a vast range of people the ability to share innumerate offerings in the form of digital documents. The factors involved in this openness provides new constantly evolving hurdles their predecessors would never have encountered. Within the context of internet research when a grey area is found or a legal barrier is placed making certain documents out of reach or difficult to legitimise, it can seem frustrating. While the unknown may make the research seem incomplete, perhaps some information was never destined to be shared or be included as part of the greater narrative. Accepting this and certain other factors must come when performing ethnological research online. Equally particular abilities would be advisable to efficiently make best use of the vast wealth of digital documents. An understanding of the search engine is vital, questioning validity and purpose in the resulting documents and where to best qualify the information supplied is also vital. Knowing where to, is a process of searching and understanding the subject. Understanding the constant evolvement of digital documents whether it is reductive or gainful is also useful, as well as knowing when to look for what, particularly with rapidly moving events and understanding that digital documents can now make the story. The internet and the digital documents contained within can be a treacherous place to obtain valid and reliable research. However with consistent research, flexibility, a good working knowledge of the internet and a cautious approach, it can offer a myriad of usable information that would have been envy of previous researchers.

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Is concern over street violence a 'moral panic'? Discuss in relation to current debates and use examples to illustrate your answer.

Cleo Ferguson

There are many forms in which a crime can be committed, yet it is apparent that crimes are reacted to in many different ways. One key reason for the difference in reactions includes a very influential institution – the media. The media have the power to influence people in different ways, due to their choice of coverage; this therefore means they have the power to create moral panics. The concept of moral panics is a subject, which over the years, many theorists have researched including influential theorists such as Cohen (2002) and Hall et al (1982). However, recently, a new concern that has aroused is the concern over street violence. In this essay, I will begin by clarifying and defining the terms "moral panic" and "street violence". Secondly, I will outline Cohen's moral panic theory, before answering the questions of whether street violence is a moral panic using multiple different theories and examples.

In order to analyse whether the concern over street violence is a moral panic, we must first understand the two key terms. The term "street violence" is a very specific form, which comes under the category of violence, therefore; firstly, we must understand the meaning of the term "violence". However, there is not one clear definition for this term due to there being many different factors that must be considered. For example, according to the legal system, violence is defined by the outcome of the situation. In simpler terms, the term violence refers to 'any form of activity that causes any form of harm to himself or herself or any one else' (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013:485). Therefore, street violence refers to activities that cause harm, committed specifically on the streets. These crimes can include drug use, gang violence, muggings and vandalism and are usually associated with youths, and this has recently become a concern due to the rising number of crimes, which have been committed on the streets.

The term 'moral panic' was created by the theorist Cohen when he investigated the Mods and Rockers in the 1970's. According to Cohen, in his book 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics' (2002), the term refers to 'a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests' (Cohen, 2002:1).
Cohen's research on moral panics stemmed from his research in 1960's, the Mods and Rockers were a group of youths, influenced by a particular type of music and culture which, at the time, was frowned upon. During his research on the Mods and Rockers, Cohen researched how the media are able to create biased opinions about youths by labelling them as "folk devils", seen as the deviant group, as well as creating moral panics through the use of labelling.

Cohen also states that labelling something, as a "moral panic" does not mean that the situation does not exist, however, it means the situation has been exaggerated in comparison to other reliable sources. For example, the media's view is exaggerated in comparison to an eyewitness view. However, there are many definitions for this term, including the definition that states that a moral panic refers to a certain situation or group

of people that is seen as a threat to society and therefore creates a societal reaction (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013).

On the other hand, some theorists such as Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) believe that moral panics need more than just a definition to be explained, therefore, they argue that for the term to be understood completely, one must recognise the five characteristics associated with the term. These characteristics include concern, hostility, volatility, consensus and disproportionality (cited in Critcher, 2006:2).

Firstly, "concern", refers to us considering whether there is a concern about the effect the situation or group will have on society. We must therefore assess the affect that the violence will have on society. Secondly, "hostility", meaning there will be a clear hostile separation as there is a creation of "folk devils". In this case of street violence, the expected folk devils will be youths as they are most commonly associated with street violence. The third characteristic is "volatility" which means that the concern over the situation can easily disappear, as it is replaced with a new one, which is present in the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry. The next characteristic of a moral panic is "consensus"; this requires an agreement that the "folk devils" are an actual harm to society. The last characteristic is "disproportionality" which refers to the action taken being disproportionate in comparison to the actions of the "folk devils" (Ungar, 2001).

According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010), before labelling something as a "moral panic", we must ask whether any of the following characteristics are present. Therefore, according to Goode and Ben-Yehuda, (2010), assessing these characteristics of a moral panic in relation to street violence will clarify whether the concern over street violence is an actual moral panic. Firstly, referring to the first two characteristics, it is clear that there is a concern about the issue of street violence due to the media paying constant attention to the issue, which in turn creates more of a concern, which is not necessarily needed. Additionally, there is also a sense of hostility present towards the "folk devils" and also, a sense of hostility from the "folk devils" as this is evident in the work of Stuart Hall (Hall et al, 1982). Also, it can be argued that there is a consensus over the issue as there is a clear agreement that street violence is an issue, however, this is due to the media and their role of reporting the information which people make judgements from. On the other hand, applying the other two characteristics, volatility and disproportionality, creates more problems, as they are not as easily applicable to the situation of street violence. Therefore, according to Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2010) characteristics of a moral panic, street violence would be considered as a moral panic as the majority of their listed characteristics are applicable to the issue.

As stated previously, the media have the power to create moral panics. This is simply because the media have the ability to exaggerate certain situations which then create public reaction and therefore create a societal panic. These situations are usually short-lived situations, which are focused on (Carrabine et al, 2014). For example, drug use or a violent crime. However, in this situation, the topic that has been given focus is "street violence".

In order for a moral panic to occur, there must firstly be an act of deviance that gains attention. However, the majority of the time, the act of deviance that gains sudden attention has in fact been discretely present for some time, as if it were a volcano that has always been there, yet has suddenly erupted (Sindall, 1990). Therefore, we must then ask what made this volcano erupt at this particular time.

According to Cohen (1972), the occurrence of moral panics can be explained by his flow model, which consists of steps that have the ability to lead to a moral panic. Cohen's flow model claims that there are five steps. Firstly, Cohen believes that a particular act of deviance at a particular time can cause the media to assert their attention to an issue that had already previously existed (in Hopkins Burke R, 2005). For example, in this case of street violence, which has existed for some time, an incident may take place which gains the media's attention, this issue could include vandalism, drug use and so on.

The second step, inventory consists of two main factors – exaggeration and distortion. For example, instead of claiming "a mugging has taken place", the media will claim "various muggings have taken place", which means the issue is made to seem bigger than it genuinely is, through the use of exaggeration. However, the biggest component of Cohen's flow model, inventory involves the audience as the audience creates their own image of what is happening. However, this image is created with the discrete help of the media as the media have the ability to portray their information as first hand experience, therefore, this convinces the audience that the information they have gained from the media is information they have seen or heard from their own sources (Sindall, 1990).

Susan Smith 1984 who did an investigation and concluded that the media is a very influential source of information supports this view. She concluded that 52% of her participants gain their information about crime from the media, 36% from other sources, for example, friends, additionally, 3% gain information from first hand experience and a remaining 1% from the police. (cited in Jones, 2013). Therefore, this concludes that the media is the most influential source of information and therefore has the ability to effect and alter an audiences view and therefore create a moral panic.

The third step of Cohen's flow model is "sensitization". This refers to people becoming more aware of deviance that is happening around them due to the previous deviance that has been committed. For example, people becoming more cautious of youths when on the street due to a previous recent report of street violence committed by youths. According to Cohen (1972), the final steps rely on the occurrence of the first three steps as they create an increased and somewhat exaggerated awareness of deviance, which therefore leads to an increase of control produced by the government (in Sindall, 1990). For example an increase of police officers present on the streets, as well as an increase of CCTV cameras. However, it is believed that there is a reason in which there has been an increase in the concern over this type of violence; one explanation involves the labelling theory. As stated continuously, the media have a large influence on the rest of society; this therefore means they have the ability to influence people's beliefs about what should be seen as deviant and criminal.

According to Lemert (1967), there are two types of deviance, primary deviance and secondary deviance. Firstly, primary deviance refers to the initial deviance whereby there is little to none reaction to the deviance. However, secondary deviance occurs when the person involves himself or herself in violence repeatedly, which therefore causes attention, and explains how a moral panic can be created. (cited in Carrabine et al, 2014).

Similarly, another aspect of the labelling theory that can lead to a moral panic is deviancy amplification. This refers to where institutions aim not to control deviance, however, this results in the opposite, whereby they increase the occurrence of the deviance (Carrabine et

al, 2014) In relation to the media, this means that the attention from the media increases and therefore reinforces isolation of the "folk devils" and therefore increases the deviance. Additionally, Cohen also uses the labelling theory in his research as he states that the suspected deviant group is labelled as "folk devils", as a false and often offensive view of them is created. For example, in the case of street violence, a group of youths are accused of committing multiple muggings; they are therefore the "folk devils", causing society to create a negative view on all youths, viewing them as dangerous and harmful, leaving the possibility of the creation of a moral panic. However, of course, for there to be a villain, who in this case is the folk devils, there must also be a hero. Moral entrepreneurs, the media and newspapers, for example, create the image of a hero (Sindall, 1990:35) In the case of street violence, the folk heroes would be police officers who attack and fight against the folk devils – the youths in order to protect society and reinforce social order.

Stuart Hall (1978) who researched a particular form of street violence – muggings in the 1970's, has supported this particular link between the labelling theory and moral panics. In Hall's book *Policing the Crisis*, Hall states that he believes that 'mugging' is in fact a moral panic. According to Hall, when analysing the labelling process in this case, the concept of 'the career of the label' must be considered. In this case, the career of the label refers to the activity of mugging (cited in Procter, 2004:78).

Although Hall claimed a specific form of street violence is a moral panic, we must realise that Hall's work was during the late 1900's, therefore, his theory can be criticised as being out-dated. When assessing statistics, therefore, in order to make a valid decision of whether street violence is still a moral panic today, we must look at statistics and modern examples. Statistics show that during 1968 and 1972, there was an increase in muggings of 127% (Hall et al, 1982)*.* However, recent statistics, based on street crimes such as vandalism, muggings and bicycle theft show a general decrease over the years 2006-2011. This reflects a gradual change in the amount of street violence that takes place, which implies that the concern over street violence is no longer necessary (Sedghi A and Chalabi M, 2013).

A modern example of street violence is the Stephen Lawrence case where an 18-year-old male was racially abused and then stabbed on the streets of South London where he later died in 1993. At first, this was seen as a moral panic due to the threat to various societal values and interests, for example; racism and more importantly, murder. However, the attention shifted from the real issue – the murder of Stephen Lawrence to the role of the police and how they dealt with the case (Cohen, 2002). This therefore links back to Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (2010) characteristics of a moral panic as volatility can be applied as the main concern of the situation- a murder of an innocent being was replaced.

Additionally, another modern example of a moral panic is the concern over youths in hoodies. Of course, a hoodie is just an item of clothing, however, recently there has been an increase of paranoia and concern over youths who wear hoodies, as they are often associated with negativity and dangerous behaviour. Previously, this garment was just a normal item – hooded sweatshirt, until 2005 when there was the creation of the term 'hoodie culture' which is often associated negatively with youths and youth culture (Marsh and Melville, 2014:64). The idea of a "hoodie culture" was widely spread. However, this "hoodie culture" became a large issue after Bluewater Shopping Centre in Kent banned shoppers who chose to wear a hoodie, however, the irony concerned the fact that this item of clothing was still being sold there (Marsh and Melville, 2014). The media then gained great interest in this issue and began to create meanings, which they then associated with a

hoodie. According to McLean (2005), seeing a youth in a hoodie creates fear (cited in Marsh and Melville, 2014:65). This therefore links back to the idea of the labelling theory and stereotypes as the image of a youth in a common item of clothing, is therefore associated with criminality, fear and violence. This therefore leads to the youths being labelled as "dangerous" and being associated with a negative view of a youth subculture, simply because the idea of a hoody is often associated with gangs and violence. This idea is evident when assessing the media and their reports on youths as various reports over the last ten years which have been based on youth crime have reiterated the idea that youths have been dressed in hoodies, therefore reinforcing the idea of a 'hoodie culture', explaining why there has been a moral panic over hoodies.

To conclude, when assessing whether the concern over street violence is a moral panic, there are various arguments for and against. According to Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2010), there are five characteristics that should be assessed before classifying an issue as a moral panic. When assessing these five characteristics, a conclusion could be made that the concern over street violence is in fact a moral panic as the majority of the five characteristics could be applied. This view is also supported by individual cases such as the Stephen Lawrence Enquiry, which caused a moral panic during 1993, and is still relevant today, and also by Stuart Hall (1972) who previously claimed that the concern over a particular form of street violence, "muggings" was in fact a moral panic. On the other hand, when looking at statistics, there has been a gradual decrease in the amount of street violence that takes place, therefore implying that the concern over street violence is unnecessary (cited in Procter, 2004: 78).

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Economic cross-border migration is the most common type of international population flows. Compare the main push and pull forces and destinations of economically motivated travels of both low-skilled and high-skilled migrants.

Razvan Grosu

Immigration is a very sensitive topic in current times, both because of the social stigma it carries, but also because it has increased in scale in almost every Western country in the world. Massey et al (1993:431) state that over the past 30 years 'immigration has emerged as a major force throughout the world'. They also argue the fact that while it only increased in size in the United States or Canada, Western Europe has had a major change in the fact that after 1945, from a continent that sent out immigrants it began to draw immigrants from all over the world for political reasons, studies, but most predominantly for working reasons and better living standards.

Migration has faced a change however in recent years, and according to Castles and Miller (2009) there are different characteristics that affect migration in modern times. Some of these are: the globalization of the phenomena, which means more countries are part of the international migration stage, politicization of migration, which include control of migration and policies that regulate migration and even more importantly the differentiation of migration that includes many types of migrants from refugees to permanent settlers.

The aim of this essay is to highlight the importance of economic migration around the world, mainly by contrasting the high skilled workforce and its status to the low skilled workforce. It will also focus on migration trends all around the world and how it affects both the migrants and the countries that are the main attractors of migrants.

'Political and economic motives are the two main driving forces behind international migration' (Bauer & Zimmerman, 1994:95). This highlights the fact that population movement is aimed at places which have more to offer, especially if this means achieving a higher income based on skill compared to the place of origin. The difference between wages and working conditions between countries are also important, as migrants look to maximize their income (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1993:432).

The flows of migration, both economic or for any other reason seem to be from less develop countries in the south-east to the developed countries in the north-west. As such, Europe counts a bit over 72 million migrants, which are about 8.7% of its entire population. The same goes for North America, the United States counting 42.8 million migrants, while Canada hosts 7.2 million international migrants. It is also worth noting that migration is more widely distributed among the countries, the top 10 countries holding a smaller share of total migrants now than in 2000. (International Organization for Migration, Statistical Office, 2013). These numbers show that the levels of migration have increased, but despite this, more countries have become destinations for migrants than before, thus making the phenomena more global than it was before.

There is, however, a big difference between high-skilled migrants and low skilled migrants in many aspects including wage, work conditions, but also in state policy. On one hand, it is important however to define what is a high-skilled migrant. A high skill migrant has, according to Ferrie, (2011:1) 'many years of formal schooling, high technical training, strong decision-making talents, and they are often highly entreprenurial'. Massey et al (1993:433) also state that the high-skilled move from capital rich countries to capital poor countries to use their skills at their full potential and reap as many rewards as they can. This stresses the value of the migrants with higher education, as they can be better integrated within the new society. High skilled immigrants are also more likely to be accepted in countries with point- based immigration systems:

> Point systems such as those of Australia, Canada, Great Britain and New Zealand assign prospective immigrants with credits if they have specified attributes, most often based on educational attainment, extent of work experience, language proficiency and desirable age range (Wassem, 2010).

This highlights the fact that certain developed countries use policies to select what type of immigrants are more likely to come to their countries, and what fields they should occupy. It also stresses that low skilled immigrants are not offered the same opportunities when it comes to find workplaces in these countries, them being discouraged to arrive there in the first place. This is one major difference between low-skilled immigrants and high-skilled immigrants, the latter having more opportunities, while the former is subjected to limitations when it comes to immigration policies within countries with more established economies. Thus, we can assume that the main factors which determine highly skilled people to emigrate are desire of income proportionate with their education, better working conditions and safety practices and better return in capital for the skills they possess from their experience.

On the other hand, we have low-skilled migrants, who typically contrast with high-skill migrants in their lack of certain skills needed to attain higher positions within their destination. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) in the United Kingdom define low skill levels as 'Competence associated with a general education, usually acquired by the time compulsory education is completed (aged 16). Jobs at this skill level may require short periods of on-the-job-training and knowledge of health and safety regulations' (Migration Advisory Committee, 2014). Thus it can be considered that migrants who lack qualifications tend to enter jobs that entail low requirements and are, as a result, paid less, have worse conditions at the workplace and work under harsher circumstances.

There exists however a certain degree of bias against the low-skilled immigrants, even when they emigrate to join family members who are employed in positions of higher prestige:

> Whenever the political process is biased [...] immigration will be prohibited. The skill requirement will be set as high as possible and if the high skilled immigrants insist on bringing so many family members [...] no immigration will be allowed'. (Kemnitz, 2006:72)

From this we can gather that for low skilled migrants there are not always income issues that push them to move to a different countries, but also motives such as reunification of family or marriage that may be an important factor in their decision.

Moreover, Piore (1979) suggests in his dual labor market theory that immigration both high skilled and low skilled is not determined mostly by the push factors from the original country such as high unemployment rate, low wages or bad working conditions, but immigration is triggered more by the pull factors in the receiving countries, which need foreign workforce to maintain their economies. This highlights the similarities between high-skilled and low-skilled workforce, both of them being needed in various fields of profession within capital-rich countries, which have less native workforce available to them, and are such dependent on immigrants.

In conclusion, immigration is a very global phenomenon in these times, because a high number of countries are involved in the process, both in sending and receiving immigrants, and thus face the need to regulate and control the flow through social and political policies. Also, as it is expected, high-skilled workforce and low-skilled labor force have mostly the same reasons of emigrating, but while the high-skilled people focus on monetary payments on par with their skill, and better conditions in workplaces, less skilled employees may migrate for other reasons as well, among other being reunification of households, desire of betterment or the possibility of sending remittances back home, where the conditions are usually harsher. However, as highlighted in the last paragraph, both types of migrants are more attracted by the pull factors, such as better living conditions at the destination, greater opportunities of growth or the higher income received for the same job. Push factors such as unemployment, poor conditions or squalor seem to have a less effect on people. While economic migration remains one of the most discussed topics of our current times, it is important to view the reasons behind the moves than to try and regulate migration itself, because different people migrate for different reasons, making migration something very hard to predict and regulate.

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'Police authority rests on their holding a legitimate monopoly of violence'. Discuss.

Rebecca Howard

The statement that 'police authority rests on their holding a legitimate monopoly of violence' can be highly criticised as in modern democracies, one could argue that police rely upon consensus, legal authority and legitimacy to carry out their work in a law abiding way (Carrabine et al, 2014). The UK Human Rights and Democracy Report 2013 states that 'any use of force by police is the minimum necessary, applied lawfully and can be accounted for' (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, in Murdoch and Roche, 2013:43). Thus, one could argue that in modern day society, the police act as peacekeepers in order to maintain control and violence is only resorted to when necessary. However, it is evident that throughout history violence has been used by the police as a main means of control. For example, violence was used as a deterrent in the Nazi authoritarian state as excessive force was used by the police rather than consent and legitimacy (Carrabine et al, 2014). In modern day Britain, there have also been cases that question the legitimacy of the police, such as the scandal involving Stephen McCarthy in 1970 and reported excessive force at public protests (Newburn and Hayman, 2002). Furthermore, one could argue that the extent of violence used by the police depends on their location in the world. For example, in America, the police have access to guns, and therefore may be expected to carry out higher levels of violence in their everyday work then for example, the police in the United Kingdom. Thus, the extent as to which violence is used by the police as a means of control depends on a variety of factors such as era and location in the world.

When looking throughout history, it is evident that violence was manipulated in order to reserve police authority. An extreme example of violence used by the police in order to maintain control is that of Nazi Germany. Hitler came into power in 1933 and created a terror state in which violence was used to sustain social order. The Gestapo was established in Prussia in 1933 by Hermann Goering, and became Hitler's secret police (Eley, 2013). They used methods of torture in order to obtain confessions from possible enemies of the Third Reich (Eley, 2013). Therefore, the existence of the gestapo provides evidence that in history, violence has been used by the police in order to maintain control of society. However, British history of policing is much less ruthless, as evidence suggests that as early from 1800's attempts were made to reform the police force into a more refined system of authority in which peace and order was promoted (Wright, 2002). For example, after The 1780 Gordon Riots in London exposed the government's weakness in being unable to cope with large-scale public disorder. This resulted in many requests of the introduction of a formal police force to prevent further disturbances happening again (Grieve et al, 2007). Sir Robert Peel became home secretary in 1820 and his main objective was to reform the criminal justice system, which led to the establishment of the Metropolitan Police Service in 1829 (Carrabine et al, 2014). The police were now provided with stricter guidelines on their role in society, for example, they were to be highly visible at all times which was introduced as a measure to prevent crime. More importantly however, they were instructed to only use minimum force when necessary (Carrabine et al, 2014). This suggests that even in the 18th century, the police were not expected to use violence as way to gain authority.

However, a study conducted by Bittner in 1970 provided evidence that suggested that the police having the power to use force means that the police regularly impose force to efficiently undertake their tasks (cited in Carrabine et al, 2014). For example, while the police are on patrol they have a large autonomy to do this, thus this autonomy allows them to adapt to a variety of tasks they are expected to perform in day-to-day police work (Carrabine et al, 2014). However, this can result in police malpractice. Thus, Bittner (1970) proposed a paradox in police work which suggests that although police are expected to follow professional codes in a legitimate manner, and abide by legal rules and bureaucracy, once on the street these police codes are too inflexible to adapt to the wide variety of tasks that police are faced with (cited in Carrabine et al, 2014). Therefore, officers rely on the informal rules of their occupational culture (Carrabine et al, 2014). Thus, the police may be expected to use minimum force yet some cases may require higher levels of violence in which the police can assert their authority.

Certain countries in Europe throughout history maintained a military nature of regular policing, such as France (Wright, 2002). The Marechausee were a military police force which originated from royal bodyguards at the time of the Crusades. They were responsible for patrolling provincial France and were notorious for using violence to promote order (Wright, 2002). The police of Paris who had been in existence long before the Revolution also had military elements (Wright, 2002). Thus, it is evident that the location of police officers was an important factor in determining the extent as to which violence was used a way to gain legitimate authority.

However, it is evident that several cases throughout history highlight excessive police violence in the UK, as there have been many controversial events that question the legitimacy of the police. Furthermore, the distrust of police and their authority has played a key part in triggering certain events such as the 1981 England riots (Scarman, 1981). A high profile case that exposed police violence towards suspects in custody was the case of Stephen McCarthy in November 1970 (Newburn and Hayman, 2002). After allegedly being assaulted by police upon arrest, McCarthy's physical condition deteriorated in the seven weeks he spent in custody. After being admitted into hospital, McCarthy went into a coma and died (Newburn and Hayman, 2002). The inquest stated that McCarthy had died due to natural causes, yet his family and friends were convinced there had been a serious miscarriage of justice in terms of insufficient care. This caused a large public uproar and public protests (Newburn and Hayman, 2002).

A further case that highlights the violence of the police in an attempt to maintain authority was the case of Blair Peach in 1971. Peach attended an Anti-Nazi League demonstration against a meeting of the National Front in West London, which soon became violent (Newburn and Hayman, 2002). Peach was trapped in a police charge by the special patrol group, and consequently sustained major head injuries which led to his death (Newburn and Hayman, 2002). Thus, this case provides evidence of tense police community relations and the extent of which police have used violence to try and maintain authority. Furthermore, this case alike to the McCarthy case highlights the problems of obtaining any form of official condemnation of police action, as in both cases the police went unpunished for their actions (Newburn and Hayman, 2002). This questions the extent to which violence can be deemed as acceptable within the police force, before public uproar is able to override the authority of the police.

Public protests in the 19th century also reflect violent police authority, as police power clashed with protests over factors such as workers' rights and pay and poverty (Carrabine

et al, 2014). Furthermore, in the 20th century and early 21st century, police have also been involved in several violent confrontations with social movements and trade unions over matters such as jobs and workers' rights and the export of live animals (Carrabine et al, 2014). In the past, police used violent techniques such as plastic bullet and baton charges to break up the crowds in order to restore order, however in the 21st century a technique called "kettling" has been developed. This involves protesters being surrounded in a wall of police officers which renders them unable to move (Carrabine et al, 2014). Arguably, this technique is less aggressive than using batons to disperse crowds yet the practice of "kittling" has been criticised by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (2009; cited in Carrabine et al, 2014) as undermining public trust in the police. This ultimately led to the overhaul of British protest policing. Thus, it is evident that the use of excessive violent techniques by the police fundamentally undermines their authority as it leads to distrust from the general public.

However, an argument that directly contrasts with the viewpoint that police use violence to maintain authority is that in reality, the police are peacemakers as their main roles in day-to-day tasks usually involve working in a peacekeeping role (Grieve et al, 2007). There is a widespread "cop culture" which is based upon the illusion that police work is 'primarily concerned with the action-orientated pursuit of offenders' (Paterson and Pollock, 2011:59). However, Waddington (1999; cited in Paterson and Pollock, 2011) views the image of "cop culture" as a way in which officers are able to live out their expectations of policing. This is due to the fact that crime fighting and action-orientated police work are not a realistic reflection of mundane police work. This is because everyday policing is often 'boring, messy, petty, trivial and venal' (Reiner, 2010:120). An officer's daily routine involves dealing with issues such as reporting crime traffic incidents and dealing with public disorder such as antisocial behaviour. Police officers are also encouraged to work in community based activities to aid the local community (Wright, 2002). However, much of a police officer's work is patrol work which is used as a method to maintain peace and order in the local community. In a study carried out by Bayley (1996; cited in Wright, 2002), which collected data from a number of countries, findings suggested that 69% of police service amounts to patrol work, with crime prevention only accounting to 3% of a police officer's service. Furthermore, one study also suggested that a police officer on patrol in London was likely to pass within 100 yards of a burglary taking place only once every eight years, and even then would not be aware that the offence was happening and thus would be even less likely to catch the offender (Carrabine et al, 2014). Thus, one could argue that British policing relies on peacekeeping techniques in maintaining order and violence is rarely used to create authority in day-to-day mundane police tasks.

The peacekeeping role of the police can be 'characterized by the police resolving problems through the use of discretion and negotiation' (Grieve et al, 2007:21). Local commanders are expected to provide a dedicated team of police officers and community support officers for specific areas. (Grieve et al, 2007). When police officers are faced with problems such as minor antisocial behaviour the situation is usually managed informally and legal proceedings or official action are not usually initiated as violence is rarely resorted to (Grieve et al, 2007). Research has suggested that new police recruits want to put something back into the community, have strong public service values, and do not have distinct, police centered or authoritarian personalities (Paterson and Pollock, 2011). Police aim to develop a positive relationship with their local community by engaging closely with the communities they police. For example, by developing a positive relationship with local residents this enables them to feel safer and secure in the community, and working together the police can also help volunteers establish a programmes such as the

Neighbourhood Watch (Grieve et al, 2007). Furthermore, police may undertake roles such as creating meetings in the local community centre which enables them to talk to residents about problems in their area and ways to target crime prevention (Grieve et al, 2007). Thus, one could argue policing is more proactive than reactive, and authority is gained by receiving trust and respect from those in the local community.

Fielding (1996; cited in Wright, 2002) created three models which characterize policing; the enforcement, service and community models. The enforcement model centres on the enforcement of the law and dealing with ways of controlling crime, whilst the service model suggests policing priorities foremost involve dealing with crime control, service delivery in consultation with the public and order maintenance (Wright 2002). Lastly, the community model focuses on the priority of maintaining public tranquility over crime control (Wright, 2002). Thus, one could argue the community model proposed by Fielding (1996, cited in Wright, 2002) provides evidence that the main role of the police is to be peacekeepers in the local community, which contradicts the statement that 'police authority rests on their holding a legitimate monopoly of violence'.

Lastly, one could argue that the location of police officers in the world is a large factor in determining the extent of violence they will use in order to assert authority. This is because different countries have different cultures and social norms, thus the level of violence used by the police may be higher in some countries then others. For example, British police officers are expected to use the minimum force necessary, whereas police in America are armed with guns whilst on patrol, which suggests that they are able to resort to a higher level of violence if necessary. For example, Michael Brown, an unarmed teenager, was shot and killed by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri (Sullivan, 2015). This created a public outcry and increased feelings of mistrust in the police. Thus, one could argue a society, which uses minimal violence to assert authority, is more beneficial in creating a peaceful environment.

In conclusion, one could argue that the statement 'police authority rests on their holding a legitimate monopoly of violence' is only applicable to certain events in history that highlight the brutality of the police, for example authoritarian states such as Nazi Germany. The extent of force police use to exert authority also depends on their location in the world, as there are different cultural and social norms which dictate the amount of violence police officers can use. Furthermore, there have been several extreme cases which question the legitimacy of the police and their authority such as the case of Blair Peach in 1971, in which excessive police violence resulted in his death. Cases such as this highlight that 'despite the mundane nature of much policing, police officers still possess a monopoly over the use of force' (Paterson and Pollock, 2011:61). However, I believe that this statement cannot be generalised to modern day British policing, as the police are only expected to use minimum force when necessary, and act more as peacekeepers in their local community by working with the public in a positive way to assert their authority. Thus, police are most likely to resolve problems through the use of discretion and negotiation, rather than resulting to violence.

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Outline and discuss when qualitative research is most suitable for a research design. Refer to the main principles of qualitative research in your answer.

Daniel Jarman

Before carrying out a piece of sociological research there are a number of considerations to be made, ranging from the financial cost of the research to the way in which access to the chosen research setting will be gained. One of the key elements to be decided upon when designing a piece of research is the methodological perspective from which it is to be approached, whether that be qualitative or quantitative. This essay will aim to outline and discuss when qualitative research is most suitable for a research design.

Within sociological research, the qualitative approach refers, in short, to the use of methods which are concerned more with the use of words than of numerical data. What this means is that the qualitative approach to sociological research seeks to gain an in-depth interpretation of social phenomena, using methods which allow such phenomena to be seen from the perspective of the social actor, allowing for very detailed information to be gathered (Bryman, 2012). The methods used within qualitative research are those which allow for detailed information to be collected in a relatively close setting. Qualitative methods, such as depth interviews, participant observations and case studies tend to be "open-ended", meaning that they give the researcher the opportunity to fully understand participants' interpretations of the social world through their own expression. Such methods are often used in combination with one another in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of a particular social phenomenon (Sumner, 2006). Qualitative data is generally considered to be very rich in detail, to have a great level of depth and to provide a relatively accurate portrayal of people's experiences, attitudes and beliefs (Haralambos and Holborn, 1990). Qualitative methods tend to take an inductive approach to the formulation of theory, meaning that the collection of data through research precedes the generation of theories, which are derived from the evidence uncovered by qualitative research (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, data derived from qualitative research tends to be ideographic in nature, meaning that it focuses on studying the unique elements of individual phenomena in great detail (Scott, 2014).

Before it is possible to establish when the qualitative approach is most suitable for a research design, it is first necessary to establish how it differs from the other main methodological approach to sociological research: the quantitative approach. Quantitative research, in contrast to its qualitative counterpart, refers to the use of research methods which focus on the collection and analysis of numerical data (Scott, 2014). Furthermore, quantitative research methods tend to adopt a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, rather than the inductive approach adopted by qualitative research. To say that quantitative research adopts the inductive approach is to say that, rather than using research to form theories, it uses research to test theories. What is meant by this is that, similarly to the model used by the natural sciences, it works by deriving a hypothesis from a particular theory before attempting to systematically disprove it using research (Bryman, 2012). Another key feature of the quantitative method which distinguishes it from the qualitative method is the nomothetic nature of the conclusions at

which it seeks to arrive. In contrast to the aforementioned idiographic nature of the qualitative method, the nomothetic approach seeks to produce broadly applicable statements about society as a whole, allowing for "social facts" to be uncovered (Scott, 2014).

Furthermore, before making decisions regarding the circumstances under which the qualitative method is most suitable for a research design, it is important to first consider the main practical benefits of the qualitative method as compared to the quantitative method. One of the most significant benefits of the qualitative method is the fact that it allows for a researcher to gain a contextual understanding of the phenomena which they are studying. Rather than simply producing law-like statements about an entire population, qualitative research seeks to gain an understanding of a particular society by interpreting it from the perspective of those that are located within it. The benefit of this is that it allows for very personal accounts of the lives of those within society to be recorded, presenting them as individuals with their own thoughts, feelings and beliefs, rather than simply a homogenous group, unable to act outside of a clear set of "social facts". This contextual approach to research, which tends to facilitate the researcher's prolonged involvement in the research setting, leads to the collection of extremely rich data and to a far deeper understanding of social phenomena than is provided by the quantitative approach. The fact that the qualitative method leads to a deep, individualistic understanding of social phenomena allows for researchers to study the reasons behind the behaviour of social actors. In this sense, therefore, qualitative research has a significant advantage over quantitative research as it is able to go beyond simply stating facts about social behaviour and begin to study why such behaviour occurs (Bryman, 2012).

Having briefly outlined the nature of the qualitative method, it is possible to consider the circumstances under which the qualitative research method is most suited to a particular research design. Arguably the most fundamental feature of the qualitative approach is, as previously discussed, the fact that it allows the researcher to gain an in-depth, detailed understanding of what they are studying from the perspective of the participant, whilst situating them within the research setting. This makes the qualitative method particularly useful when exploring the more subtle elements of social life which would not necessarily be accessible using the quantitative method, allowing for detailed analyses of those social phenomena which are not seen as greatly significant to be carried out (Andersen and Taylor, 2013). For example, quantitative methods would be perfectly suitable for studying something like obesity rates, but qualitative methods would be necessary in order to gain a true understanding of why the members of the population being studied are overweight. This, in turn, presents us with another example of a situation in which the qualitative research method would be suitable for a research design. Qualitative research, with its ability to provide detailed information about the meanings and motivations for certain behaviours can be used to "fill in the gaps" within quantitative research. Whilst quantitative research can provide reliable, factually accurate data about individuals' behaviour, qualitative research can be used to provide explanations for such behaviours.

Furthermore, the fact that the qualitative researcher tends to be located within the social setting and interacting directly with individuals within a particular society allows them to establish a rapport with their participants, thus putting the participants far more at ease with the researcher. The consequence of this, especially in the case of interviews, is that participants are far more likely to express their true thoughts or feelings and are more likely to behave as they ordinarily would (Bryman, 2012). As a result, the qualitative method can be very well-suited to researching topics that some participants may be

apprehensive about openly discussing, such as crime and deviance. For example, Sudhir Venkatesh, author of *Gang Leader for a Day,* was able to establish a strong rapport with the participants in his well-known study of gang culture. This allowed him to gain an extremely detailed insight in to the lives of the people he was studying, as they spoke to him far more honestly about their lives and behaved far more naturally than they most likely would have if Venkatesh had not been so closely engaged with them (Venkatesh, 2008). In addition to this, the work of Sudhir Venkatesh demonstrates the fact that the in-depth, personal nature of the qualitative method allows researchers to study populations which would otherwise be impossible to study using quantitative methods. Quantitative methods, such as the use of official statistics, are good for researching social phenomena which are obvious and easily recordable, such as birth rates. However, when researching those phenomena which are not quite so well-documented, it is far more useful to employ methods which place a researcher within the research setting. During Venkatesh's research, he was able to gather information on the intricacies of the relations within gang culture as a result of being in close contact with members of a culture that did not exist within "mainstream" society (Venkatesh, 2008). Such a topic would have been extremely difficult to research using quantitative methods as, for example, the lives of gang members are not documented in official statistics unless they are caught, and it would be almost impossible to replicate gang crime in a laboratory setting.

The ideographic nature of qualitative research means that is not particularly suited to research which aims to produce general, broadly applicable, law-like statements about society as a whole. However, it can prove useful in providing an insight in to the lives of members of small-scale societies which are not necessarily representative of the general population, as law-like statements about such societies would be largely irrelevant to the majority of people and thus not necessary. For example, Margaret Mead's study of the lives of adolescent girls in Samoa focused on a relatively small population, which was in no way representative of the majority of societies across the world (Mead, 1928). Therefore, to attempt to study it using the scientific rigour of the quantitative method would have simply provided a set of general 'social facts' which, although potentially interesting, would have only been applicable to the very small society from which they were gathered. The qualitative approach which Mead adopted allowed her to generate an interesting, in-depth analysis of the lives of the members of this small-scale society, something which would not have been possible using the more general, impersonal methods of the quantitative approach.

The fact that the qualitative approach, in looking at the world in more relative terms, rejects the idea that there exists one single objective 'truth' about the world means that it tends to suit critical perspectives, such as feminism or Marxism. This is because such perspectives aim to challenge certain political assumptions which are seen as being embedded within social institutions or within the "scientific" research process itself (Sumner, 2006). To use, as a way of carrying out research, the very structures in which the political assumptions that one seeks to challenge are embedded makes little logical sense as a research design. The quantitative method, arguably, fails to pay attention to the way in which society is itself socially constructed, so in order to challenge the social constructs which oppress certain groups within society, it is necessary to use qualitative methods which are able to perceive these constructs (Garwood, 2006).

Another fundamental feature of qualitative research, as previously mentioned, is its inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, meaning that research is used to generate theories (Bryman, 2012). As a result of this, qualitative

research is very well-suited to studying topics about which the researcher has relatively little information. Such a situation is likely to arise when researching topics on which there is little prior research, such as in the case of relatively new social phenomena. In these cases, qualitative research can be carried out in order to get a basic understanding of a particular topic without being "tied-in" to testing a specific theory. This presents one way in which both the qualitative and quantitative methods can be used in conjunction with one another.

In conclusion, qualitative research can be seen as being capable of providing rich, detailed information about particular social phenomena from the perspective of the social actors being studied, as well as being able to form the theories which quantitative research aims to test. This allows for contextual understanding to be gathered and for ideographic conclusions to be drawn. These qualities make qualitative research particularly suited to researching small communities, and cultures which do not fit in to "mainstream" society, as well as for researching topics about which little prior knowledge exists. However, as has been briefly outlined, neither quantitative nor qualitative research methods are without their flaws, and most pieces of research could arguably benefit from the combination of both methodological approaches in at least some capacity.

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Outline the nature and extent of gender differences in the international division of labour

Eloise Keys

The international division of labour is a concept derived from sociological theory to explain the shift in the manufacturing industry from developed countries with a mature capitalist structure, such as the UK and USA, to developing countries. Examples of developing countries are those that are situated in 'the south', the majority of countries situated in the continents of Africa, Asia and some South American countries. These 'world market factories' (Elson & Pearson, 1981: 83) involve employing cheap, intensive labour workers, creating high productivity of the products being manufactured. Many of these labour workers are women working for low wages. In this essay, I am going to discuss how gender differences within the international division of labour are prevalent in the manufacturing industries within developing countries, based on the capitalist regime. I am also going to include examples that demonstrate gender differences existing within the international division of labour.

Capitalism is a system within society in which the bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat within industry to gain capital. The bourgeoisie privately own the means of production; these are the raw materials used in the labour production and industry. Multinational corporations, which are the bourgeoisie, have shifted their manufacturing industries from developed countries to developing countries. The reason for this shift is due to the developing countries having 'abundant supplies of cheap labour' (Lim, 1983: 72). Competition occurring in recent years against developed countries from Newly Industrialised Countries such as China, means the developed countries relies on a cheap labour force with high productivity, to continue gaining the majority of capital through their industries. This gives reason for the shift in manufacturing industry from the developed countries to developing countries.

Women internationally are seen as the domesticated beings in society who remain at home to bear children and are seen as inferior to men, who are the breadwinners within the household. Within the labour market, patriarchy still dominates, 'ensuring that women gain a secondary and inferior position in the wage-labour market' (Lim, 1983: 79), which increases gender differences within the industry. The idea of women having a secondary status within the labour market is interlinked with them receiving low wages. They deserve low wages because they need time out of work for child bearing (Elson & Pearson, 1981). Although women need time out of work for childbearing, women are considered to have naturally 'nimble fingers' (Elson & Pearson, 1981: 93), these associated with quick and light movement of the hands stemming from training in domestic activities seen as socially approved for the woman's role through female kin. Nimble fingers are therefore associated with high productivity as more products within the manufacturing industry can be created within a shorter amount of time.

The two factors I have just discussed, women receiving low wages and having nimble fingers, leads me to a conclusion. The conclusion is that multinational manufacturing industries that are situated in developing countries employ women as the majority of their employees because they generate a high amount of products for a low amount of money in

return. Just as Elson & Pearson note, 'the net result is that unit costs of production are lower with female labour' (1981: 92). The multinational companies that derive from developed countries are exploiting women workers within the labour market in developing countries for capital gain through the means of production. Due to competition for capital gain, multinational industries 'constitute their division on labour on the basis of profitability, not ideology' (Elson & Pearson, 1981: 92). As women are most profitable to employ in comparison to men in the world labour market, multinational companies will seek to employ and exploit them, instead of seeking to exploit men. According to Elson & Pearson 'if it was more profitable to employ men in the world market factories to do jobs done by women in the developed world, then this is what the capitalist firms would do" (1981: 92). For capitalist society, the main achievement is to gain as much capital as possible, and this is done through the means of production. These arguments suggest gender differences do occur in the international division of labour as women are exploited for cheap labour in comparison to men, including the fact that patriarchal ideologies also apply in the world labour market.

Research conducted by Ben Selwyn focused on grape production in Brazil, which exports grapes to supermarkets in the UK. There is a higher demand for quality grapes in the UK, as 'over the last two decades, northern retailer and market requirements for fruit quality have increased significantly' (Selwyn, 2010: 57). This suggests more labour is needed to meet the demands for exporting grapes to developed countries. Ben Selwyn talks about Collins, 2002 suggesting reasons why agriculture industries employ women to reduce labour costs. One reason is because of managers in the agriculture industry noting the nimbleness of women's fingers and their 'manual dexterity' as a code rather than a skill (Selwyn, 2010: 60), which I have previously exhibited in my essay as a motive for multinational manufacturing industries employing women. Women's manual dexterity being coded proposes women produce high productivity in grape production within the agriculture industry for developed countries. It is also important to note, as Collins, 2002 in Selwyn, 2010:60 suggests, manual dexterity being coded rather than a skill is an advantage for the industry to make profit. It would not be required for the industry to pay the women a higher wage for an attribute they naturally have and were not trained for, therefore women in the agricultural industry in developing countries still receive a low wage.

Research by Catherine S. Dolan concentrated on Kenya's exports of vegetables to the UK, also known as the horticulture industry. In supermarkets today vegetables are already prepared to eat in the country they are grown in, creating an increasing labour market (Dolan, 2004: 104). The horticulture industry based in Kenya also has competition from other countries. Dolan, 2004 notes that there is sex segregation based in the horticulture industry in Kenya and female workers are a preference. She also suggests that this is linked to 'consistency and speed with feminine traits of dexterity and conscientiousness' (Dolan, 2004: 107). It is also noted in Dolan's research that Women's wages are lower than those of men's as their work is seen as un-skilled (2004: 118). Dolan's findings from her research relates to my previous points on female employment and high productivity within industries. I have shown in this essay that women employees are prevalent in multinational manufacturing industries, agricultural and horticultural industries that all partake in high productivity rates and receive low wages. This suggests that the extent of gender differences within the international division of labour is high due to the capitalist regime existing in the world labour market to gain capital from this system.

However, there is reason to suggest that the extent of world labour market conditions and gender differences within it are not all negative. 'Women are not worse off by working in

multinational industries comparing to if they were unemployed (Lim, 1983: 82). However the poor working conditions women in the world labour market have to face can dispute this argument. One example is the case of the Rana Plaza building in Bangladesh, a garment factory for brands such as Primark and of which the majority of labour workers were women, collapsed killing more than 1,300 people (BBC News, 2014). The building was reported to have cracks in the building beforehand, meaning the collapse could have been avoided (The Independent, 2014). This disaster is another example of how the capitalist regime exploits workers in developing for capital gain, and as the majority of garment workers are women due to 'nimble fingers' increasing productivity, the gender differences are intact.

In conclusion, the division of labour is due to the capitalist regime prevailing in society. The main aim of the owners of production, the bourgeoisie, is to gain as much capital as possible. This has been seen by a shift in manufacturing industries of multinational companies from developed countries to developing countries as they have a large amount of labour workers available. This leads to an exploitation of workers, working for low wages with high productivity, which benefits the multinational companies as they receive higher capital gain. Women workers are likely to be exploited in the world labour market because they receive low wages and have a high productivity rate. This high productivity rate is due the nimble fingers and manual dexterity of women, creating products quickly and helping the multinational industries gain more capital. Owners of multinational industries based in developing countries acquire patriarchal ideologies, believing that women have a secondary status within the labour market, which is why they deserve low wages. Therefore, there is a gender difference within the international division of labour, as women are more likely to be exploited than men in the world labour market within developing countries, to help the multinational industries owned by those in the developed countries to gain capital.

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What Factors Contribute to the Financial Success of the Pharmaceutical Industry?

Alexandra Kimbo

This paper aims to give an overview of the pharmaceutical industry, and discuss the main factors that contribute to its financial success. More specifically, I will first give brief background details on the industry, and then proceed to outline and discuss the main factors. The main issues this paper will cover are patents, indiscriminate drug use, the industry's control over Research and Development (R&D), consolidation, the focus on health problems of high-income countries, the role of "me-toos", and marketing activities.

Overview

The pharmaceutical industry is one of the most powerful and profitable overall. It consists predominantly of global multinational corporations. Sales in 2003 reached over 466 billion dollars, and in England prescriptions increased by 56% from 1989 to 2002. Further, in 2004 six out of the top ten companies were based in the USA, and the other four in Europe (Busfield, 2015). As an example, in 2013 Pfizer, the successful USA based pharmaceutical giant, made a 42% profit margin. Overall five companies, including Pfizer, made a profit margin of 20% or more. The margin notably also includes R&D costs, though the industry tries to justify high prices by claiming high R&D costs. However, the industry actually spends more money on marketing than R&D (Anderson). The largest market for pharmaceuticals is the USA, which account for 50% of all sales, followed by Europe. Sales in developing countries only account for a fraction (Busfield, 2003).

Patents

Patents are the main factor that contributes to the success of the pharmaceutical industry, as they offer protection of earnings on new products. In less developed countries, patents serve mainly to protect the export markets of trans-national corporations. As long as the corporation has a patent, the host country is forced to import the product at the price charged by the corporation. This also applies if other, similar products are available from imitating rivals (Lall, 1979). The industry also claim they only make money until their patent runs out (after 10-12 years), so they try everything possible to extend them. This process is also known as "evergreening". Some corporations have even been accused of paying off generic brands in order to cause a delay in patent expiration. Specifically the British corporation GlaxoSmithKline has been accused of this procedure (Anderson, 2014).

Indiscriminate drug use

The first factor that contributes to the financial success of the pharmaceutical industry, that will be discussed, is indiscriminate drug use. Drugs are unfortunately often prescribed in higher doses than necessary, and over longer periods than necessary. They are also often marketed for treatments other than their initial purpose, and without evidence of being effective. A widely known example for this would be the excessive prescription of antibiotics. Sometimes people's issues would also be better solved with

methods other than pharmaceuticals, especially when the side-effects outweigh the positives (Busfield, 2006).

Control over Research and Development (R&D)

Many pharmaceutical companies take control over R&D by buying or entering in allegiance with biotech companies. Having this much control is an advantage when seeking approval for new drugs, as it enables companies to select and withhold information if necessary. The testing stages themselves do not have wide enough scope and can also be manipulated in favour of the industry. Usually a very low dose is selected for tests, and is only carried out for a year (Busfield, 2006). Further, test and approval time is minimized, in order to maximize the patent duration. Testing is mostly funded by the industry, which is a great advantage. In addition, testing commonly only takes place on a small number of adult men, which excludes women, children and the elderly. The studies also are not usually carried out 'blind'. There are also limitations on the knowledge of drug interactions, and side effects often do not show until later on. A factor that further plays into the hands of the industry is that the reporting of side effects post-approval stage is not mandatory, and approval is rarely withdrawn once the drug is on the market. Even if approval is withdrawn, the drug occasionally continues to be sold in different countries with less strict regulation. In order to save as much money as possible, testing is often carried out in low-income countries. It becomes apparent that the industry's fact-making activities are grounded in its economic power (Busfield, 2015).

Mergers and acquisitions

Another option pharmaceutical companies have, in order to maintain a monopoly, is entering into partnerships with smaller, generic companies. An even more profitable option for them, is the complete takeover of generic companies (Busfield, 2006). From the 1990's onwards, there have been many mergers and acquisitions within the industry. Between 1992 and 2000, there have been six mergers within the top 15 pharmaceutical corporations. One of these companies was Pfizer, who merged with Warner-Lambert in 2000, which lead to the corporation being the largest in sales, after ranking 11th in 1992. Additionally, in 2003 Pfizer acquired Pharmacia, who ranked 8th in 2000 (Busfield, 2003).

Focus on health problems of the rich

Another way pharmaceutical corporations profit, is by overcharging patients for their drugs. An example for this would be the company Roche, who charge 80.000 pounds per patient for their drug "Kadcyla". It is intended for women suffering from breast-cancer, and acts as life-extending. The company can charge this much as it has the monopoly, protected by intellectual property rights and can therefore set the price they wish (Cato, 2014). A result of this is that developing countries can not afford access to essential medication. The industry also profits most from long-term, if not life-long conditions, as these require long-term medication. On occasions the industry produces what has been termed "blockbusters". These are drugs that can bring corporations over one billion dollars per annum. Before it took approximately three years to reach this figure, now it only takes one year. The endless search for blockbusters is a major factor contributing to the focus on the health problems of the rich, as opposed to developing countries. The focus on the most profitable drugs has several consequences, one of them being

the focus on high-income countries. Another consequence is that rare illnesses receive less attention, as well as charging high priced drugs for severe illnesses in order to maximize profits (Busfield, 2015).

'Me-toos'

So called me-toos are a common occurrence in the industry. This is a term describing the practice by corporations of inventing products very similar to already established drugs on the market in order to increase the chance of securing a patent. The result of this is that consumers face a wide array of different products with very similar ingredients. In order to further boost sales, drugs are sold under brand names, instead of their chemical names. This aids in differentiating products and also provides a more memorable name to consumers (Busfield, 2015). In summary, me-toos serve mainly either to extend an existing patent, for imitators to circumvent an existing patent, to provide an established product that can be marketed as new, or to provide a product that can be marketed for additional treatments. This can be demonstrated by tests undertaken by the FDA. Results show that only 3.3% of new drugs entering the market, actually provide significant therapeutic gains, and less than 20% provide even modest gains. What complicates the issue even further, is that doctors do not have accurate information available on efficacy or price, or with which to make comparisons on the drugs (Lall, 1979).

Major marketing activities

As mentioned above, the pharmaceutical industry has incredibly high marketing expenses. This includes marketing aimed at doctors, medical conferences, press releases, and - in the USA and New Zealand - even direct to consumer advertising. It is also common practice to exploit legal loopholes in order to bribe doctors by sending money and gifts. A study showed that in the USA doctors who received payments from the pharmaceutical industry were twice as likely to prescribe their marketed drugs (Lall, 1979).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is evident that the pharmaceutical industry has various mechanisms aimed at increasing their sales. Further, the industry has enough power to influence testing and approvals stages. They are also involved in fact-making, and often withhold information. Their control over R&D is essential, as well as their ability to secure patents for protection. Through mergers, acquisitions and huge marketing expenditure, pharmaceutical corporations are able to gain even more power and profits. The market is full of similar products, as already established formulas guarantee success. Further this paper has explored how the industry focuses exclusively on products that will bring profit, which means developing countries lose out completely. Additionally doctors nowadays tend to overprescribe medication, which leads to dependency and even more profits for the industry.

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'Police authority rests on their holding a legitimate monopoly of violence'. Discuss.

Eirini Koraki Folli

Nowadays, the police possess characteristics that help them differ from other public services. One of those characteristics is the ability to use legitimate violence when needed (Carrabine, Cox, Fussey, Hobbs, South, Thiel & Turton, 2014). However, severe brutality has been one of the main concerns of the modern society as a whole. Not a lot of people focus on the reasons behind this phenomenon, but those who do, express the opinion that police use force as a way of compensation. That is, when they feel that their authority has been compromised, or even questioned in some cases, they tend to use force in order to rebut those claims. Investigators have found that this is, indeed, true as police tend to be unusually harsh when the masses rebel against their authority (Black, 1980). Still, the higher status of the police department allows them to claim that everything is being done in the name of justice and in order to protect society. This essay will focus on the extent to which police power depends on violent acts towards the public. Additionally, police culture and the role of law enforcement throughout the years will be discussed in detail. Finally, all arguments raised will be supported by either case examples, or answers given by law enforcement employees during interviews.

To begin with, we must look briefly into the responsibilities of police officers in general. Their role is to fight, prevent and detect crime as well as preserve order. That is the reason why they are usually called 'peacekeepers'. For the most part, their work is unexciting and involves tasks that have nothing to do with crime control, such as paper- work (Carrabine et al., 2014). However, when faced with a situation that disrupts the public order, they can either handle it with just a warning or use force and threats (Black, 1980). Though it might seem surprising, violence has been a huge part of police culture for decades.

Moving on to police culture, many theories and concepts have been based on the works of Skolnick and Fyfe (Coady et al, 2000). Police officers have been found to share characteristics that have now become part of the police culture, and could be considered to enforce violent behaviour. Some of these are: cynicism, suspicion, isolation, conservatism, racial prejudice, and machismo (Carrabine et al., 2014). In general, the police-working environment exposes officers to an unpredictable degree of danger, which is intensified by the sense of authority each police officer possesses. Both of these, danger and authority lead officers to suspicion and aggression in order to prevent and detect dangerous situations. At the same time, officers develop a sense of solidarity and mutual reliance to minimize risks and protect themselves and their colleagues. These are the key elements in understanding how police culture, a culture that sanctions the informal use of excessive force, works.

However, the police used to exercise violence in the past too. Almost a century ago, Max Weber dealt with the idea of violence authorised by the government as well. In his work, *Politics as a vocation (1946),* he introduced the idea of the 'state'. The state is a community of people that possesses a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a restricted area of land. According to Weber, the state would not exist without the right to exercise force, and that would lead to anarchy. In fact, the state is some sort of leadership whose authority must be obeyed by everyone involved, and since it is the only source of the

right to use violence, it is also the only one who can assign other individuals or institutions this right (Weber, 1946). As far as the state is concerned, everything comes down to order by force. Its instruments are the public police and military, private security may be used with state authorisation. Despite all this, though, Weber's point was to show that the policing power controlled by the leadership is designed to benefit social welfare, provided that the leaders act in the interest of the people (Weber, 1946).

This may sound strange, but the state's domination is legitimate. Still, it would be normal to wonder how can that be or why would people obey such an authoritative leadership, but Weber presented three reasons why this would happen (Weber, 1946). First is the existence of an 'eternal yesterday' authority, an ancient recognition and the tendency of people to conform. This form of domination is exercised by the patriarch. Second is the authority that comes with the remarkable 'gift of grace'. In this case, people obey their leader due to the charismatic qualities he possesses. An example would be the domination exercised by the prophet, the demagogue, or, in more contemporary terms, the political party leader. Finally, the last form of domination is that by virtue and 'legality'. This has to do with the obedience to certain rationally created rules, and is exercised by the modern 'servant of the state' (Weber, 1946).

Weber's state is characterised by organised domination, and in order for that to be achieved, continuous administration and subjects conditioned to obedience, are essential. Therefore, this makes physical violence a necessity. Weber did mention that there are other, less effective ways to get the same results. These are through material rewards, such as privileges of estate, or social honours, such as knighthoods (Weber, 1946).

In modern times, however, the state's violent behaviour does not usually take these severe forms, or at least not conspicuously. The police power makes people feel safe and believe in an impartial, trustworthy and dependable system (Carrabine et al., 2014). Nevertheless, there are cases where people seek to exercise control against the police themselves, like rebellions and riots. In those cases, the police tend to respond in the same way, usually with extreme severity. Many researchers have reported that the use of violence by the police is a type of informal punishment, or even their own way of applying 'street justice' (Coady et al., 2000).

Some may consider such responses as extreme cases that are rarely encountered, but they tend to happen more often than not (Black, 1980). This addresses the phenomenon of collective liability in which all members of a social group are held accountable for the conduct of a small portion of their members (Black, 1980). Of course, collective liability reciprocates, so that people generally relate to the individuals in the group in the same way. That was the case in the late 1960s, when the police blamed all black people for the behaviour of a few, so many black people did the same in regard to the police (Black, 1980).

In many American cities, big groups of black people rebelled against the police. They were running down streets destroying properties and ignoring the police's orders to stop. The police started then to associate black people with offenders, no matter their behaviour. Thousands were arrested and many were beaten or even fatally shot. There were even some black people killed that did not participate in the riots at all. In addition, they were called degrading names and abused in different ways by the local police. For instance, in one case a black professional worker was arrested for driving after the 10 p.m. curfew that was imposed. He was beaten unconscious and forced to do 'degrading acts' later at the police station (Black, 1980). After these incidents, not only did the police become more

discriminative towards people of different races, but also started treating them way more violently than before.

Furthermore, the size of the police force is relevant as well, in that, a larger number of police officers means more organisation. It has been proven that a national police system will respond more harshly than a local system, where each city or borough has its own police force (Black, 1980). Respectively, the most severe of all systems is a national system, such as that of the Soviet Union and the Soviet police in the years following the Russian Revolution of 1917. In cases like that, police violence was seen as 'teaching a lesson' and was extended across social class, ethnicity, nationality, religion, occupation, associating, kinship and friendship (Black, 1980). By disciplining the guilty, the police were asserting their authority. Additionally, in some cases, agent provocateurs were employed by the police to encourage people to behave in a manner that would have them arrested in the grounds of political crime (Coady et al., 2000).

Another case of extreme violence and fatal shootings in 1994, lead the Australian Institute of Criminology to conduct an enquiry into the Victorian Police. It seemed that, with the majority of the members of the police management being male, it was considered important for officers to adopt an aggressive style in order to maintain their power and authority. Several interviews were conducted and members of the staff were asked to discuss the situation. A male academy instructor, who worked there for twelve years, went as far as to admit that when he first joined the academy he had 'a license to assault people' (Coady et al., 2000). Another staff member, a district inspector this time, agreed that police violence was one of the areas they were just learning how to deal with, since traditionally they would react to a dangerous situation with force to get on top of it.

Of course, at this point it does not come as a surprise that assault by police officers accounts for 1/5 of all formal complains about the police. The British Crime Survey reported that, while 10 per cent of respondents had considered filling a complaint in the past five years only 2 per cent actually did (Coady et al., 2000). An example of that would be Smiths and Gray's survey of Londoners, which found that out of 169 arrests, excessive force was used in at least 18 per cent of the cases. The violent acts included slapping on the face, pulling hair, twisting arms, punching, kicking, hitting with objects and pushing the person being arrested against a wall. Still, in the process of observing 100 arrests and 129 stops over two years, researchers witnessed plenty of incidents where rough handling, kicking and hitting suspects during stop and arrest situations were involved. However, a lot of those who complained encountered problems. Many times they were treated rudely or discouraged from filling a complaint. Other time the official would not take the complaint at all or even resort to threats about negative consequences (Coady et al., 2000).

Corruption and the use of excessive force is not a new problem for the police. However, the erosion that follows up the media coverage and criticism of cases where these are obvious is something new. People's opinions are starting to change and we are moving on to an era where not everyone feels safe around the police anymore (Coady et al., 2000).

All the discussion above is proof that police violence does exist and is urgent problem in modern societies. The bonds of the society are breaking down and institutions like law enforcement agencies are losing their meaning. However, it still stands that violence helps the police validate their authority.

In conclusion, while the ability to use legitimate violence is incorporated in the police's ways, a certain line has been crossed and the situation is getting out of control. People keep on challenging the authorities in general, and police are trying to find new ways to protect their authority, with violence being one of them. They seem to live in a world of 'them and us' and see only black or white. Force is their way of proving their dominance over the masses, and it is definitely starting to become, if it is not already, part of their culture.

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Write a summary and critique of the following publication: 'Researching Organised Crime' by Dick Hobbs (2000). Refer to wider methodological debates and work in your analysis.

Bethany Long

The methods used when studying crime were established in the environment of academics. Such methods were aimed to tackle serious crime, such as organized, professional and white collar crime. Crime has been understood as having an absence of 'empirical exclusivity' (Hobbs, 2000: 153). Meaning this type of crime changes constantly. This type of crime is private, meaning it can only be researched with the Criminal Justice System's involvement. However, there are many effective methods to use so the lack of access does not affect the data collected.

Using resources like police reports, diaries, economic evidence, (Emsley, 1997) sociologists have tried to decipher the difference between professional and organized crime. However, documents may be biased as they were written by academics of an upper class. This means the data may have been written to project negativity on the lower classes. Atkinson (1990) said that when going through data of those of certain origins, caution should be taken as it presents a window on 'the deviant's world' (Hobbs, 2000: 154).

Sociologists and historians have tried to find similarities in historical crime and modern day organized criminals. Using secondary and primary sources, they have found that the exploitation of natural resources (Hobbs, 2000) was the result of crimes like corruption and political insurrection. It may be argued as a factor which led to some of America's profitable phenomena's (Hobbs, 2000). When studying the Elizabethan era, Brown and Gerrassi (1980) found a connection with pirates. Pirates had the authorisation to 'plunder' (Hobbs, 2000) but as modernity was established all of their activities had to be legitimised. As Rankin specifies in 1969, it left insuperable threads of corruption within the elite and powerful.

The "Mafia" is a term used a lot in connection with organized crime and is often over used when referring to criminals of an ethnic background. Hess (1974) described the Mafia as a method employed by Mafiosi, who used violence as a way to control society. Using interviews, Block (1974) concluded that they were "mediators", not a secret or hidden society (Hobbs, 2000) Winslow said that crime required organization and an intelligent system (Sharpe, 1995). Many sociologists agree that organized criminals lived in different places, including coastal, rural and provincial (Hobbs, 2000. Joseph Valachi was a member of the New York Genovese crime family and became an informant when he killed someone in prison who he believed had been sent by the family to kill him. Valachi went in front of the US Senate Sub-Committee and declared La Cosa Nostra had been formed after a fight in 1931. This has since been disproved. Very few of Valchi's friends were indicted (Hobbs, 2000) so he either 'withheld facts…or deliberately lied' (Peterson 1983; 158)

The analysis of the prohibition allowed sociologists into all aspects of America's economic and social state (Kobbler 1971, Woodiwiss, 1993). In 1971, using documents such as newspapers, government and religious bodies, and the Internal Revenue Service files, federal and law reports, Haller analysed the prohibition era. He concluded that crime is an 'ever-changing series of partnerships and goods' (Hobbs, 2000: 157). Haller (1985)

explains that for organized crime to be successful criminals had to learn how to exploit banking systems, insurance companies as well as labelling and packaging companies.

The first field study into organised crime was by John Landesco in 1968, and he used an unorthodox mix of methodologies. He believed that organized crime was a kind of mirror for reality, mainly the business world. Landesco also said that the corruption in politics was essential for the continuation of organized crime.

In 1995, the Home Office funded a study to investigate organized crime in Britain. It was a questionnaire based pilot study (Hobbs et al, 1996). It soon became apparent that there were issues within the police in conjunction to other groups. This led to the researchers having no control over the questionnaires and the supply of them. Everyone involved agreed that because it would be of no use to anyone, the report was never published. This is a good example of what can happen when scholars get involved with the politics of two conflicting agencies.

Ianni (1972) conducted a qualitative study for three years. It was highly ethnographic, data was taken from overt fieldwork at private dinners, gatherings, interviews with informants and the result had some 'empirical credibility' to Bells 'queer ladies' thesis (Hobbs, 2000: 160). However, this has been proved to have pointed in the wrong direction. Italians were 'withdrawing from the street' but were still part of crime activity. Using the information available to him, Lupsha used birth dates and places to discover that most of crime families were 'American born or raised' (Lupsha, 1981; 161). In 1996, Chin, interviewed sixty two Chinese gang members. It was found that there are relations between underclass teenagers who form street gangs and have a relationship with organized crime groups. This study goes against the idea of a hierarchical criminal group (Booth, 1991).

Researchers such as Denzin and Lincoln believe that qualitative data has a timeline and that it has changed through time (Bryman, 2012). Some sociologists believed that the way they were representing their work may be wrong, and be too reliant on the surroundings they were in (Bryman, 2012).

Researchers suggest a good way to study youths is to include an 'official role' to build a rapport to establish better data (Hobbs, 2000: 160). Many studies like Hagedorn and Vigil, both in 1988, were successful by establishing a rapport with the participant. Hagedorn was successful in interviewing forty-seven gang members by befriending ex-gang leaders, and Vigil, already having biographical factors in common with gang members, used qualitative interviews and participant observations to gain data. Moore (1978) used ex-convicts as researchers in studying Mexican Americans in relation to gangs.

Youths respond well to education, however, if approached in their own environment, older criminals have no interest, and some studies depend on the rapport made by the researcher. Sutherland (1937) believes that education is a good way of engaging with criminals, however, some disagree, as most studies in this area focus on professional criminals in prison or just analysis of police reports. For example, in 1958, Lemert interviewed seventy-two prisoners guilty of cheque forgery, and found they possessed few skills. However, Eisntadter (1969) interviewed twenty-five robbers and found that practical skills were common. Shover (1973) stated that thieves were closer to Sutherland's model than forgers. This led to Luckenbill (1981) using police documents to produce patterns in armed robbery. Sutherland has sparked many debates on how to

research professional criminals. It is both rewarding and thrilling to see such criminals in their natural habitat, ethnographically, but it is dangerous and often impractical. The serious crime community provides an ideal, yet dangerous environment for ethnographers. Wolf (1991) had to become fully amerced in biker gang culture, who were key factors in the professional crime society. Hobbs' (1995) intensive field work and interviews to see criminals 'at work and at play' (Hobbs, 2000; 165), is linked to Chambliss study of organised crime aspects of American society. Dunlap (1994) studied the female role in crack dealing and it's parallel of a female role in normality. This leads to the question of ethnography ending. It is argued, similarly to Hobbs, (2000) that ethnographers find themselves in difficult situations and to recognise the ending before 'going native' (Bryman, 2012; 445). Researchers may run the risk of having enough or that the evidence they have already collected is enough to answer the question (Bryman, 2012).

In order to get good empirical data it is essential for researchers to exhaust any opportunity that presents itself. Social scientists consider literature such as autobiographies, biographies and true crime books very important because there is so little record of organized crime. This sometimes results in these resources being over used, however, because there is so little evidence of organized crime, the use of police generated literature is 'inevitable' (Hobbs, 2000: 172) . Novels such as Pileggi's *Wise Guy* in 1987 which went on to form the foundations for *Goodfellas,* and John Wideman's *Brothers and Keepers* provide an essential insight on what happens in organized crime. Wideman talks about his brother, the armed robber and murderer and the 'hedonistic' attractions of crime (Hobbs, 2000; 167). Pileggi is a biography of Henry Hill which describes all of the 'dirty details' (Hobbs, 2000; 167).

White collar crime is made up of people whose employment is not within law enforcement but are in the boundaries of societies which are very interested in materialistic things and money. When researching white collar crime, researchers can be taken into the middle of very wealthy business, worlds away from what they normally research. Sutherland (1949) identified the definition of white collar crime as 'crimes of the respectable, and the middle and upper class' (Hobbs, 2000; 168) and believed it was similar to organized crime. Sutherland wanted to find the separation of crime politically, socially and legally, and by doing this, wanted to remember the flexibility of the definition of crime.

White collar crime may be argued to be the most dangerous and threatening type of crime as it has been known to leave devastating effects, such as economic disasters leading to long term effects on health and morality. Sociologists including Slapper and Tombs (1999) argue that white collar crime goes beyond events of everyday life, economic and social situations. It can be argued that white collar crime was too far advanced to be restricted to the usual terms of 'theft, violence, and vice' (Hobbs, 2000; 168). It is the consensus that over using documents is not a consistent way to research crime, however, Sindall, in 1983 used court records to analyse London, Birmingham and Manchester and came to the conclusion that more criminals were in the middle class than in the working class. Some sociologists argue that the biggest misrepresentation of crime is that people of lower class are responsible for a high percentage of crime. Perkin (1962) believed that industrialisation produced a new type of crime that only people with middle class jobs could be responsible for.

Using documents such as Inland Revenue reports, the reports of Parliamentary Select Committees and Special Commissions, in 1992 Robb studied white collar crime in Britain from 1845 to 1929. He concluded that white collar crime was the foundations on which the

British economy stood. Furthermore, it is also responsible for the positive economic situations that the upper classes find themselves in. To support this, Green (1990) studied seventy of America's largest and richest corporations and found that crimes they had committed were mainly 'breaches of civil or administrative law' (Hobbs, 2000; 169). Sutherland's belief that the problem of crime is at the core of business may explain why sociologists are more interested in researching the reason for people committing crime rather than the means they use.

Using official documents, Clinard (1952) agreed with Sutherland when studying personality differences in offenders. He found that crimes such as violating economic control were mostly committed by businessmen. To further support Sutherland's statement, Cressey (1953) interviewed 133 embezzlers and came to the conclusion that in order to become one, trust had to be earned and they needed to be professional and have the capability to commit rational fraud that would not stand out.

Atkinson and Coffey believe that using documents delivers a theory to the reader and although they are helpful to collect valid data. However, documents such as diaries, or reports on a certain subject may give you information on some topics and little on others. Sociologists may end reporting incorrect data because they have been misled (Ryan-Flood, 2014, Lecture Notes, 1/12/2014).

Sociologists have limited knowledge. Geis (1974) said although many have completed extensive research in Sociology they rarely have knowledge of law, the economy and the way business works. However, Punch (1996) believes that sociologists constantly 'unravel' (Hobbs, 2000; 171) businesses, and how they function. It is argued that in order to successfully research white collar crime it is essential to harness a variety of methods and investigative techniques. As well as using trial data, Braithwaite (1984) interviewed people who worked at certain companies as well as people who had been let go from such companies, as these people tended to have more useful information. The use of many methods all in one go is a good way of guaranteeing empirical results.
As a result of using different methods at the same time, sociologists have found that it is possible to connect with the criminals they were researching over a longitudinal basis. Levi's (1981) study on fraud is a good example of ethnography in white collar crime. He interviewed a whole range of people, including, criminal justice personnel such as, police officers, judges, prosecutor and defence lawyers as well as businessmen. However, this type of study is rare, as Geis (1974) believes that depending on police and official personnel is risky as they lack 'control over their selection of targets' (Hobbs, 2000: 171). This is supported by Levi's study of comparison of fraud trial between World War Two and 1987. He found people who were considered 'insiders' (Hobbs, 2000: 171) have not been prosecuted.

In conclusion, it can be argued that organized crime work is similar to legitimate employment. The best way to understand professional criminality is to use different cultural techniques, including interviews and using documents. Using official personnel is essential, but must be handled properly. Interviewing people in prison must also be handled in the correct way, and a rapport must be established to get honest results. Ethnographic techniques are the best way to research serious crime but it is rare due to the amount of risk. Today, it is a good idea for researchers to become more acquainted with the methods in which professional criminals use to commit crimes. Denzin and Lincoln argue that researchers nowadays think about their research and the significance it may have. However, some sociologists believe that this is based too much on events which are too far

from the point to consider useable (Bryman, 2012). Thomas (1989) believes the focus of future research should be on 'the various strata of a market place that mirrors official economies' (In Hobbs, 2000: 174).

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Racism within inter-racial families

Lauren Patterson

Throughout this journal, I am going to focus on the concept of racism within families as opposed to racism in other contexts, as this racism within the family is something that tends to be overlooked in sociological study. Whilst searching for sociological research on this topic, it became apparent that there are very few pieces of published research that focus primarily on this context of racism. In addition to this, I believe that racism within this context, (within the family), has a greater, or at least a different impact on an individual and their families, than racism in other contexts, such as the workplace or a school environment (Harman, 2009), due to the more personal nature of the racism. This journal will begin by looking into the history of racism, and giving a broad outline of what racism is and what it involves. The experience of Du Bois (2007), a black sociologist in the 19th century, will also be discussed, in order to highlight the impact that racism in any context has on an individual's life. This journal will explore the changing attitudes towards inter-racial relationships, as well as looking at the growth of these inter-racial relationships within contemporary society. However, I will also look at various studies that involved interviews of individuals experiencing racism within their family, and I will also explore newspaper articles concerning this type of racism. This will therefore give a better idea of the different impacts that familial racism has on different individuals.

Racism and its history

Early Marxist theories saw racism as a "ruling class ideology" developed as a way of controlling and separating the black and white workers, however this historical view of racism has been criticised by Post-Marxist theorists (Scott and Marshall, 2009). More modern sociology sees racism in a different way whereby racism, according to Solomos (1989), can be defined as 'the exclusion and/or inferior treatment of individuals or groups based on perceived 'racial' and cultural differences' (1989 as cited in Harman, 2009: 177). Furthermore, Lawrence Blum (2002) states that there are two features that constitute towards racism: antipathy and inferiorisation. Antipathy can be defined as, the feeling of 'racial bigotry, hostility, and hatred' towards others (Blum, 2002: 8). Inferiorisation is the unfair treatment of other racial groups as inferior to one's own (Blum, 2002). All types of racism, according to Blum, involve either antipathy, or inferiorisation and can include both. Historically, racism was far more prominent in society than it is today (Matthews, 2012). In Du Bois' (2007) book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, he emphasised the way in which racism was a distinct part of mainstream society in the late 1800s. Du Bois mentioned his experience of racism as a young child, expressing how he felt 'different from the others' and 'shut out from their world by a vast veil' (2007: 8) just because he was a black individual. Furthermore, he stated that he wanted equality within society, and to be able to have the opportunities that white individuals had, highlighting the fact that racism led to a lack of opportunities for black individuals within America. Du Bois coined the phrase 'Double Consciousness', whereby an individual sees him or herself both, through their own eyes and through the eyes of others. This idea of double consciousness, according to Du Bois, occurs as a result of racism, thus Du Bois said that he saw himself as both an American and a black man. This book also highlights the way that black individuals were often accepting of their inferiority within society. For example, Mr Booker T Washington told black individuals to give up fighting for equality within society, stating that black individuals

should give up their right to vote, right to higher education and their insistence on civil rights. This emphasises how prominent racism was within society in the 19th century, showing how racism was often accepted within society.

My story: racial conflict in my family

My interest in researching racism within inter-racial families stemmed from the racism that has occurred within my family. I belong to an inter-racial family, whereby some of my mother's relatives are black, and some are white. However, my father's relatives are all white, middle class individuals, some of whom are racist towards black individuals. This has caused familial conflict, resulting in the separation of my parents, due to my father's racism towards black members of my family. It has also led to the upset of many of my mother's black family members, as they were at the forefront of my father's racist remarks and attitudes, whereby my father would be embarrassed to be seen with my black cousins, in fear that people would think that they were his relatives. My father would also voice his racist opinions in the presence of my black family members, which led to distress within the family. Thus, I wanted to research further into the effects of racism within families, in order to get a better understanding of the effects that racism can have on family units, as it has had a huge impact on my family.

Inter-racial relationships

This journal will now go on to look more specifically at the racism that occurs within inter-racial families and relationships. An inter-racial relationship is a romantic relationship involving two people of different races (Mc Nerney, 2008). Inter-racial relationships in the United Kingdom are on the increase; whereby according to the Telegraph, census figures show that the amount of people in the United Kingdom, in a relationship with a member of another racial group has increased by 35% in the last ten years (Bingham, 2014). Furthermore, The British Social Attitudes Survey also highlights the increase in acceptance of inter-racial relationships, whereby, in 1986 50% of society were against inter-racial marriage, however, this disapproving attitude dropped to only 15% in 2012 (Matthews, 2012). Although acceptance for inter-racial relationships has increased over the years, and is becoming 'normal' in contemporary society (Yancey and Jr, 2009), research shows that family and peer support for these inter-racial relationships is still relatively low (Mc Nerney, 2008). Without a supportive family network, this could result in lower relationship success for inter-racial couples, possibly leading to separation (Mc Nerney, 2008). This disapproving attitude towards inter-racial relationships could stem from the historical racist attitudes towards ethnic minorities, particularly black individuals. For instance, in the 1930s, it was illegal for a black individual and a white individual to get married in thirty states of America, and these laws were motivated by racism (Yancey and Jr, 2009).

In addition to this, the birth of a child within an inter-racial relationship can cause further racial issues within a family. This is because the 'child permanently records the inter-racial marriage... [and] a birth expands the family lineage to mixed-race blood kin' (Yancey and Jr, 2009: 71). This suggests that some white families are intent on keeping the family an 'all-white' family, due to historical racist attitudes. Having said that, there has been a significant increase in the amount of children of mixed-parentage in the UK. According to research by the British Future, there are more than 1 million people of mixed-parentage in Britain (Matthews, 2012). This suggests that there is an increasing acceptance of mixed parentage within the United Kingdom, suggesting that racism is also decreasing. The majority of this journal will focus mainly on the effects of racism on inter-racial relationships, and families

of mixed-parentage as this will provide me with the most data in order to examine the effects of racism in greater detail.

The lasting effects of familial racism

Familial racism and family separation

Some research into the different effects of familial racism will now be discussed, in order to give a clearer understanding of the impact that this type of racism has on individuals and their families. In Vicki Harman's (2009) sociological research on racism in families, it was found that many of the mothers in inter-racial relationships found an increasing amount of racism from their family members after beginning a romantic relationship with a person of another race. One mother who was interviewed in this research had been called a "nigger lover" by her sister for being in an inter-racial relationship with a black man and having his child (2009: 181). Harman's research also highlighted the emotional impact that familial racism has on the family members that are involved. For example, one mother who was interviewed in this research stated how her father refused to remain in contact with her after finding out that she was pregnant by a black man. Another mother who was interviewed in this research, described how she and her son were harassed by her own family, due to the fact that her son was black. Her family were British National Party supporters, resulting in the loss of contact between the mother and her family. These examples illustrate the severity of racism within the family, and how racism can lead to the loss of contact between family members, as it also did with my family.

Not only can racism lead to the loss of contact between family members, but it can also put strain on an inter-racial couple's relationship, possibly resulting in their separation. This is highlighted in the following example, where an inter-racial relationship between a white female and a black male caused familial conflict as a result of racism from the white female's family. The racial pressure that was put on the couple, lead to the separation of the couple, showing how familial racism can result in divorce and separation (Fernandez, 2010).

Furthermore, according to research conducted by Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell, 1995; cited in Harman, 2009) family members of white individuals who were in an inter-racial relationship, would not disclose information about this inter-racial relationship. It is suggested that this withholding of information helps the family members maintain the illusion that they are an 'all-white' family, when in fact they are not. It is often the case that white family members are less accepting of inter-racial relationships than the minority group family members (Yancey and Jr, 2009), possibly due to this historical idea of maintaining an all-white family.

Familial racism and downward mobility

In some cases, it is possible that racism within the family can lead to downward mobility, which is the movement of individuals "down a hierarchy of privilege" (Scott and Marshall, 2009). This was the case of Sonya Smyth, an Irish woman living in England, with mixed race children in the 1970s. (Twine, 2010). The racism that she experienced from her family as a result of her being in a relationship with a Jamaican man, and having his children, led to her losing her privileges as a middle class Irish woman (Twine, 2010). This therefore resulted in her downward mobility, by which she ended up living in a working class community, and lost her ability to remain employed, thus having no steady income (Twine,

2010). This emphasises the negative impact that familial racism can have on individuals that would not necessarily occur through other types of racism. This downward mobility could thus have a negative impact on the future of the children of mixed parentage, as they are forced to grow up in a working class family, and therefore may not have access to the facilities that they could have had if their family members were accepting of their race.

Familial racism and mental health

According to Twine (1999; cited in Barn and Harman, 2006), experiencing familial racism can have a significant impact on mental health, with some mothers of inter-racial children developing severe depression and nervous collapse. This psychological illness occurred as a result of attempting to protect their children against the rejection and racism from family members by losing contact with her family members, as this consistent rejection could have a negative effect on the child's self-esteem (Twine, 1999; cited in Barn and Harman, 2006). In addition to this, the labelling theory suggests, that the negative labels that society attach to individuals, can result in those labelled individuals accepting and adhering to their label (Carrabine et al, 2014). Thus if family members show racism towards an individual, they may internalise this racism and thus see themselves in this negative way (Trivedi, 2002). They may be more likely to internalise this racism, due to the fact that their own family members are the ones being racist towards them, and as a result of this, self-hatred could occur, and this could lead to psychological effects and psychological illness (Trivedi, 2002).

In support of the idea that racism from family members has a different effect on an individual than racism from others is a study by Nazish Salahuddin (2008). This study on racism within the family also highlighted the impact that a lack of acceptance from family members has on multiracial individuals and their psychological well-being. It was found within this study that a 'lack of family acceptance was inversely related to personal self-esteem, whereas multiracial racism was unrelated to this variable' (2008: 81). This suggests that racism from family members has a more severe effect on an individual's psychological health and self-esteem, than racism from other members of society.

Conclusion

To conclude this journal, it is apparent that racism within families is a major issue that still remains within contemporary society, and has not yet disappeared despite growing awareness of racism, and increasing laws against discrimination towards other races and ethnic minorities. It has also become apparent how significant familial racism is on an individual, and how it can have such negative consequences for the victim of racism, and also their family members, causing mental health issues and family separation. This type of racism has not yet been researched in great detail by many sociologists, thus, if more research went into this area of racism, it could help to reduce levels of racism within families.

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

Joanna Robinson

When undertaking research it is extremely important to uphold certain ethical norms. Although this is an extensive list, some important reasons are highlighted below. Firstly, ethical norms emphasise the aim of research, such as discovering truth, gathering knowledge and avoiding errors. Ethical norms that are against falsifying, or misrepresenting data help to promote the aims of research. Secondly, because research typically involves researchers and participants, cooperation and coordination among different people is required. These ethical standards help to stress the values that are vital to collaboration work, such as mutual respect, fairness, trust, accountability and much more. Thirdly, ethical standards help to keep the researchers liable to the public and its inquiring questions. Similarly, ethical norms help build public support for research. People are more interested in funding research projects if they can be guaranteed that the research being done is of the up-most quality and integrity. Furthermore, these ethical standards also advocate a variety of other moral and social values, such as *"human rights, animal welfare, health and safety, social responsibility, compliance with the law and more (Besnik, 2011)."* It also provides a foundation for coping with old, new and more complex problems. Lastly, social scientists are concerned with ethics. They want this concern to be reflected in the way they conduct their research (Israel, 2015). However, over the years, research ethics have evolved and now many are specific in relation to a field of study such as psychology, medicine, sociology or business. Although there are many key ethical agreements in regards to research ethics, this essay is going to focus on the five main rules which also highlight the importance of research ethics: *"voluntary participation, no harm to the participants, anonymity and confidentiality, deception and analysis and reporting (Babbie, 2010:30)."*

To begin with, more often than not, social research disrupts the participant's daily routine and lifestyle. It also generally requires participant's to reveal personal information about themselves, potentially unknown to family members and friends. Furthermore, social research normally requires that this personal information be revealed to complete strangers. This request for personal information is often more justified for other professionals, such as physicians and lawyers, because of their aim: to serve the personal interests of the respondents. However, its rare that social researchers can make this claim. They are only able to claim that it could possibly help mankind. Therefore, the first key principle is that all participation must be voluntary (Babbie, 2010: 32). Because this rule highlights such importance, in the *Statement of Ethical Practice* by the British Sociological Association statement seventeen reads, 'Research participants should be made aware of their right to refuse participation whenever and for whatever reason they wish *(BSA, 2002: 3)'.* Frustratingly, this agreement for voluntary participation is much easier to accept in theory than to apply in practice. The perfect example comes from medical research. In medical research, many experimental drugs are tested on prisoners. These prisoners were told about the nature of drug and possible dangers and side effects of the experiment. They were also told that this experiment was voluntary and that there was no special rewards for participation or cooperation; however, it was clear that the prisoners whom volunteered were motivated by the belief that they would personally benefit from cooperation.

Yet this ethical agreement of voluntary participation also goes against scientific concerns. This is because the scientific goal of generalizability, 'a concern with the question of whether the research of a study can be generalised beyond the specific research context in which it was conducted *(Bryman, 2012: 11),*' is compromised if all experimental respondents or survey participants are the kind of people willing to participate in such things. This consequence probably reflects a certain general personality trait, thus the results from the research may not be applicable to all people (Babbie, 2010:33). Therefore, Rosamond Rhodes, came up with the proposal to make research participation mandatory. Even though people try to avoid paying taxes or serving as part of a jury, these actions are a part of regular life, and Rhodes is striving to have research participation a part of regular life too. However, despite her innovative idea, Rhodes out rightly states, 'Sociology may not yet be ready to embrace my novel proposal for compulsory research participation (Rhodes, 2010: 32-33)'. Moreover, field research has its own ethical conflicts relating to voluntary participation. More often than not the researcher is unable to reveal that a study is being conducted, for fear that this knowledge might change the social process being studied. In this circumstance, the opportunity to volunteer or refuse to participate is not given. In cases where the researcher feels it is justified to overlook this ethical standard, their desire to uphold other ethical agreements, such as bringing no harm to the participants, becomes significantly more important (Babbie, 2010: 33).

According to the British Sociological Association, 'Sociologists have the responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not affected in any way by the research' (2002: 2). Thus, the next principle is no harm to the participants. The need for standards upholding the respondent's well-being originated from the horrifying actions by medical researchers. One main example was the medical experiments on prisoners of war by the Nazi researchers during World War II. Likewise, the Tuskegee syphilis experiments conducted between 1932 and 1972 followed 400 African American men suffering from syphilis. However, even after penicillin had been accepted as an effective treatment, the subjects were denied treatment because the researchers wanted to observe the full effect of the disease. When this information became widely known, the U.S. government took action. In 1974, the National Research Act brought about the *National Commission For The Protection Of Human Subjects Of Biomedical And Behavioural Research*. This commission published *The Belmont Report*, which highlighted three key ideas: respect for persons, beneficence and justice. The National Research Act subsequently established the requirement for Institutional Review Boards (IRBs). This law demands that any agency, wishing to gain federal research support, must create an IRB, of whom the members review the research proposals to ensure that the subject's rights and interests are being protected (Babbie, 2010:33-34).

Respondents can also be harmed psychologically during research; therefore, the researcher should look for the smallest dangers and try to prevent them from occurring. Typically, participants are asked to talk about deviant behaviour, attitudes that are unpopular or personal characteristics that may appear demeaning. This can make the subject feel, at the minimum, uncomfortable. This kind of research can also make participants face various aspects of themselves that are typically hidden. All of this possibly affecting the subject after research has concluded. A famous experiment in relation to this ethical standard is the Stanford Prison Experiment, conducted by psychologist Philip Zimbardo in 1971. The reason for this study was to observe the dynamics of prisoner-guard interactions. Therefore, Zimbardo employed Stanford students as subjects and assigned them randomly to the roles of either prisoner or guard. However, the simulation quickly became extremely

real for all participants including Zimbardo, whose role was the prison superintendent. It became apparent that many of the student prisoners were suffering psychological damage due to their pretend imprisonment, and many of the student guards were expressing degrees of aggression. Once Zimbardo recognised this, he stopped the experiment and consequently created a debriefing program where all the student subjects received counselling to avoid any lasting damage from the experience (Zimbardo, 1973). As shown above, it is extremely hard to conduct research that does not run the risk of injuring subjects in some way. Therefore, the ethical norm of no harm to participants and voluntary participation has become known as informed consent. According to Bryman, informed consent is;

> A key principle…it [that] implies that prospective research participants should be given as much information as might be needed to make an informed decision about whether or not they wish to participate in a study (Bryman, 2012: 712).

Another of the major concerns for participants when participating in research is the protection of their interests and livelihood and the protection of their identity. Therefore, the BSA Statement of Ethical Practice, states:

> The anonymity and privacy of research participants should be respected, personal information kept confidential and appropriate measure taken to store this data in a secure environment (BSA, 2002: 4).

The two ways this is typically done are through anonymity and confidentiality. In a normal interview-survey respondents cannot be classified as anonymous because an interviewer collects the information from an identified respondent. Despite the problems that anonymity could cause, in certain situations these problems are worthwhile. For example, in a study of drug use among university students, the researcher decided that the respondents would remain anonymous. The researcher felt that this would both increase the accuracy of responses, and the researcher would not be in the position where authorities wanted names of the potential drug offenders. On the other hand, when a research project is confidential, it is entirely the researchers responsibility to make that clear to the respondent. But this ethical norm is not always easily to follow, because many courts have not recognised social research data as the same kind of "privileged communication" granted to others. For example, graduate student, Rik Scarce, conducted participant observation among animal-right activists. Based on his research, in 1990 he published a book called *"Ecowarriors: Understanding The Radical Environmental Movement."* Three years later, Scarce was called before a grand jury and asked to identify the activists he had studied. Because of his ethical agreement with his research participants, Scarce refused to answer the grand jury's questions and as a result spent 159 days in Spokane County Jail. There are many ways to ensure better guarantee of safety, but it is fundamental to remember as soon as identification information is no longer necessary, you are able to remove it. Moreover, in 2002, the U.S. Department of Health and Human services solidified this ethical standard by issuing a "Certificate of Confidentiality." This protected the confidentiality of research subject's against forced disclosure by the police or other such authorities. Even though not all research projects qualify for this protection, it provides impeccable support for research ethics (Babbie, 2010: 35-38).

Although handling the respondent's identities is an important ethical standard, it is just as important to handle your own identity as a researcher. Sometimes it is helpful and necessary to identity one's self as a researcher, and sometimes it is not. When you are

concealing your research identity, also known as deception, it is important to consider the next point. Because deceiving people is unethical, your social research needs to be able to justify your deception. But even then, the justification will be argued against. A common psychology experiment which involved deception was conducted by Solomon Asch in 1951. The participant, along with seven other participants, were simply asked to choose from lines A, B or C the one believed to be the same length as line X. However, unknown to the subject, all the other participants were confederates agreeing to choose the wrong answer. In the first two trials, most confederates gave the correct answer; however, in trial three and onwards, the confederates all agreed on a wrong answer. Asch found that all participants looked shaken and anxious, and 33% of people caved to the majority answer compared to 7% error rate in the first two trials. Henceforth in Asch's research experiment, deception was useful and needed in order to study and understand conformity (Sieber, 1982).

Perhaps the most famous experiment involving deception was conducted by Stanley Milgram in July 1961. Because Milgram was so intrigued by the Nazi concentration camps, and the process where a person could be persuaded to cause extreme harm to another person just by receiving an order to do so, he set up his own laboratory experiment. Volunteer participants were asked to act out the role of a teacher who punishes their learners (people who were accomplices of the experiment) by administrating electric shocks when the learners gave wrong answers to questions asked. Furthermore, the shocks increased in strength with each wrong answer. Even though these shocks were not real, the volunteer participants did not know this. The learners had been taught to respond to the increasing fake stimulus with appropriate howls of pain. Moreover, another accomplice of Milgrams was observing in the room with the volunteer, encouraging them to continue the electric shocks, stating that it was part of the study and the learner was not receiving any permanent harm. This continued until the volunteer participant refused to administer any more shocks. In the end, this study showed that people could be convinced to cause a great deal of pain to other people (Milgram, 2005).

Finally, researchers have ethical responsibilities to their colleagues and the community, concerning how the data is analysed and the way the results are published. The data analysis must be related to the aims and objectives of the study, and it must address the main questions posed. Researchers often run into issues of multiple univariate testing and unplanned data-driven analysis. The more significant tests carried out, the more chance of a false positive result thus thought to be statistically significant (Brabin et al, 2009). According to the Agency For Healthcare Research And Quality, statistical significance is:

> A mathematical technique to measure whether the results of the study are likely to be true. It is calculated as the probability that an effect observed in a research study is occurring because of chance. The smaller the 'p-value' the less likely the results are due to chance. Researchers generally believe that the results are true if the statistical significance is a 'p-value' less than 0.05 (AFHRAQ, no date).

The chances of this happening are higher with multiple univariate testing, therefore, in order to avoid this researchers should specify a level of statistical significance, for example 0.005 instead of the normal 0.05. Likewise, data-driven analysis is when researchers conduct unplanned analyses hoping to "prove" associations. A search for patterns in data is acceptable in order to create a hypothesis but not when you are testing your hypothesis (Brabin et al, 2009). Researchers also have a duty to admit all shortcomings and negative findings to the readers. Overall, researchers can help their peers best by telling the truth

about all their downfalls and problems they encountered during their research (Babbie, 2010:39).

Although, many research standards exist, many of which are specific for differing fields, the five focused on in this essay (voluntary participant, no harm to participant, anonymity and confidentiality, deception and analysis and reporting) are generalised norms for social research. These ethical standards help all researchers ensure that the research they are doing is full of honesty and integrity. If these research ethics did not exist, the world of research would have no foundation.

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´Major corporations like the leading pharmaceutical companies have too much power´. Do you agree?

Julie Sandhalla

Major corporations are a big part of most societies, communities and countries. You can see them across countries and borders as multinational corporations. This globalisation of the industries gives them a certain power in societies and across the globe. Whether or not major corporations have too much power is a highly debated question, especially concerning pharmaceutical companies. Throughout this essay, major corporations and multinational corporations will be in focus in order to explore whether or not I think major corporations have too much power, which I do believe will be the case. I will start out by defining "multinational companies", and the related term "capitalism", before I elaborate on matters concerning the power of major corporations. I will start elaborating by exploring the tobacco industry as well as the countervailing powers within the pharmaceutical industry. The impact of globalisation on major companies´ power will be briefly discussed next. In my conclusion, I will sum up my main points and state my conclusion that will answer whether or not I still think major corporations have too much power.

As mentioned, multinational companies will be in focus therefore, the term will be repeated throughout this essay. Of that reason, the term "multinational corporations" will now be defined. Scott defines multinational corporations as:

> A form of capitalist enterprise in which the financial structure, managerial control, and integration of productive activity span national boundaries and are oriented to international (or global) markets (Scott, 2014: 497).

In this definition, Scott (2014) defines multinational corporations as not only corporations that cross borders, but also more complex and concerning further structures such as finance, control and production. His definition also touches capitalism, which he further defines as ´a system of wage-labour and commodity production for sale, exchange, and profit, rather than for the immediate need of producers´ (Scott, 2014: 57). It is a competitive system and is also considered to make up a type of society (Blackburn, 2006). Scott (2014) elaborates on his definition and derives it mainly from the writings of Karl Marx and Max Weber.

The tobacco industry consists of multinational corporations that have been highly debated for their products and power. The laws concerning this industry differ from country to country. This differentiation gives the industry a varied amount of power. Tobacco advertising is a central topic for debate. The discussions can derive from the power of advertisements, that it is considered to be a hazardous product and whether or not regulations violate the rights of free speech. Ashley and Cohen (2003) did a research set in Canada to assess what the public thinks of the tobacco industry and its products. In their results, they found that a majority, four fifths, of the participants thought that tobacco should be regulated due to its hazardous effects and the power of the product (Ashley and Cohen, 2003). In the USA, instead of regulating tobacco advertisements and the freedom of speech, they started anti-industry campaigns that aimed to decrease the power and impact of the tobacco industry (Thrasher and Jackson, 2006). The anti-industry campaigns proved

to have an effect on the public due to developing mistrust and negative attitudes and beliefs towards the tobacco industry (Thrasher and Jackson, 2006). Another discussion that was put to the surface in Ashley and Cohen´s (2003) study was whether or not the tobacco industry should be given the blame for health care costs arising due to tobacco (Ashley and Cohen, 2003). In the study, Ashley and Cohen (2003) found that a majority of the participants thought the government should sue tobacco companies for the health care costs that occur due to tobacco use. This discussion leads us on to the pharmaceutical companies.

The power of the pharmaceutical companies has been highly debated as well. Countervailing powers are present when assessing the power of the pharmaceutical companies. Countervailing powers are the balance of power between key actors (Galbraith, 1952). These key actors can be the industry itself, the public, the government, commercial health providers and medical professions (Light, 1995). We can look at the pharmaceutical industry compared to doctors, the public as well as the government to try and assess its power. The doctors are highly dependent on the pharmaceutical industry due to the need of prescribing medicine. However, the industry also depends on the doctors´ medical support (Busfield, 2015). Even though the balance of power in this case can be seen as symbiotic, the pharmaceutical industry still has more power than the doctors do (Busfield, 2015). When it comes to the industry and the public, the industry most certainly has more power. Everyone is in need of medicine at some or several points throughout their lives, and at those points, they will be seeking help from the pharmaceutical industry. Most people trust the industry, and thus give it more power. The government, on the other hand, has a great deal of power over the pharmaceutical industry. The government has the right to regulate the industry and provide it with either more or less power, mainly through drug approval agencies such as Medicines and Healthcare Regulatory Authority (MHRA) (Clarke et al, 2004). There are still difficulties when it comes to these regulations. Very often, the government does not intervene in the way the industry is running. This might be explained by the expertise that is within the field, the number of jobs it provides, as well as money can be a factor. The government still has more power than the pharmaceutical industry does, but the government is often subservient to the industry. The power the pharmaceutical industry has and the trust it is given can be severely misused without anyone knowing. For example, many are suspicious whether a cure for cancer has been found or not. Considering the amounts of money given to cancer research, many argue that the researchers and the industry do not really want to find the cure due to fright of losing money. Another example of misuse of their power can be medication that might be classified as placebo. The public would not know about the misuse, due to the trust they put in the industry. Considering the matters described above, the pharmaceutical industry holds power in the society to a large extent.

Globalisation is another contribution to the major companies. Globalisation enables companies to widen their market and earn more money, but it also gives them an opportunity to misuse their power. Even though many companies do it, expanding a company across borders is not necessarily easy. For the pharmaceutical companies, Abbott and Dukes (2009) explain further difficulties that can occur due to differences in such as regulatory structures, approval standards and wealth. These difficulties can make it harder for companies to achieve the same accomplishments as they achieve in other successful countries, but they can also become more successful. The power they achieve through globalisation, expertise and money can give them enough control to lobby the government and make the government stretch their structures and standards in order to cooperate with the pharmaceutical industry (Abbott and Dukes, 2009). This power can be found in

several industries, such as the tobacco industry, but it is significant for the pharmaceutical industry due to the need of medicine in every country.

To conclude, we know that there is no question about whether or not major companies such as the pharmaceutical industry have power. They have a massive amount of power, but the question is whether or not they have too much power. Throughout this essay we have looked at key terms, explored the tobacco and pharmaceutical industry and also globalisation of multinational companies. When regarding this information, in my fundamental opinion I agree that major corporations have too much power. Among many other industries, the pharmaceutical industry has this power and can use it for the better, but also for the worse. They are able to overrun the authorities such as the government with their power gained by their expertise. I think major companies should not have that opportunity, but should have to cooperate with the laws and regulations in the countries in which they settle. The power of the tobacco industry is different from the power of the pharmaceutical companies. Whereas the pharmaceutical industry can affect and lobby authorities such as the government, the tobacco industry can have a major power over individuals and society. Through expansion, they develop even more power and they are hard to get off the market, even if many would prefer that to be the case. The pharmaceutical companies cannot get taken off of the market due to the need of medicine across the world. These factors contribute to my agreement with the statement ´Major corporations like the leading pharmaceutical companies have too much power´.

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Is Ethnography the best way to research subcultural populations? Justify your answer using examples from published research

Ellie Sannerude

This essay explores whether the best way to research subcultural populations is through the qualitative research method of ethnography, or whether alternative qualitative methods, such as unstructured interviews and focus groups, would be more successful. To begin with, the research method of ethnography will be explained, in addition to the definition of subcultural populations. In order to justify whether ethnography is most appropriate for researching subcultural populations, positive attributes of this method will be discussed, accompanied by strong published research that distinctly presents the strengths of ethnography. For example, the researcher obtaining first-hand observations of the daily lives of the participants and the creation of rapport that will allow for the revelation of unnoticed behaviour towards different life perspectives. In addition to this, problems associated with ethnography will also be discussed, for example, the difficulty in gaining access to participants, possibility of danger to the researcher, the practical issues of cost and time, as well as ethical issues such as "going native" and losing objectivity. Published research that will be considered throughout is Humphreys' (1970) *Tearoom Trade*, Venkatesh's (2008) *Gang Leader for a Day*, Vanderstaay's (2005) *One Hundred Dollars and a Dead Man* and Hobbs' (1988) ethnographic study on East End London culture. Examining both strengths and weaknesses of ethnography, with evidence of published research, will result in a concise conclusion of whether ethnography is the best way to research subcultural populations.

Ethnography is a qualitative research method whereby the researcher immerses themselves within the social life of those being studied, such as within a subcultural population. This method of research is often completed over many years and involves the researcher taking a subjective approach (Bryman, 2012). The researcher typically acts as a participant, for example, by joining in with the activities of the particular culture under study, to fully understand the lives of those being observed, whilst maintaining aspects of cultural relativism throughout. Becoming a participant of the group or population that is under research allows the researcher to fully understand the people's values, culture and way of life, instead of not just acting as an observer (Bryman, 2012). An example of participants that are observed are subcultural populations, which refers to a usually small, specific, gathered group, or population, of people with a shared culture that share particular norms, values and interests (Scott, 2014). Subcultural populations can range from gangs, punks and chavs to homosexuals. The group that the researcher immerses themselves in involves him or her to observe people's actions and verbal accounts within the group's everyday context (Brewer, 2000). Many sociologists would suggest that using a qualitative method, such as ethnography, to research subcultural populations is more appropriate, in comparison to quantitative methods, because it allows the researcher to achieve a much clearer, truthful understanding of subcultural experiences and retrieve an insight into their social lives (Brewer, 2000).

Ethnography is often linked or associated with participant observation, although ethnography is seen as much more in-depth than this method. They both share similar

meanings in terms of research method, although participant observation is commonly used to be more closely associated with social anthropology (Bryman, 2012). Anthropologists would use participant observation when 'visiting a foreign land, to gain access to a group/tribe within a village' and spend an extended amount of time living within that village, with the main aim being to 'uncover its culture' (Bryman, 2012: 431). Around the 1970's, ethnography became the more frequently used term. Alongside participating in the population being studied, field notes are frequently taken to prompt the researcher's memory of the events witnessed and participated in throughout the day (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, ethnography is not just participating in the selected population's lives but also relies on the written outcome of the research, based upon the researcher's field notes and interpretations. Ethnography can involve a number of data collection methods, such as 'in-depth interviewing, participant observation, personal documents and discourse analyses of natural language' (Brewer, 2000:12).

Due to the researcher acting as a participant in the research being carried out, it has huge advantages for the method of ethnography and researching subcultural populations. For example, true situated research is able to be conducted as the researcher is having total immersion into the world of the subject's population. This allows for the researcher to view and observe structures, typical norms of behaviour, as well as roles and responsibilities within the setting of the specific subcultural population under research (Bryman, 2012). Sudhir Venkatesh's *Gang Leader for a Day* (2008) is an example of published research based upon the subcultural population of gangs, whereby Venkatesh himself became a member/participant of the gang and population he was studying. This was the third book Venkatesh published, surrounding the topic of fieldwork on the Robert Taylor Homes public housing project and the life of urban poor in Chicago. Venkatesh shows the 'presentation of sociology in everyday life' by providing 'a more candid first-person account of his experiences in the field' (cited in Carr, 2009:199). The research focused on the time Venkatesh spent with J.T, who was a leader in the Black Kings (BK) gang. Within his ethnographic study, Venkatesh did not only observe the gang's behaviour and activities, but became a member of the gang and participated by being the leader of the gang for a day (cited in Clampet-Lundquist, 2009). J.T, being the leader of the gang, allowed for exposure of Venkatesh to the activities of their subcultural population, ranging from criminal offences to drug dealing, by which he could conduct his ethnographic study and research on urban poverty. Venkatesh even went to the extent of describing the experience as a 'thrill' being entered into the world of J.T. and having contact with his gang members (cited in Clampet-Lundquist, 2009:202).

Due to the researcher participating in the selected subject's lives, a rapport is created between the researcher and the population he or she is researching. Rapport refers to a relationship that is established between the researcher and the participant, allowing the participant to fully participate in the undergoing research method (Bryman, 2012). The creation of rapport would support the view that ethnography is the best way to research subcultural populations, due to the researcher becoming a participant in the lives of his or her subjects, a strong relationship can be achieved, which is beneficial for both the researcher and participants. The subcultural population could benefit from the rapport created as they may feel more at ease within the presence of the researcher and feel comfortable and natural within their behaviour and the way they act around him or her. This then benefits the researcher and their research as the participants may be more likely to open up about their specific population and way of life, allowing a stronger, more valid piece of research to be produced. A rapport was evidently created within Venkatesh's (2008) research *Gang Leader for a Day*, as the gang leader welcomed Venkatesh into his

gang once the circumstances of research were understood. A subcultural population such as gangs, would usually be very reluctant to letting outsiders become involved in their lives, however the rapport Venkatesh created may have helped in gaining access.

Both open-ended and closed questions can be used within ethnography. Using open-ended questions is a positive attribute of the research method of ethnography because it allows the researcher to gain a better understanding of the subject, due to the participants being able to speak freely, therefore not limiting the amount of data collected by the researcher. Fetterman (2010:44) states that 'ethnographers typically ask more open-ended questions during discovery phases of their research and more closed-ended questions during confirmation periods'. Using open-ended questions, in relation to subcultural populations, allows the individuals of the population to open up about their culture through interviews and conversations created by the researcher. The researcher can then begin to understand as to why they differ from other subcultural populations and the norms and values they follow throughout their particular culture.

An example of published research which shows a strong use of open-ended questions to gain insight into a subcultural population is conducted by Dick Hobbs (1988). Hobbs produced research on London's East End culture and possessed interest into the East End's culture's relationship to trading, criminal activity and entrepreneurship. From his frequent use of open-ended questions, Hobbs created conversations that were very free flowing, with no particular set structure. This allowed for a particular subject within his chosen population to uncover a story that involved a hidden situation, a robbery, whereby the public remained unaware due to lawful acts and the police going against them (Hobbs, 1988). Therefore, the result of Hobbs' use of open-ended questions, allowed for untold circumstances and information to arise, as a result, benefitting his ethnographic study.

A noticeably difficult step within ethnography is the researcher being able to gain access to the community/subcultural group they intend to study. The social setting in which the researcher is interested in gaining access to, can be either open or closed. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995; cited in Bryman, 2012:433) make a distinction between closed and open settings, suggesting that closed settings relate to 'organisations of various kinds such as firms, schools, cults, social movements and so on' whereas open settings relate to 'research involving communities, gangs, drug-users and others'. Depending on the situation for access, the researcher decides whether to take a covert or overt role in their research, in order to gather the best possible observations. A covert role involves the researcher going "undercover" and the participants are unaware and uninformed about the research being conducted. In comparison, an overt role is taken when the researcher informs the participants of their study/research (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, if the researcher's intended population is extremely difficult to access or the researcher believes they would be reluctant to go under study, a covert role may be taken to overcome the problem of gaining access, allowing good, intriguing research to continue to be carried out. However, this is accompanied by a number of problems.

Laud Humphreys' (1970) *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places* is an extreme example of an unethical sociological study that was based on the activities performed by the subcultural population of male homosexuals, in public restrooms. The study was named "Tearoom Trade" as the term "tearoom" refers to a place where homosexual encounters occur. Humphreys' ethnographic study involved directly observing the acts of homosexual males in restrooms, along with surveys completed by the men participating in these acts. The surveys were completed around six months later and were based on the health and wellbeing of the male participants (Warwick, 1973). Whilst conducting his study, Humphreys wore a disguise so that the men in the restrooms were unaware of his identity.

Humphreys took a covert role in a closed setting, known as the "watchqueen", which involved watching out for police in the restroom. The fact that Humphreys was a researcher was disclosed and the male homosexuals were completely oblivious to his presence and the research he was undertaking. Alongside playing the role of "watchqueen", he took down registration numbers from car number plates to allow for the men's home addresses to be discovered. Humphreys took this approach in order to gain access to his participants, however along with this approach, came substantial ethical problems. One ethical problem that is evident within Humphreys' research is that the male homosexuals performing the acts did not give their permission or informed consent for access of the researcher's observations or research to take place (Warwick, 1973). Therefore, if they were aware of the observations and research being conducted, they may have felt that their privacy and lives had been imposed and felt fear of their behaviour being available to the public domain. Also, many of the men participating in these acts had families and wives back home, as a result of this, most of them would have been strongly against the research Humphreys was undergoing, as there was potential of ruining their family lives and careers. Therefore, it is evident that the main problem with this ethnographic study is not the study of male homosexuality, but whether the methods that Humphreys used were ethically justified within social research.

However, taking an overt role would overcome the ethical problems discussed above, as the participants would be aware of the presence of the researcher and the research they are carrying out. Social researchers and sociologists tend to take an overt role within ethnography to avoid harming their participants, as Humphreys' study was just an example of an extreme piece of unethical research.

It can be argued that ethnography is not the best way to study subcultural populations. One problem frequently identified with ethnography is the extended amount of time and engagement spent throughout the study. Ethnographic studies can take a vast amount of time therefore the researcher has to be fully committed when carrying out this research method, as well as the having the time and the funding. Adding up the extended period of time living with the participants, getting to the community and the need of everyday necessities, the practical factor of cost can arise as a real problem for researchers (Bryman, 2012). Although, to complete a successful ethnographic study, with a thorough understanding of the lives of population being observed, a vast amount of time would need to be spent on the life-long culture.

A limitation of using ethnography to research subcultural populations is, that due to the ethnographer being a part of the lives of the participant's subcultures, they can be putting their own lives in danger. Researching into subcultural populations could immediately put the researcher into danger and could cause them harm, just for the means of carrying out their research. For example, the study of *One Hundred Dollars and a Dead Man* by Vanderstaay (2005) presents an ethnographic study of an anonymous individual, Clay, who was involved in cocaine dealing, by which Vanderstaay, the researcher, supplied some of the funds for Clay's drug addiction. A number of events occurred throughout Vanderstaay's ethnographic study, which had the potential of putting the researcher at real danger, from the result of his involvement with his subject and his family. Events occurred such as, drug dealing, a murder, arrest and imprisonment all involving the subject of the research – Clay (Vanderstaay, 2005). At some point, the researcher even witnessed Clay committing an illegal offence, however maintained the confidentiality of his participant and did not mention it to anyone. These numerous criminal offences that took place could have put

Venderstaay in life threatening circumstances, therefore this shows that ethnography can have its limitations, with reference to the safety of the researcher.

In addition to this, another weakness of ethnography is the possibility of the researcher "going native". This refers to the researcher losing objectivity and getting too involved within the lives of their participants and typically becoming a part of the observed population. As a result of this, the researcher is then discarding the main aims and focus of their intended research (Bryman, 2012). The research previously discussed is an example of the researcher "going native" because Vanderstaay (2005) became too involved in Clay's life. This is evident as the researcher stated that he felt responsible for keeping Clay safe and done so by maintaining confidentiality throughout his research. The emotional connection between Vanderstaay and his subject even went to the extent of the researcher dreaming that Clay was his son. It is clear that the researcher got emotionally involved with not just Clay, but also with his family because he began to pay their water bills to prevent the family from hitting "rock bottom" (Vanderstaay, 2005). The vast amount of time spent living with the family, resulted in Vanderstaay evidently becoming emotionally attached to Clay and the members of his family. Therefore, it can be argued that this may have influenced his research and his findings, which produces further problems, such as biased research. Although getting this emotionally connected and "going native" would not be the result of every ethnographic study into subcultural populations, it can depend on the population being studied.

In conclusion, with relation to the study of subcultural populations, it is evident that ethnography is the best research method that researchers can carry out to produce good published research. The ethnographer is not only seen as a researcher, but as a participant in the subcultural population they are studying, therefore they are gaining a more in-depth, detailed experience, in comparison to any other qualitative method. This is seen as a positive attribute to ethnography, which allows for a valid understanding of the subcultural population to be produced, alongside a strong connection (rapport) to be made between the researcher and the participants. Also, the use of open-ended questions produces further detail into unexpected topics of conversation that could be seen as interesting in the researchers ethnographic study. However, ethnography arises the problems of time, cost, danger to the researcher and the potential of "going native". Although, for the purpose of researching subcultural populations, the positives of ethnography certainly outweigh the potential negatives, as well as the strong, successful published research discussed throughout that has been extremely influential in the subject of sociology.

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The level of religious involvement is higher in the United States than in Great Britain. Discuss the possible explanations and the implications for the secularisation thesis.

Robert Smith

The secularisation thesis is the concept explaining the decline of religious prominence in society, and thus is a controversial topic when examining highly religious nations such as the US and many Middle Eastern states. When examining the possible explanations for greater levels of religious involvement in the US compared to the UK, there are a number of factors, which must be addressed, namely what are the actual statistics behind the levels of religious involvement in the UK compared to the USA, and why this may be. On face value, it can be seen that the USA is more heavily involved in religion. Religion and the church have a much greater impact on society but why is this? Many postmodernists have theories for why, namely lower levels of belief in science, lower economic success, and the belief without belonging idea, a concept posed by Grace Davie in the 1990's explaining the idea of believing in a religion without actively attending the religious institution behind it.

Initially, when examining religious involvement across the USA and the UK it is important to analyse the statistics for religious involvement in these nations. Beginning with the USA, Gallup (2014), a research institute, published its findings for religious involvement in the USA across religious groups. Out of the total population sampled, 'Protestant (37%), Catholic (23%), Mormon (2%), Other Christian (10%), Jewish (2%), Other (6%), None (16%), No answer (4%)'. This data shows that out of the sample, 72% were part of the overall Christian faith, 2% were of Jewish faith, and around 16% said they had no religion, making the vast majority of the nation religious with only a small number being "secular". This data indicates that the USA is a heavily religious nation and religious involvement is a common part of American life. However, just simply looking at these isolated statistics from 2014 does not really provide any information of religious trends. Such analysis can aid in solidifying the secularisation thesis, as we cannot determine patterns for growth or decline in religiosity simply with the data from Gallup (2014) since we cannot compare to other years post or prior this study. However after looking at a report published by Pew Research (2008), they found that, 'more than one-quarter of American adults (28%) have left the faith in which they were raised in favour of another religion - or no religion at all'. This information indicates that there is perhaps a slight trend towards secularisation, or at least instability in the involvement in religion from the population, with Americans losing their faith or changing their particular religious belief. These statistics can now lend more information in terms of potential moves towards secularisation in the US, as the stability of religious participation is more limited. More and more Americans (28%) are choosing to either leave or move their religious beliefs leading to a decline in certain mainstream religious group.

For the UK, the statistics indicate a similar but more progressive image compared to the USA. Statistics from the 2011 UK census provided by The Office For National Statistics (2012:2), show participation as follows, 'Christianity (59.3%), No religion (25.1%), Not stated (7.2%), Islam (4.8%), Hinduism (1.3%), Other religions (3.6%).' This information immediately indicates a vast difference from the US, with belief in Christianity being down by almost 20% and people having 'No religion' being up by around 10% points. This shows an immediate contrast between the UK and the USA. When looking however at the Office of

National Statistics (2013a) data published, we can see that those holding 'No religion' is in fact up by 10% points against the previous census data in 2001. Along with this, we can witness a 12% point drop for Christianity, again solidifying the point for a move or at least relinquishment of faith as we move into the 21st Century. These statistics show that the UK is indeed a far less religiously involved nation when compared to the USA. However the reasons why may not yet be totally clear from the evidence provided.

When comparing the two nations and attempting to ascertain the reasons for varying levels of religious involvement it may be important to examine the argument for 'belief without belonging' a theory posed by Grace Davie (1994). With the USA being notably a more religious nation compared to the UK, it may seem that for a lot of Americans it is common to claim to be "religious" despite not really practicing their faith, for example not attend church or praying regularly. This can be a sign of the maintenance of social norms. In the US, it may be seen as socially acceptable to simply say and identify with a religion when in fact the level of involvement is limited. Even though the UK still maintains a state religion, religiosity in the UK is not to the same level as it is in the US as the statistics have shown from findings of Gallup (2014) and the Office For National Statistics (2012). This can provide a potential explanation for why the US may claim to be more religious than they actually are as a form of maintenance of social norms. However as we have seen in the YouGov (2011) survey, out of everyone polled in the UK, only 34% of people polled claimed to be active in their religious belief, namely they attended church and participated in prayer regularly. This study shows that the idea of belief without belonging may in fact be present largely in both nations thus the argument for the US having higher religious involvement due to the belief without belonging idea may not be a sufficient explanation. Although new research and analysis of this theory has led to new theories becoming present, as Voas (2005:11-28) states that 'the evidence suggests that belief has in fact eroded in Britain at the same rate as two key aspects of belonging: religious affiliation and attendance'. This can indicate that the belief without belonging idea in the UK may no longer be applicable, as Voas (2005) has stated that belief and belonging are declining at the same rate in the UK. This may mean that, going to the original argument, potentially the reason for apparent higher religious involvement in the US is due to the belief without belonging principle, as Davie (1994) suggests.

Furthermore, it can be argued that a reason for the decline in religiosity in the UK may be economic prosperity, especially when compared to the US. Many postmodernist theorists argue that economic development and economic success may weaken the power of religious organisations over society and thus lead to secularisation. Becsi (2007:16) states that 'economic development and religious beliefs are fundamentally intertwined'. Thus, we can see higher levels of economic success in the UK when comparing unemployment statistics between the UK and the USA, with the UK sitting at 5.6% in 2015, (Office of National Statistics, 2015) and the US at 6.7% (Bureau of Labor Statistics Data, 2015). This shows a greater level of economic prosperity in the UK, and as Bruce (2011:31) states "the poor and dispossessed find solace in a belief system that promises that 'the meek shall inherit the earth' that those who have little in this life will have everything in the next." This indicates that the rich and prosperous may be slightly disfavored by religion as many religious institution claim that those who are misfortunate in this world will be rewarded in the next, thus this can be an argument for why religious involvement may be less in the UK as there is higher levels of material prosperity through lower unemployment.

Moreover, a last reason for the disparity between levels of religious involvement in the UK compared to the US may be connected with the belief in science in these nations, and the

overall agreement with core scientific principles. One example is the belief in the evolution theory and basic natural selection ideas. According to a 2006 BBC television programme Horizon: A war on science, directed by Patterson (2006), around 48% of people in the UK totally agree with the evolution theory of natural selection, while in the USA this is only at 32% according to Pew Research (2009). This follows the line from most secularisation theorists being, the stronger the belief in science in a nation, the more likely it is to be largely secular, which is support by the evidence given from Patterson (2006) and Pew Research (2009). Thus, the reason for greater levels of secularisation in the UK may be to do with the stronger belief in science in the UK.

Finally, to measure the implication of the information given for the secularisation thesis we must first define the secularisation thesis. According to Scott (2014:671), 'secularisation is the process whereby, religious belief, practice and institution lose social significance'. Thus for the information provided its implication on the secularisation thesis is fairly positive, overall there is a positive trend towards secularisation in both nations. Religiosity is declining, the power of the church is declining, new uptake of religion is declining, and transmission of religion is in decline. This is explained by Voas (2015) who argues that parents today don't value loyalty to church as they did, along with parents favouring individualism, hence the loss of parental transmission of religion to their children. This is further supported by Pew Research's (2008:1) findings:

> The survey finds that the number of people who say they are unaffiliated with any particular faith today (16.1%) is more than double the number who say they were not affiliated with any particular religion as children. Among Americans ages 18-29, one-in-four say they are not currently affiliated with any particular religion.

Thus, the younger generations are no longer as religious as they used to be as they are given greater freedom over their religious choices instead of being more heavily influenced by their parents. This all supports the secularisation thesis and the overall theory itself seems fairly set and stable across the UK and US despite higher religious involvement in the US. It may appear that the US is simply a few years behind the UK in terms of secularisation.

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'Major corporations like the leading pharmaceutical companies have too much power' Do you agree?

Hannah Thomas

The pharmaceutical industry is one of the most profitable industries in the world, with leading companies, such as Novartis and Pfizer, making over $45 billion each in sales in 2012 (Busfield, 2015: 2). As the industry is so successful economically, it raises questions concerning the power of the industry. Many critics of the industry argue that it has too much power (Glasgow, 2001).

When exploring the power of the industry, Mann's model of power organisation is useful to analyse the different aspect of power the industry may have. The model concerns four aspects of power: ideological, economic, political and military (Mann, 2012). All, except military, can be applied to the pharmaceutical industry (Busfield, 2015).

This essay will firstly examine the economic power of the industry and how the industry searches for maximum profits have negatively impacted developing countries. The economic power of the industry lends itself to political power, through hiring lobbyists and funding political parties, which is the second aspect of power that will be analysed. Finally, an area where the industry has little power, approval of drugs, will briefly be discussed.

Firstly, economic power will be examined. The pharmaceutical industry has great economic power. In US America for example pharmaceuticals account for 8% of health care spending (Glasgow, 2001: 231). The industry saw worldwide sales of $950 billion in 2013 (IMS Health, 2013). This figure is higher than the gross national products of some countries (Busfield, 2015), and shows the scale of its economic power. This has created a monopoly, with a small number of leading companies within the industry, and has seen companies merge with competitors to maximise profits and increase dominance (Glasgow, 2001). The economic might of the industry, and growing search for profits has raised questions as to whether the industry may be too powerful.

One issue raised is the commercial bias the industry has developed towards western countries. Pharmaceutical companies are continuously on the search for a product that will produce $1 billion in profits, and these products, referred to as blockbusters, tend to be based on the needs of more developed countries, as sales will be higher and the companies can generate more profit (Busfield, 2015). This has resulted in many diseases prevalent in poorer areas being neglected and ignored, simply due to the lack of potential profit (Yamey, 2002).

An example of developing nations' health problems being ignored can be seen in the case of sleeping sickness, which is prevalent in areas of Africa. The drug, which was used to treat the illness, was very toxic and resulted in many deaths, so pharmaceutical companies developed a less toxic and more effective treatment, elfornithine (Yamey, 2002). The production of this drug soon stopped in 1995, as it was not profitable in such a poor area of the world, and consequently, many people had to continue using the toxic drug. However, elfornithine was later found to reduce facial hair in women and in 2000 the drug became available again in US America. Many people were angered that it had only been made available for cosmetic reasons, and the company had not kept it in production to treat

those in Africa (Yamey, 2002). This example highlights how the industry is concerned with profits rather than treating illnesses, and how the economic power of the industry has led to many treatable illnesses being ignored simply because of the lack of market opportunities.

Not only has the industry taken drugs off the market due to lack of profits, but often in poorer countries the prices of pharmaceuticals are too high for the population to purchase. This again shows how the economic power and motivations of the industry has led to many people being unable to afford treatment. Dukes (2002) argues that attempts to combat it, such as charity donations, achieve little in the long term, and that instead, the pharmaceutical industry itself should change the pricing of many drugs around the world.

This argument supports the idea that the pharmaceutical industry has too much power, as it states that the actions of the industry itself is the only way to change the price structure of drugs. The current pricing of drugs has led to poorer countries being unable to treat themselves. This has been the case for many years (Yamey, 2002) and shows that the industry is unwilling to change, as it is more focused on maximizing profits. The fact that the industry is unwilling to change the pricing of drugs for the sake of profits supports the argument that the industry has too much power. As an alternative, the power and control over the pricing of pharmaceuticals may need to be transferred to an independent body, where the leading pharmaceutical companies have little power and influence. While in many countries the prices of pharmaceuticals are ultimately controlled by the government (Busfield, 2015), even this can lead to issues, due to pharmaceutical companies using their economic strength and power to influence politicians and ultimately gain their own political power (Angell, 2005).

As discussed previously, the pharmaceutical industry is very profitable, and is thus able to spend money in hopes of influencing politics. In 2002 the industry spent $91 million to employ 675 lobbyists in Washington (Angell, 2005:198). The job of these lobbyists was to endorse the pharmaceutical industry and discuss their political needs, in order to gain support from those in government. Many of the lobbyists were powerful people themselves, and this helped achieve support for the industry's interests in Washington (Angell, 2005). The industry also uses its economic power to support and fund political parties that will help the industry interests (Dukes, 2005). This subsequently provides the industry with political power.

The pharmaceutical company Schering-Plough have in the past financially supported political parties, which has then influenced policies. In 1999, the company donated $50,000 to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Following this, a bill was passed to make the process of extending a patent of drugs, such as Schering-Plough's Claritin, easier. The head of the committee, Robert Torricelli, initiated the bill and the event is a prime example of how pharmaceutical companies are using their economic power to create political power (Angell, 2005:201).

There are many examples of pharmaceutical companies using their political power to influence patent regulation. A patent refers to the licence that is given to a product, which prevents competitors from producing the same product for a set period of time (Busfield, 2015:1). Obtaining a longer patent on a drug is key for pharmaceutical companies to maximize profits, as it will prevent competition (Glasgow, 2001).

The industry massively supported the Trade-Related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and their lobbying and pressure put on governments led to the agreement being passed in 1994 (Dukes, 2005:60). The TRIPS agreement strengthened the rights of intellectual property worldwide, and perhaps most significantly, impacted the generic pharmaceutical industry, as it prevented generic pharmaceutical companies from producing drugs that are patented (Yagsul, 2014).

The western pharmaceutical industry, that supported and lobbied for the agreement, has been widely criticised due to the agreements impact on developing countries. Generic drugs are often cheaper, and so were more accessible to the poorer populations of developing countries (Yasgul, 2014). Weissman (1996) has also discussed the impact of the agreement, stating that the industry has not only influenced politics in their own nations, but have also exerted power over developing nations across the world in order to improve their profits.

From the arguments presented above, it is clear why many people argue that corporations like the pharmaceutical industry may have too much power. Applying Mann's (2012) model of power organisation to the industry, it can be suggested that the industry has too much political and economic power. Additionally, the sociologist C Wright Mills (1956) argued in his power elite theory, that there are three main aspects of society that have the ability to gain great power, one of these being major corporations). This reinforces the idea that pharmaceutical companies do have the ability to gain too much power, and possibly already have become the power elite Mills anticipated, through their political and economic power.

While the industry is argued to have too much economic and political power, there are other aspects of the industry where the pharmaceutical companies have little power. As the industry develops pharmaceutical drugs, the industry is subjected to strict health and safety regulations when producing a new product. In US America it is the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) that check the safety, efficacy and quality of the product before it can be released the general public (Miller, 2000). While it has been argued that the regulation of safety of pharmaceutical products is insufficient, the pharmaceutical industry as a whole actually has little power over whether a drug is approved and released, they may provide test results which support their product, but the decision ultimately lies with the approval agencies (Busfield, 2015).

To conclude, when analysing Mann's aspects of power, it is clear that the pharmaceutical industry holds great economic and political power. The economic power of the industry has resulted in a push for more profits, and as a result the health needs of developing nations have been ignored in favour for more profitable drugs in western nations (Busfield, 2015). The economic power of the industry has helped the industry gain political power, hiring lobbyist to influence policies and politicians in Washington, and again impacting developing nations through the policies the industry favours and supports (Angell, 2005). Considering these views it could definitely be argued that the industry has too much power, however the role drug approval agencies mean that the industry has little power concerning the approval of drugs (Miller, 2000). Examining all these arguments, it could be suggested that the industry has too much economic and political power, rather than just simply too much overall power.

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The Postmodern Gender Order

Kaitlin Trenerry

Women appear to be out-performing men in many areas across society. Girls do far better than boys at school across the board, and women have not only entered more areas of the job market in the last five decades, they are doing the same jobs as men, and in many cases they are doing it better. Although women are still excluded from the workplace in some circumstances, and their progression is often limited, due in part to their unfortunate responsibility for the reproduction of the human race, the majority of women balance careers of some kind with being full time mothers. In what Functionalists termed the 'Golden Age' of 1950s British society, where the ideal family was nuclear in structure consisting of a stay-at-home mother and housewife and 'breadwinning', providing father, it appears that roles within the family, and divisions of labour, did not overlap and were not interchangeable. Gender scripts were mostly fixed and identities were static. There have been many changes in society the last fifty years that directly affect the institution of the family and the identities and gender scripts within them. We now see many women performing the role of 'man' and 'woman', 'husband' and 'wife', within the family. Women, most of the time, are still the main provider of the socialisation and emotional care of the family, and taking on the largest proportion of domestic work within the home, whilst also being responsible for a considerable proportion, if not all, of the household income. As Rosin (2013) found, 'more than a third of mothers in the United States and the UK are the families main breadwinner' (2013:48):

> The Bureau of Labour Statistics shows that well into the twenty-first century, women still do the bulk of housework and childcare. On an average day in 2011, 19 per cent of men did housework- such as cleaning or doing laundry- compared with 48 per cent of women. Married women with children who work full time spend 51 minutes a day on housework whilst married men with children spend just 14 minutes a day on it (Tarrant, 2013: 167).

Macionis and Plummer (2012) define gender roles as referring to 'learning and performing the socially accepted characteristics for a given sex' (2012:393). Children are socialised to act out the gender roles that society assigns to their biological sex. According to Ann Oakley,

> Sex' refers to the biological division into male and female; 'gender' to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity.' Gender draws attention, therefore, to the socially constructed aspects of differences women and men (cited in Scott, 2014: 274).

We are socialised into a gender order, the way in which societies shape notions of masculinity and femininity into power relationships (Macionis and Plummer, 2012).

As women are taking on more and more roles, performing the role of 'man' and 'woman' in the family, adapting and changing to suit the different social situations and societal expectations, what, in the twenty-first century, is the place of the man? We see many men unable to switch between the roles, previously assigned to one gender, as easily as women appear to, be it because of deeply ingrained societal attitudes or social policies which do not allow men to take on the role of anything other than the provider in the family. With

apparent increasing gender equality and the expansion of women's roles, where does this leave men? What does it mean for the family?

Official statistics show that girls are out performing boys in all the main attainment indicators at key stage four. The Department of Education published in January 2015 that the gap between the percentage of girls and boys achieving at least five A*- C grades at GCSE is 11.6 percentage points, with 71.4% of girls achieving this indicator compared to 59.9% of boys (Department of Education, 2015).

Table A: Percentage of pupils achieving 5+ A*- C GCSEs (or equivalent) grades including English and mathematics by gender

Gender	2012/13 (%)	2013/14 (%) '2013 methodology'	2013/14 (%) ' 2014 methodology'
boys	55.7	55.6	51.6
girls	65.7	65.2	61.7
all pupils	60.6	60.3	56.6

Figure 1: Percentage of pupils achieving key stage 4 indicators by gender. England, 2013/14 (2014 methodology)
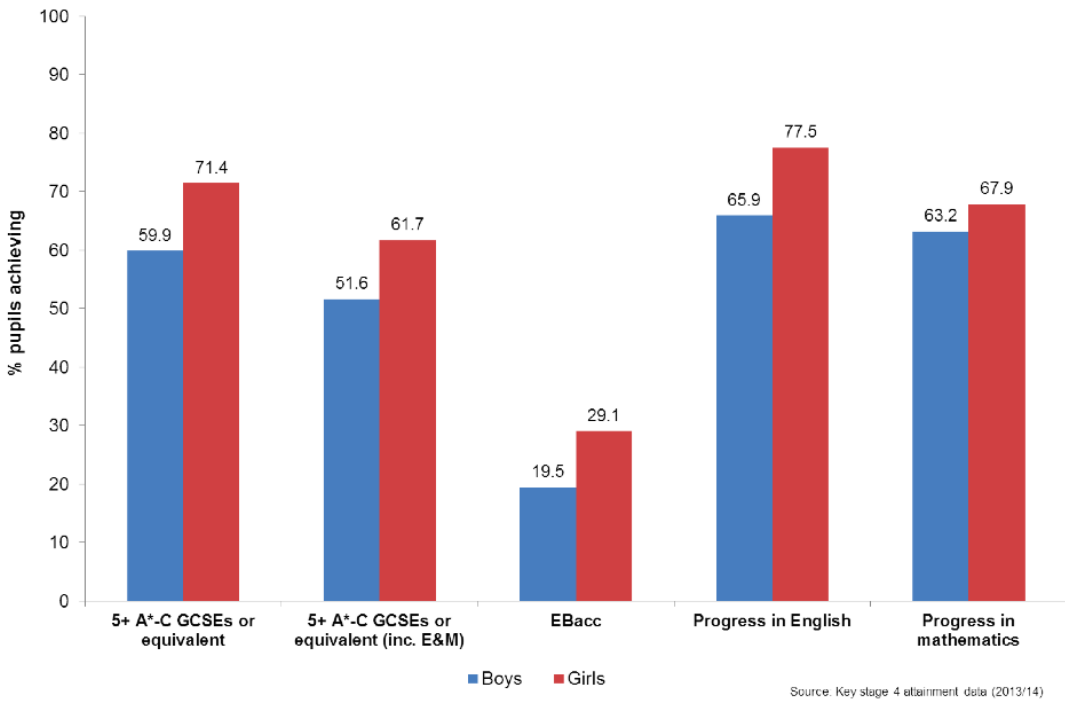
Source: Department of Education (2015)

It is common that later in life men feel insecure about their masculinity and their role within the family. It has been suggested that this could stem from their school career of being outshone by girls. Connell (1995) argues that schools play a significant role in reinforcing hegemonic masculinity. This means the dominance of heterosexual, masculine identity and the subordination of female and gay identities. Boys that feel inferior to girls in the education system are likely to reinforce their masculine identity and use it as a way to

achieve in less conventional academic areas. This ingrains into boys' minds the idea that there is only one 'correct type' of man and it creates the widespread belief of what masculinity means. This creates problems for boys when later in life they are faced with undertaking less traditionally 'masculine' roles, particularly if they have a female breadwinning partner, which can cause them to have an identity crisis and feel a sense of failure.

Since the 1980s, girls have been doing better than boys have educationally, and this extends beyond secondary school. The Guardian published in 2013 that the latest statistics released by the University and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) revealed a 22,000 drop in the number of male students enrolling at university (Ratcliffe, 2013). It claimed that in autumn 2012 women were a third more likely to start a degree than their male counterparts, despite the fact that there are actually more young men than women in the United Kingdom. The gender gap goes further still, the Telegraph published in 2009 that 63.9 per cent of women graduates obtain a first or upper second degree, compared with 59.9 per cent of men (Khan, 2009). Women now not only outnumber men at all universities, but they outperform them too. It would seem that women continue to go from strength to strength, improving their position in society. Yet the position of men remains relatively fixed, as women are over taking them.

When it comes to the job market, although the pay gap between men and women is not quite yet closed, women are the more desirable employees within many sectors. Rosin (2013) argued in her book *The End of Men and the Rise of Women* that:

> Technology began to work against men, making certain brawn jobs obsolete and making what economists call "people skills" ever more valuable… Traditionally feminine attributes, like empathy, patience, and communal problem-solving, began to replace the top-down autocratic model of leadership and success. For the first time in history, the global economy is becoming a place where women are finding more success than men (2013: 117-118).

Women are beginning to move up in the workplace, beyond the stable position of men.

From her research on 'breadwinner wives,' Hanna Rosin explains how men are not adapting to or taking on more roles at the same rate that women are, in terms of divisions of labour within the family. She wrote:

> I discovered that the roles do not just reverse. I did not talk to a single breadwinner wife who has entirely ceded the domestic space. This is true even if the woman is working two jobs. Its true even if the woman makes considerably more money than the man, and its true even if she has a stay at home husband (2013: 53).

It is puzzling to the sociologist that postmodern men seem unable to adapt at anywhere near the rate that women are overall:

> Over the last thirty years, women have started to work considerably more hours than they once did, without easing off on childcare. In 1965 women reported doing an average of 9.3 hours of paid work a week and 10.2 hours of childcare. Now women not only do an average of 23.2 hours of paid work a week, but they do more childcare-13.9 hours (Rosin, 2013: 54).

It seems that generally men are not relieving women of many of the roles that they undertake. Women have taken on more and more over the decades but the workload of men has remained relatively unchanging as Rosin found:

> Men, meanwhile, are moving into new areas much more slowly than women. Over the same period of time, [since 1965] men have decreased their average work hours per week from 46.4 to 42.6. And their childcare hours have upped from 2.5 to only a modest 7 (Rosin, 2013:54).

Rosin argued that despite decades of self-help literature imploring men to explore their nurturing sides, the stay-at-home father remains a rare phenomenon. In contrast to Rosin, Smith (2013) found the argument that men are static in their roles to be untrue:

> Several studies have found fathers now spend more time with their children and on housework than at any time since researchers started collecting comparable data (2013:204).

However, 'more time' is rather vague and it does not provide solid evidence for the argument. Smith also pointed out that, 'A 2011 census report says that one in five fathers serves as the primary caregiver to a child under fifteen- up 6 per cent since 2002, which suggests a trend (2013:204). However I would argue that 6 per cent in eleven years is rather disappointing. Whilst I can agree that most men are adapting in their roles and position within the family to suit postmodern needs, the change is happening at a much slower rate compared to the rate in which women's roles have seen a drastic change.

C. Wright Mills (2000) pointed out that what may be considered as a personal trouble, may in fact be the result of a wider, societal, structural issue and that we can find examples of individual troubles where the responsibility could perhaps be placed upon a public issue. I find this to be true for the case of this topic as a man today may feel negatively about himself in relation to his role in the family and in wider society. This can lead to mental health problems, self-esteem issues and identity crises. I interviewed a small sample of men who did not fit the usual stereotype of a 'working husband', whether that be because they were retired or taking a work break to be a stay-at-home father. When asked how they felt about themselves being out of work, I received responses from the men such as:

> 'As an individual you feel lost, your role in the family changes and you can often feel depressed.'

When asked how they thought other people viewed and treated them because of their current work status or role within the family, one man in the sample responded with:

> 'It feels as if you are not conforming to the expectations of society, and that you are lesser of a man. People view you as being work shy or lazy.'

In this case the public issue is society's expectations of what it means to be a man, with deeply ingrained gender roles, and ideas of what it means to be masculine. There has been a lot of focus on the equal rights of women and men in the workplace, yet there has not been a lot of focus on the rights of men to dominate whatever role in the domestic sphere that they please. There is much stigma attached to 'stay-at-home fathers' and 'househusbands'. Social policies such as paternity leave also have an affect as it limits a fathers options as to how actively he can parent and what role he can play in his children's

lives. Here there is a clear correlation between the embedded social issues, attitudes and expectations and the personal troubles that postmodern men are facing.

MP Diane Abbott recently warned that we have a generation of men in 'transit' and 'unclear' of their social role. She claims:

> Social norms can mitigate against men expressing their emotions or appearing vulnerable, meaning common psychological disorders, including depression and anxiety, are under diagnosed in men (cited in BBC News, 2013).

In contrast to this, Smith (2013) writes that in caring for his child he has "never felt more secure" in his masculinity. However, he follows by:

> ...at the same time, never have I felt less 'masculine.' I'm learning slowly, to let go of the link between my self-worth and the contribution I make in the paid workforce; more and more, I measure myself against women I see as successful mothers (2013: 203-206).

We would see the largest changes to the roles that men take on within the family and the most substantial improvements to how men feel they are viewed by society if perceptions of masculinity and what it means to be a man were transformed. This however is not an easy or a quick process.

MP Diane Abbott also argued that, 'Schools need to start helping boys to explore a less narrow version of masculinity' (cited in Demos, 2013: 10). She claimed:

> It's not about turning boys into girls. Its about making boys feel like they can talk about their place in the world. We must allow men and boys to explore sensitivity, emotions, sexuality, boundaries, communication and family life. Schools should take a leading role in teaching children and young people to see through gender stereotypes and sexualised media from an early stage (cited in Demos, 2013: 10).

To tackle the problem of men being excluded from fatherhood, because of the expectation placed upon them by society that they will be the breadwinner and provider, Abbott proposes:

> To ensure men stay involved in their children's lives we must start to look seriously at the ways that fathers can have access to services and parental leave, in the way that mothers have. We need to value the father-child bond much more (cited in Demos, 2013: 11).

In an online article, columnist and commentator Laurie Penny (2013) rightly pointed out that, 'In the real world, not all men want to be 'breadwinners', what men do want, is to feel needed, and wanted, and useful, and loved'. She goes on to say that they aren't alone in this:

> ...its one of the most basic human instincts, and for too long we have been telling men and boys that the only way they can be useful is by bringing home money to a doting wife and kids, or possibly by dying in a war. It was an oppressive, constricting message 50 years ago, and it's doubly oppressive now that society has moved on (Penny, 2013).

'There can be no doubt that men are in distress. Society's unwillingness to let go of the tired old 'breadwinner' model of masculinity contributes to that distress' (Penny, 2013). The gender order needs to be overturned to allow families to balance their paid and unpaid work roles to work for their individual needs. Men need to have the support, financially and socially to be stay-at-home fathers if they so wish. We need to question the stereotypes, and remove the stigma from men who may work or earn less than their female partners earn, also removing stigma from women who would prefer to take on the breadwinner role and allow their partners to cover more of the childcare.

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In the context of accusations of child and domestic abuse, discuss Jonathan Turley's argument that consensual polygyny should be legal in the U.S. On the basis of his argument, would consensual polyandry also be legal, and if so is it sustainable in capitalist western societies? Explain the reasons for your response.

Chloe Ward

Polygyny is to be understood in the context of the essay as "a form of plural marriage in which a man is permitted more than one wife" (Zeitzen, 2008:9); it is commonly seen in the media as a Mormon practice despite its presence in 78% of the world's cultures (Turley, 2004:2) and the fact that it was denounced as a Mormon practice in the 19th Century. It is a highly controversial issue, which is commonly associated with the subjugation of women (Nielsen, 2009:263) and relationships with big age differences between the husband and his wives (Zeitzen, 2008:92). Western societies that practice polygyny are therefore seen as facilitating child and domestic abuse due to these associations.

Polygamy, of which polygyny is a specific form, is criminalized in many countries around the world. Zeitzen describes this as "one effect of globalization" as there has been an "emergence or reinforcement of internal opposition to polygamy even in societies where it has formed part of the cultural repertoire for generations" (2008:6). Turley views this criminalization as a "matter of unequal treatment under the law" (2004:1) and cites the First Amendment in his claim that those practicing polygamy should not be prosecuted for doing so, as this amendment "was designed to protect the least popular and least powerful" (2004:1), and the closed societies that practice polygyny are no exception to this. Turley also claims that outlawing polygyny is a sign of hypocrisy in the USA. He states that an individual living with numerous partners and conceiving children with these partners would not be challenged by the legal system; it is only when the individual accepts "a legal commitment for those partners" in a spousal sense (Turley, 2004:1) that accusations of bigamy come to form. There is further opposition to this when the religious aspect is added.

Turley discusses the case of Reynolds vs United States in 1878, where the court "refused to recognize polygamy as a legitimate religious practice" (2004:2), claiming it as "almost exclusively a feature of the life of Asiatic and of African people" (Reynolds vs United States [1878]), going on to claim that it went against the values that Christian teachings had instilled in the Western World. Turley disputes this, pointing to passages in the Bible such as where "Deuteronomy contains a rule for the division of property in polygamist marriages" and Solomon is shown to have "700 wives and 300 concubines" (2004:1). Turley also discusses the issue in the context of Thomas Green, a polygamist in Utah, who engaged in "simultaneous conjugal-type relationships" with nine women over a period of twenty-six years, resulting in the births of "approximately twenty-five children" (State of Utah v. Thomas Arthur Green, [2004], 1). The court document pertaining to this case shows that Green's wives included three sets of sisters and three of his own stepdaughters (State vs Green, 2004:18). Turley discusses how one of these relationships was between Green and a 13 year old girl, which, if sexual in nature, the girl could not have consented to under

Utah law, as "no person under the age of 14 can legally consent to sex; they are incapable of consenting"(Yee, 2014). The violation of this law would result in Green being held to having committed statutory rape, and these violations "generally carry prison sentences of approximately 5 years" (Yee, 2014).

Turley seems to be arguing against the focus placed on Green as a polygamist in the context of these accusations, stating that a person in a monogamist marriage would also be prosecuted if found to be violating the state's consent laws (Turley, 2004:2). He claims that the argument people most commonly have against the legalization of polygamy is that of underage girls being "coerced" into polygamist relationships, to which he argues that "banning polygamy is no more a solution to child abuse than banning marriage would be a solution to spousal abuse" (2004:2). Therefore, he is claiming that the participation of these parties in child and domestic abuse would have nothing to do with their status as polygamists.

Nielsen portrays the polygynous marriage a little differently to the ones that might be thought of in the context of domestic abuse. His research mentions that "although some research shows lower levels of psychological health in polygynous than monogamous women", the majority of the cases he examined "suggested that polygynous women may have more control over their resources, which might provide those women with more psychological benefits" (2009:263). Of course, it is also easy to see how being surrounded by like-minded women may provide additional benefits, as well as facilitating the sharing of childcare for one another and other responsibilities, depending on the living arrangements of the family. For instance, the Green family lived in a "collection of shared mobile homes that the family called 'Green Haven'" where there were "common dining and laundry areas" (State vs Green, 2004:1), perhaps allowing for friendly relationships to develop between the women.

In monogamous Western Society, if a wife learns her husband is having sexual contact with another woman, there will likely be feelings of betrayal and jealousy. However, the suggestion made by Zeitzen is that this is less likely to occur in polygynous relationships, as "it is typically a communal decision to add a new wife to a family" (2008:92), meaning that jealousy may be less likely to occur as the wives will have made the decision to share their husband together. The potential psychological benefits for these women not feeling threatened by the possibility of their husband straying are likely to positively impact their lives.

However, some feel that the benefits of polygyny can be seen much more in the men. White claims that "sociobiologists view polygyny as a reproductive strategy by which men maximize the number of their offspring but minimize investment in each child" (1988:871), which implies that by having numerous wives, the man can potentially guarantee at least one of his wives is pregnant at any given moment in time, thus enabling him to have an almost unlimited number of children, depending on the number of wives he has. This idea is strengthened by the fact that "most men succeed with age, and where success increases the chance of future success" (White, 1988:871). This suggests that as the men have more children, they attract more wives as this has perhaps presented them as being a desirable partner.

This certainly raises questions about the sustainability of population size. If an unlimited number of children can be brought into existence from a polygynous relationship structure, the demographic profile of the location in which they are born is likely to be impacted. For

instance, the American Community Survey's 2010 Census reveals that there is great variation between the median age ranges of towns in Utah, where the headquarters of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (FLDS) is located, and the rest of the US population as a whole. The average age of a person living in the USA is 37.3 years old. By comparison, some settlements in Utah demonstrate ageing populations, such as Summit CDP with a median age of 77.7, while others such as Hildale City, with a median age of 16.2 (US Census Data, 2010a), evidence a more youthful population structure. It seems reasonable to assume then that some settlements have considerably higher populations living in a polygynous manner. Hildale City is in fact where the FLDS headquarters is located, and where the family of Warren Jeff, current FLDS leader, currently reside (FLDS Website). Hildale's sister town, Colorado City, Arizona, has a median age of 15.8 (US Census Data, 2010a). These figures strongly suggest a higher proportion of children to adults, something wholly plausible if we take into account the unlimited child bearing potential of a polygynous patriarch.

The value of women in these societies is a complicated issue. The accusations of domestic abuse seem contrary to the role they play. Nielsen's research on members and former members of the FLDS church found that "girls who wish to leave have been tracked down and returned" (2009:263) to their communities, which suggests that female offspring are much more desirable than male offspring when compared with the fact that Nielsen was made aware of the ostracizing of "more than 400 boys" for flouting strict behavioural laws (2009:263) in these polygynous societies. This seems contrary to the idea that women in these societies are subjugated. Similar to the situation of women in other forms of polygamous relationships, "polyandry and polygyny are functional in offering the extra help needed to provide subsistence for a family" (Starkweather, 2009:22), something that is certainly true when we consider that the amount of money needed to support these large houses is much higher than the average for a monogamous nuclear family.

One further issue is that of incest and inbreeding, which could be considered a form of abuse in the sense that the children born from it are more likely to have genetic disorders and deficiencies. More than half of the population of Hildale and Colorado City are blood descendants of two founding families (Dougherty, 2005:1), and these genetic linkages have resulted in there being an abnormally high prevalence of fumarase deficiency. Dougherty's interviews with families in this polygamist community found that up to 20 children were afflicted at the time, which is shocking when paired with the fact that there are not "another dozen cases in the world that have been reported" (2005:1). The prediction in this article is that this inbreeding is likely to continue afflicting children with the deficiency as relationships continue to form between these two families, which includes symptoms such as "severe epileptic seizures, inability to walk or even sit upright, severe speech impediments, failure to grow at a normal rate, and tragic physical deformities", for which there is no cure (Dougherty, 2005:1).

A solution to this sort of issue may well be the acceptance of polygamy into mainstream society. I would assume the reason for there being so much inbreeding in areas such as Hildale and Colorado City is because of the fact that there are so few families there due to the isolated location and the stigma attached to those who participate in polygamous relationships. If the social stigma was lifted, there may be more opportunity for genetic diversity, therefore reducing the occurrence of genetic disorders such as fumarase deficiency. Legalizing polygamous relationships ought to reduce the attached social stigma, which in turn may be likely to encourage these polygynous units to join mainstream society. Perhaps the reason such a stigma is attached is because of the fact that these

people are viewed as being so vastly different to those who are monogamous. Nielsen found from his research on former and present FLDS members that those who knew polygamists were "more likely to hold a positive view of polygamy" (2009:266), which is likely because they see that participating in polygamy does not necessarily make them a bad person, just as participating in monogamy does not necessarily make others good. Of course, if this acceptance is to be given to those in polygynous relationships, it is only natural that polyandrous relationships become accepted too.

Polyandry is a system whereby women have multiple husbands; four types can be found throughout the world, one of which is fraternal, or adelphic, polyandry. This is "a form of marriage in which two or more brothers marry a single woman" (Levine and Sangree, 1980:396). This form of polyandry can be found in the Himalayas and in the Pahari region of India. Associated polyandry, where marriage is open between a woman and "men who may or may not be brothers" (Levine and Sangree, 1980:397), is a form found in Ceylon, South Asia. Two other forms can be found throughout the world, Nayar polyandry and secondary marriage, but those will not be discussed in this essay.

Polyandry is commonly seen as a "strategy of keeping the household property and estate consolidated" and as "a way of maintaining a pool of labour force together that would help cope with persistent economic hardships" (Luintel 2004:44). In locations where this occurs, such as mountainous regions in Nepal, fraternal polyandry means that the scarce resources families have, such as arable land and livestock, are not divided up between the sons. All the sons from that family will marry the same woman, meaning the amount of land or livestock that the family owns remains the same through the patrilineal lines of descent. However, polyandry can also be useful in offering help needed to provide subsistence for a family (Starkweather, 2009:22) and as a "social response to extremely adverse economic conditions" to help poor families survive (Luintel 2004:44). For instance, there being so many males in a family unit means that there is more chance of them succeeding economically as they can go to different locations to sell their wares, rather than just one husband who may not succeed in one place.

Luintel compares two villages in Nepal, Thehe and Nyinba. The villages are mostly identical, other than the fact that Thehe villagers are monogamous, compared to the polygamous Nyinba. He learned that the "population growth in polyandrous society is much lower than that of the monogamous society" (2004:49) and found the long term result of this was "successive impoverishment for the Thehe villagers vis à vis the Nyinba, who had been prospering over the years" (2004:50). This is because a population consumes more resources as it grows, and in areas like the Himalayas which are difficult to inhabit, growth of resources and infrastructure is extremely limited. Starkweather refers to polyandry as "a very effective way of holding population growth in check" (2009:19) as "a woman's fecundability remains the same whether she is married to one or several men (2009:19), meaning that unlike polygyny, where there is a possibility for several babies to be born in a single family unit each year, the growth rate in a polyandrous family unit is likely to only be only one baby for every 12 months. This means that if the population does grow, it will be a process that occurs very slowly.

I see no reason why consensual polyandry would be any more an issue if introduced in capitalist western societies than polygyny, although Levine and Sangree make an interesting point about it, which does lead one to believe there could be issues:

Those societies which strongly oppose polyandry or plural sexual unions for women also, not surprisingly, resist perceiving women's sexual and reproductive capacities as separable, while they show little or no resistance to accepting the separability of men's sexual and procreative attitudes. (1980:389)

The suggestion here is that, in an androcentric society, as is seen across most of the Western world, polyandry may present issues in regards to the stigma attached to the idea of a woman having many sexual partners. Levine and Sangree demonstrate this thinking with the question: "for what else, beyond economic necessity, could cause men to forego the pleasures of monogamy"? (1980:391). They see the not only the wider societal view of polyandry, but also the anthropological view, as evidencing "exotic and androcentric biases" (1980:391), and claim "the notable difficulty that western anthropologists have had in accepting polyandry…and fitting it into comprehensive theories of marriage" (1980:388) has resulted in somewhat of a skewed idea of what polyandry involves.

A better question to ask in regards to Turley's view on polygamy, which is that it ought to be legalized due to the sheer hypocrisy of the unions being outlawed only when they are officially married, might be whether these forms of marriage are sustainable in capitalist Western society. To better be able to answer this, we can use the concept of replacement fertility. This is defined by the Office for National Statistics as "the level of fertility required to ensure a population replaces itself in size" (ONS, 2005:16). For most Western countries, this is around two children, to replace their mothers and fathers. However, because of socio-economic trends, "a substantial proportion of women have to have three or more children in order to compensate for those remain childless [sic] or have only one child" (2005:17).

ONS claims that there is a difference of -25% in more developed regions between the actual total fertility rate (TFR) and the required TFR of 2.1, which implies there is an ageing population, something that is commonly observed in wealthy countries, such as Germany and Japan, where the birth rate is declining. The difference in the least developed regions is +161%, which shows a rapidly growing and youthful population, something that could be a result of polygyny in a Western society.

An ageing population is problematic because "as the population ages, each person of working age will have to support more aged dependents" (ONS, 2005:24), as well as strain being placed on welfare systems, such as pensions and healthcare. This may also lead to a decline in economic wellbeing and productivity; this type of population change would potentially be created by polyandrous relationships.

In a neoliberal Western capitalist society, an ageing population is hardly sustainable. In countries well-adjusted to polyandrous means of reproduction, it works well in sustaining smaller populations, but living in a society with 'creative singlehood' and increasing numbers of women making the conscious choice not to have children, below average fertility rates could attack the population. Of course, the TFR of 2.1 needs to be adjusted, given that it is calculated on a monogamous family unit of one husband and one wife; if anything, it would need to be higher.

Of course, this argument hypothesises that vast amounts of the population adopt a polyandrous lifestyle, which is unlikely if we consider the argument put forth by Levine and Sangree. In order for this hypothetically popular enough polyandry to have enough of an

impact, polygyny would of course need to be adopted; as Starkweather says, "it is also important to note that wherever polyandry is found, so is polygyny" (2009:19). This conjugally obverse (Levine and Sangree 2010: 388) form of reproduction may well result in many more children being born into polygynous families. The size these families could be is demonstrated in the aforementioned US Census for 2010, which shows that 66.4% of the households in Hildale, Utah contain 7 or more people, and the average family size is 10.22 (US Census Data, 2010b).

Perhaps then, if both forms of polygamy are adopted simultaneously, there could be a way for society to remain sustainable. It is, however, important to remember that a large proportion of Western society simply may not wish to participate in polygamy, due to their notions of it being a religious or outdated practice, or simply because they prefer a monogamous lifestyle. This does not change the fundamental point that Turley is making, however; those adopting these lifestyles are being unfairly persecuted under the law, and that is unacceptable, regardless of one's own marital preferences.

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What are the implications for equality of educational opportunity?

Hannah Bird

The two schools that I have selected to use for this research project into the implications of equality of educational opportunity are located in Solihull (near Birmingham). The first school is a foundation school called Lyndon School, with its pupils aged between eleven and sixteen (1323 pupils), and the other is a voluntary aided school named St Peter's Catholic School and Specialist Science College (1245 pupils), with pupils aged eleven up to eighteen. A foundation school is one that is run by a governing body, and they employ the staff and set their own admissions criteria; the governing body also owns the land. A voluntary-aided school, faith schools, religious organisation or trusts, input small proportion of capital and then form the majority of the governing body, which employs staff and sets admissions criteria too. The land and buildings are owned by religious organisation (New Schools Network, 2015). Both of these schools are comprehensive, which means they are state schools, which do not select their pupils based on their prior academic achievement. When a certain group or person is unable to obtain the same level of educational opportunity, due to disadvantaged family background it represents a serious imbalance in society. As schooling is compulsory for all it should be of a quality that insures the child is able to progress through life without a hindrance as a result of their educational standards.

One indicator that shows the difference between schools is the academic results obtained. In the case of Lyndon and St. Peters there is a considerable difference in the grades achieved at GCSE level. At Lyndon only 44% of their pupils were able to achieve five or more A* to C grades in 2014, whereas at St. Peters the level was significantly higher, at 77%. Part of this is explained in the proportion of students who are disadvantaged. Lyndon has 24% of pupils who are recognised as being disadvantaged. In comparison, St. Peters Catholic School has 7%. How this is expressed in grades I will present now in a basic table in order to be able to easily compare the results.

% A*- C GCSE Maths & English	Disadvantaged	Other Pupils
Lyndon School	25%	50%
St. Peters Catholic School	64%	82%

Table 1: % of students with A* - C GCSE Maths and English, comparing disadvantaged and other students.

Being from a disadvantaged background has an effect on the grades that are achieved at GCSE level no matter the school quality; however there is a 39% difference between the two schools' disadvantaged children, which shows that the school must be having an effect on the outcomes and not just the background. Even if students came from the same economic and family position, their chances are significantly better at St. Peters Catholic School in comparison to Lyndon School, and this must come down to the teaching and the resources and opportunities. At schools there is a certain level of progress that is expected in terms of maths and English learning at GCSEs. This is also where the levels of disadvantage in the pupils have an effect, and further show a difference between the two schools. Below is a table I created to show the differences.

% Expected Progress in Eng.	Disadvantaged	Other Pupils
Lyndon School	34%	69%
St. Peters Catholic School	64%	82%
% Expected Progress in Maths	**Disadvantaged**	**Other Pupils**
Lyndon School	23%	54%
St. Peters Catholic School	50%	80%

Table 2: % of Expected Progress in English and Maths, comparing disadvantaged and other students.

The government's Department for Education sets national targets to ensure that schools have a specified proportion of their pupils that make at least expected progress in both maths and English between the end of Key Stage 2 and the end of Key Stage 4. This means that pupils that are able to achieve a level 4 in English or in maths should then be able to go on and obtain at least a grade C in that subject at GCSE (Department for Education). The table above shows what percentage of the pupils at these schools have been able to reach the expected progress level, and further comparing how disadvantaged pupils do in comparison to the other pupils.

It is hard to quantify disadvantage and socio-economic status. One way that is considered to be a sufficiently accurate representation is by categorising those who are a part of the Free School Meals programme as being disadvantaged. 'FSM status is widely used as a proxy for SES in UK educational research' (Hobbs, 2007: 3). A Free School Meal is a meal that is provided to a child and paid for by the government. The main aim is to try and improve attendance as well as aiding malnutrition for those in financial trouble. In order to be entitled to free school meals, one of the parents must receive any of the following:

- Income Support.
- Income-based Jobseeker's Allowance
- Income-related Employment and Support Allowance
- Support under Part VI of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999
- The Guarantee element of State Pension Credit
- Child Tax Credit, provided they are not entitled to Working Tax Credit and have an annual income of £16,190 or less, as assessed by Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs

In Lyndon School 13.2% of it pupils are currently entitled to FSM, and over the past 6 years 29.7% of the pupils who have attended the school have required the Free School Meals program. In comparison to that, at St. Peters Catholic School only 3.7% of the students are currently using FSM, and over the 6 year period the percentage is at 12%. In the entirety of the UK in 2015, it is reported that 16.3% of students in state-funded secondary schools are eligible, and claiming their Free School Meals. (Department for Education, 2013). The differences between the schools adds to the opinion that there is a much higher level of disadvantage at Lyndon, the foundation school, in comparison to St Peters, a voluntary aided school.

Being from a disadvantaged background can put a child in a real drawback in terms of their educational outcome. 'Across the social sciences, family socio-economic status (SES) is seen as a potentially key determinant of children's educational attainment' (Hobbs, 2007: 1). Part of that is to do with the fact that the family is not able to provide all of the opportunities that they would want for that child. Schools that have poor performance tend

to be located in areas with high levels of disadvantage; this means that the parents would have no choice but to send their child there, as they are not able to afford transportation cost to reach a more advantaged school. 'Disadvantaged students and ethnic minority students are likely to attend worse performing schools' (Tackey, 2011: 7). This then makes a serious difference to educational outcomes. The indicator used by the government to classify children into the disadvantaged category is their eligibility to the Free School Meals programme. Attainment statistics published in January 2014, by the Department for Education, show that in the year 2013 only 37.9% of those who use the Free School Meals were able to obtain 5 GCSEs (including English and maths) at grades A* to C. That is significant in comparison to that of 64.6% of pupils who do not get the FSM.
The government is taking action in order to be able to raise the achievement of all disadvantaged children (Department for Education, 2013). Some of the ways that they plan to do this is to:

- Provide £2.5 billion of pupil premium funding to schools for 2014-15 and increase this to £2.545 billion for 2015-16.
- Requiring schools to provide annual report of success and impact of the premium.
- Holding schools accountable for the achievement of disadvantaged pupils through the Ofsted reports and performance tables.
- Investing around £136 million through the Education Endowment Foundation in order to be able to raise the accomplishments of the disadvantaged pupils at schools.

A correlation between the proportion of a schools pupils not having English as their first language and being from an ethnic minority, and the success rates of a school is often shown. This correlation exists with the two schools that I am comparing. Lyndon School, which is academically, the worse of between the two, has a higher proportion of pupils with English not as the first language (10.1%) than St. Peters Catholic School (2.7%). In state-funded secondary schools 24.2% of pupils were classified as being from an ethnic minority and 13.6% are reported to have a first language that is not English (Department for Education, 2013). Modood (2001) wrote that 'education came to be identified as one of the principal sites of racialized oppression'. Institutional racism is found in many cases throughout the school system. Gillborn (1988) carried out a study to look at the relationship between West Indian males and teachers. He found that 'ability, hard work and a commitment to academic achievement may not be sufficient for academic success... they also face the additional barrier of staff ethnocentrism' (Gillborn, 1988: 371). There are certain ethnic groups that perform badly throughout the school system, one group in particular that is recognised for poor attainment are the black Caribbean pupils, in particular the boys. This decline could be due to 'the quality of schools attended by pupils from different ethnic groups, low teacher expectations of black pupils in English schools, and a perceived low return to educational qualifications in a prejudiced labour market' (Tackey, 2011: 7).

The expenditure within a school can also tell us a lot about the schools priorities. Lyndon spends £4,870 per pupil in total expenditure in a year and St. Peters Catholic School pays less, at £4,528. However, one of the main differences is that 73% of St. Peters expenditure goes to the teaching staff and the educational support staff, whereas Lyndon only uses 61% of its total expenditure on the same area. Educational opportunities that are available in schools can be shown by the resources and facilities that they have access to. There is a very significant 'impact of measurable resource input on primary and secondary schools student's achievements' (Vignoles, 2000: 3). This is the result of schools not having as

much of an input of capital to them, which means that they cannot use it to purchase better and more advanced resources, such as new textbooks, and improved computer systems. There has been some research carried out to suggest that there is no link between outcomes and resources.

There are different types of spending that is done at schools; each has varying effects on student outcomes. The spending on the teachers does have a positive effect of pupils, however it is a small difference made, the rest in the increased teacher-pupil ratio. This has a much more significant positive impact on attainment, as it means there can be more focus on particular students. The most significant positive effect was seen in situations where there was an increased spending on special education support staff. 'A £1,000 increase in spending on education support staff would have increased EAL test scores by 12.4%, FSM scores by 7%, and Gifted and Talented scores by 11%' (Department for Education, 2014). Another obvious positive impact would be an increase in spending on resources. Levačić et al. (2005) conducted research into the relationship between school resources and pupil attainment at Key Stage 3 and at GCSE level, at the Institute of Education within the University of London. The main findings from the study at KS3 level was that there is a positive resource effect on attainment, however it is small and subject specific, for example: having resources makes much more difference in maths and science than in English classes, it was a statistically significant positive effect in maths and science. It was also found that 'the gain in attainment from additional resources appear to be greater for pupils from poor backgrounds' (Levačić , 2005: 3).

The number and quality of extra-curricular activities available has a strong impact on the quality of the school, as well as how well taught the standard curriculum is. As both schools are in the category of Maintained Schools, they have the same curriculum criteria. They both must follow the National Curriculum, they are able to 'focus on specific subjects as long as the National Curriculum criteria are still met' (New Schools Network, 2015). All students must also be assessed at all of the key stages throughout the educational system. This means that the pupils at the two schools would be taught the same information, within the same time frame, thus the differing results must be a consequence of the teaching standards, pupil outlook, disadvantage, and the facilities and resources available in order to aid the educational process. Extra-curricular activities allow for the child to be able to develop their skills, such as people or working skills. Another great advantage of these activities is that partaking in them can then be used in university or employment applications. At some schools, there is a much wider variety of activities taking place on a daily basis, and there are areas that are relevant to developing you as a person. The students are then going to have developed a greater variety of skills as well as being able to effectively reference them on applications. Some schools do not have the funds to be able to carry out large scale activity programmes, which can then mean that the students will be at a disadvantage in comparison.

When looking at the statistics that relate to Solihull, I thought I would particularly focus on the ethnic make-up of the area. Solihull is a 'broadly affluent borough', it has 'above average levels of income and home ownership, and a high proportion (50%) of residents classified as belonging to the Prosperous Suburbs socio-demographic classification' (Solihull Metropolitan Borough Council, year). 85% of the population would describe their ethnic group as being White British, this is high in comparison to the average of the rest of England which is 79.8%. 10.9% of the residents are associated with a Black or Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) group, with 6.6% being Asian / Asian British. Solihull is quickly becoming a much more diverse area. There was an 108% increase in the BAME group

population between the years 2001 and 2011, in the rest of England that increase was less at 73% in that same time frame.

The consequence of having unequal educational opportunities is that the likelihood of successful social mobility in much more limited. Social mobility is the movement of people, households or others within, or between the social strata in society. In order to be able to progress through life educational merit is required. If you have good grades at school, you are more likely to progress onto university level education, and then from that go on to have good occupational prospects. 'Characteristics of the family of origin are associated with educational and labour market outcomes' (Breen, 2005: 223)

One of the primary views on education is that of functionalism. The functionalist view on the education system is that it is done in the interest of the majority of society, at the very least just for the democratic societies. They see education as the significant process of passing on of basic knowledge and skills to the next generation. Durkheim recognised that the latent role of education was in order to socialise people into the mainstream society. 'Functionalists argue that inequality was functional and necessary in all societies, as it ensures that the most talented individuals will fill the most important positions' (Sadovnik, 2010: 3). In order for society to function as a modern democratic society, we need those most able to carry out the roles of control and power. Within the schooling system there is a high level of selection, the functionalist view is that it is meritocratic, and based on the pupils achievement and effort, as opposed to any other outside force, this is then what is able to channel the most successful into the most important occupations.

Conflict theory took over as the dominant view of education over functionalism in the 1960s. Those within this view believed that schools functioned not to be in the interest of the majority, as said in the functionalist view, but in the interest of the dominant groups within society. 'Conflict theorists see schools as an instrument of elite domination' (Wilson, 2011: 11). Marx wrote about the class divisions within the society and thus the opportunities available are unequal. In contemporary conflict theory, Randall Collins, from the Weberian school of thought, wrote that educational expansion would be best explained by the status group struggle. He argued that the educational credentials that people receive are now status symbols, as opposed to being a sign of that person's actual achievement. Within our society there is a rise in 'credentialism', this however does not show that our society is much more qualified and knowing in matters, but instead it shows that education is being much more used by those dominant groups. This is in order for them to be able to procure the more advantageous positions within the occupational and social structure, for themselves, but not only that, but for their children as well. Both the Functionalist Theory and the Conflict Theory believe that there is sorting within the educational system, as I previously stated; however, functionalists believe in a meritocratic sorting system, whereas conflict theorists are of the belief that the sorting is done in regards to class and ethnicity. There are many aspects within society that lead conflict theorist to have this position on the educational system. The first is that property taxes fund most schools. This means that the schools which are located in the more affluent areas are therefore going to have more money. It is also true that these areas tend to be predominantly white, which then explains the lower ethnic diversity in higher standard schools. The advantage of schools having a greater amount of money means that the school is able to spend that money on better resources, such as textbooks and better technology, as well as being able to pay the teachers and other members of staff a higher salary. This then means the students who are able to attend these schools are at an advantage, and thus will find it easier to move up through the system to get into better colleges and universities and these then can result in

a better occupational standing for the future. This then means that the students who live in the more disadvantaged areas are not privy to these advantages and so are significantly less likely to go on to universities and more likely to head toward vocational or technical training.

If society was equal, then achievement would be based on talent, effort and merit rather than privilege. However, that is not the case in our society. Those who can afford to go to better schools and receive a higher quality of education, find it much easier to find greater, well paid jobs, and thus improve their social status. Those from an ethnic minority face this inequality on a much greater scale, they are more likely to come from a disadvantaged background and so then so to a school which can offer them much less educational opportunities. The schools that they attend do not focus enough on the teaching of the students, or even have the resources to do so.

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What are the implications for equality of educational opportunity?

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Education in today's capitalist society is regarded as meritocratic; an equitable system which is accessible to all. There has been a distinctive transition from educational success based on "ascriptive" criteria, which rewarded and advantaged people in elite social, cultural and economic positions, towards a just and fair educational system based on academic merit (Zanten, 2009). Indeed, education in today's society is viewed as the central institution for social mobility, a mechanism that alleviates all types of social problems including poverty. However, does education allow for this to occur? Does education really give equal opportunities to all social groups? In this essay, I am going to discuss the implications for equality of educational opportunity by comparing two schools, Stoke High School and Thomas Mills High School. I have chosen these two schools to compare because they are externally very similar, for example, they are both state funded academies and they are located in the same district of Suffolk, however they differ significantly on most internal levels of assessment.

Firstly, I will examine the difference in exam scores between the two schools. As you can see from the tables below, the percentage of Stoke High School students receiving five or more GCSEs between A*-C including English and Maths consistently fell below both the local and national averages between 2011 and 2014, with just 43% of students reaching this level in the year 2014 (Fig.1, Department of Education, 2015a). This compares to Thomas Mills High School, measuring against the same criteria the students consistently achieved well above both the local and national averages, with 70% of students achieving five or more A*-Cs in 2014 (Fig.2, Department of Education, 2015b).

📈 Percentage achieving 5+ A*-C GCSEs (or equivalent) including English and maths GCSEs	2011	2012	2013	2014
School	43%	41%	40%	43%
LA	54.7%	50.5%	54.7%	51.7%
England - All Schools	59%	59.4%	59.2%	53.4%

Fig.1: % of 5+ A*-C GCSEs, 2011-14, Stoke High School, Dept. of Education, 2015a

Percentage achieving 5+ A*-C GCSEs (or equivalent) including English and maths GCSEs	2011	2012	2013	2014
School	68%	73%	83%	70%
LA	54.7%	50.5%	54.7%	51.7%
England - All Schools	59%	59.4%	59.2%	53.4%

Fig.2: % of 5+ A*-C GCSEs, 2011-14, Thomas Mills High School, Dept. of Education, 2015b

The huge difference in attainment is startling, because they are two schools that are both academies and are located in the same county. Therefore, factors need to be analysed that offer explanations for why Stoke High School is underachieving and Thomas Mills High School is achieving academic excellence.

One reason for this difference in results could be linked to location and social capital. According to Coleman and Hoffer (2011), the human capital of parents, which refers to the skills and knowledge they possess, only enhances their child's educational achievement if there exists a strong social capital not just inside the family, but also in the outside community. The social capital outside of the family refers to the strong social relations and dense interaction between the parents of children that attend the same school (Coleman and Hoffer, 2011). Coleman and Hoffer (2011) identify that social capital exists very strongly in 'isolated towns and rural areas where adults' social relations are restricted by geographic distance, and where residential mobility has not destroyed it' (Coleman and Hoffer, 2011:54). Therefore, reflecting on Coleman and Hoffer's (2011) research, it could be argued that the rural location of Thomas Mills High School means that students located in this tight-knit community are benefiting from the human capital of their parents, because there exists strong social capital between their parents. According to Coleman and Hoffer (2011), a network intergenerational closure has been created, which enhances the educational achievement of the children; Coleman and Hoffer (2011) further propose Stoke High School's urban location means that there is weaker social capital outside of the family and therefore a lack of intergenerational closure. As a result Stoke High School students are not benefiting as much from the human capital of their parents. Therefore, location in terms of social capital could be a factor that prevents equality of opportunity in education between these two schools.

However, there has been extensive research to suggest that a strong functional community will only be effective to the child's educational performance if they come from an advantaged background. On the other hand, if they come from more deprived backgrounds, despite having strong social ties, they will be depressed by education (Coleman and Hoffer, 2011). This idea fits into the conflict theory of education that I will examine later in this essay.

Another area in which the schools differ is on the percentage of children eligible for free school meals. At Stoke High School, 56 pupils are disadvantaged out of 164 pupils in KS4, so a huge 34% of pupils are entitled to free school meals (Department of Education, 2015a). In contrast, only 19 pupils out of 169 students in KS4 are disadvantaged at Thomas Mills High School, so a significantly smaller 11% of pupils are entitled to free school meals (Department of Education, 2015b). To explain this data socioeconomic differences between the Suffolk Coastal area where Thomas Mills High School is located and the Ipswich area where Stoke High School is located need to be examined. Firstly, the housing data reveals that out of 133,384 residents in Ipswich, 150 people were accepted as homeless in the 2013-14 financial years (Fig.3, Suffolk Observatory, 2013). This compares to only 6 people being accepted as homeless out of 124,298 residents in the Suffolk Coastal area during the same financial year (Fig.4).
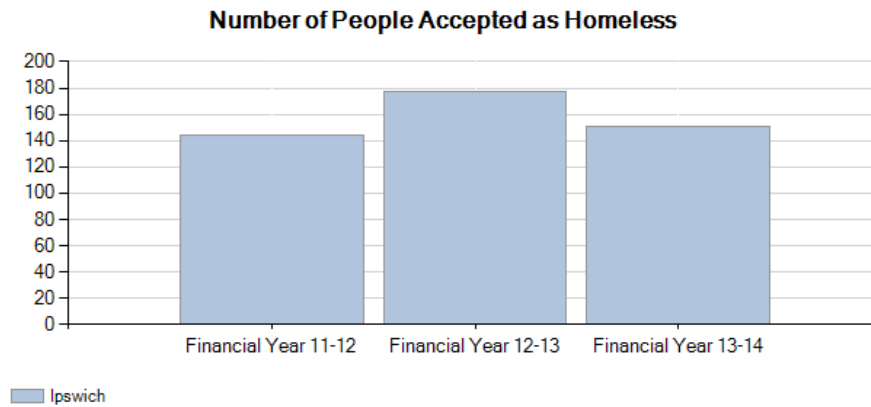
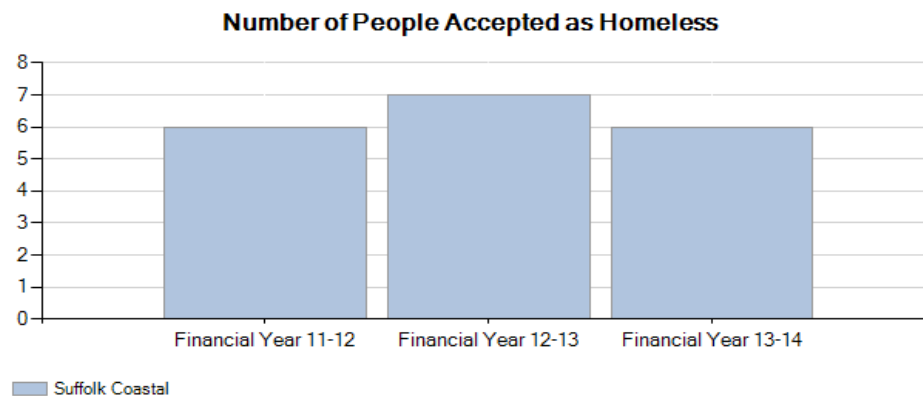**Fig.3: Number of homeless in Ipswich area during a given financial year, Suffolk Observatory, 2013.**

Fig.4: Number of homeless in the Suffolk Coastal area during a given financial year, Suffolk Observatory, 2013

This illustrates that the Ipswich area where Stoke High School is located is more deprived than the Suffolk Coastal region of Thomas Mills High School. In fact the average earnings in Ipswich per year are £25,669, compared to Suffolk Coastal reaching earnings of £30,000 per year. The difference between the wealth of the two locations is very apparent when the percentage of people on benefits is examined. In Suffolk Coastal, 8.4% of people are claiming benefits, compared to 14% of people in Ipswich claiming benefits (Suffolk Observatory, 2013).

The difference between the socioeconomic statuses of the two schools should not create inequality of opportunity within the education system; arguably the education system is meritocratic, based on academic merit rather than ascriptive criteria (Zanten, 2009). However, studies reveal that schools in deprived areas such as Stoke High School do not give their students equal educational opportunities compared to schools in more affluent areas such as Thomas Mills High School. Bowles (1971) in *The Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labour* demonstrates several reasons for this. Firstly, differentiation according to Bowles occurs between schooling due to inequalities in financial resources, which creates class inequalities in school socialization patterns (Bowles, 1971). The scarceness of financial support for the children of working class families means that fewer resources are devoted to these children, which means more resources are available to children of parents with privileged economic positions.

Moreover, Bowles (1971:143) demonstrates that it forces upon teachers and school administrators in working class schools 'a type of social relations which fairly mirrors that

of the factory'. Therefore, this could potentially cause unequal opportunities between the two schools. Stoke High School is arguably setting their students up to acquire manual jobs at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy, whereas students from wealthy areas who attend schools such as Thomas Mills High School have the financial support to educate their students into the top performing jobs at the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy (Bowles, 1971). The statistics gathered on occupational classification in both the Ipswich district and Suffolk Coastal district support this theory. The percentage of people in professional occupations in the Ipswich area at the end of 2014 was 20% and the percentage of people in managerial and senior official positions just 2%. This compares to 65% in personal service occupations (Fig.5, Suffolk Observatory, 2013). Whereas the percentage of people in professional occupations in the Suffolk Coastal area was 27% and managers and senior official positions stood at 14% (Fig.6). This compares to only 8% in personal service occupations, which is a huge difference from the 65% of people occupying this sector in Ipswich.
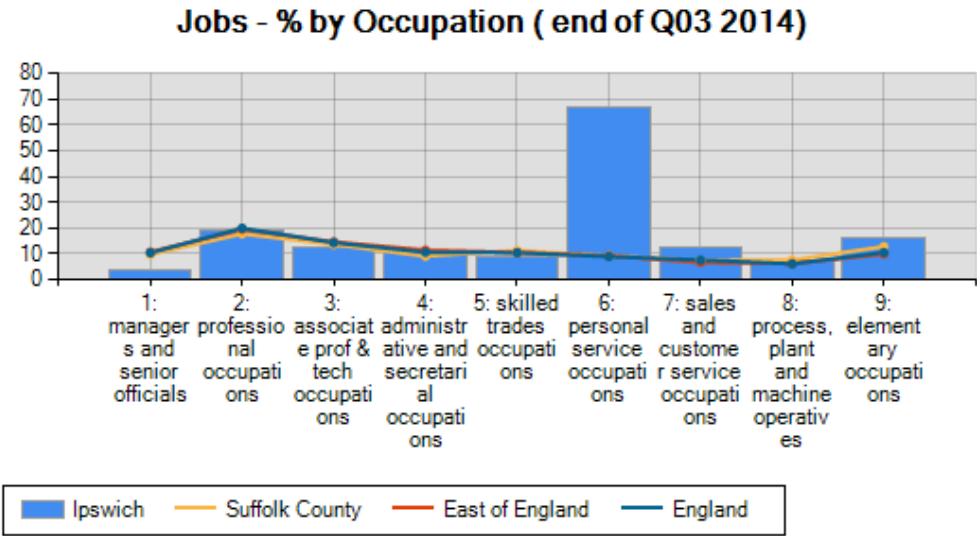

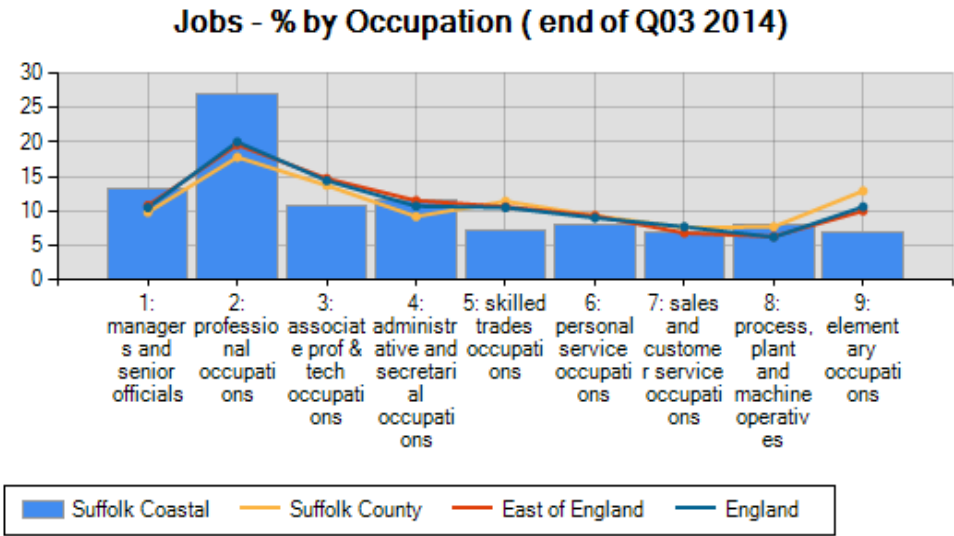**Fig.5: % of jobs by occupation, Ipswich, Suffolk Observatory, 2013**

Fig.6: % of jobs by occupation, Suffolk Coastal, Suffolk Observatory, 2013

According to Bowles (1971), the lack of financial support in working class schools prevents against small class sizes, specialised teachers and elective courses, students are treated as raw materials on a production line and there are fewer opportunities for independent creative work or individual time and attention by teachers. Therefore, this reveals that the socioeconomic differences between the two schools that place Stoke High School in a poor location and Thomas Mills High School in an affluent area could potentially cause inequality in educational opportunity.

Clearly the problem lies in the principle that both elementary and secondary schools should be financed from local revenues (Bowles, 1971). As a result, there is residential segregation by income level, which produces an unequal distribution of school resources amongst children from different locations. Therefore, children attending Thomas Mills High School have more educational resources, and the lack of a mechanism that redistributes school funds among school districts means that Stoke High School students have no way of changing their educational inequality (Bowles, 1971). Evidently, the belief that education compensates for inequalities in inherited wealth and privilege is untrue (Bowles, 1971). Furthermore, the two schools also differ with regard to extra-curricular activities. Thomas Mills High School offers their students opportunities to get involved with local clubs such as Orchard Fitness, which offers professional Pilates classes at locations across Norfolk and Suffolk. They also offer opportunities to get involved in other local clubs such as Framlingham Finches Ladies Netball and Framlingham Badminton (Thomas Mills High School, 2014). This provides their students with the opportunity to participate in one to one tuition with a person specialised in their field and integrates them into the local community. In addition, Thomas Mills High School provides their students with the opportunity of getting involved in a variety of evening learning and leisure activities, for example Coastal Leisure Learning, where the students can try out a range of activities from Tap Dancing, Dressmaking to learning Italian (Thomas Mills High School, 2014).This compares to Stoke High School that only offers their students very cheap, restrictive lunch time clubs in the school between 12:15 and 12:45pm and after school clubs between 3:00 and 4:00pm (Stoke High School, 2013).

Clearly inequality is reproduced in the extra- curricular activities available to the students, because drawing on Bowles's (1971) argument Thomas Mills High School is located in an affluent area, therefore has significantly more funds than Stoke High School to purchase better educational resources for their students. However, Bourdieu (1973) in *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction* would argue that inequalities in schools are not so much linked to financial discrepancies, but stem from the fact that:

> [T]he education system reproduces all the more perfectly the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes (and sections of a class) in that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture (Bourdieu,1973:493).

Therefore, if we adopt Bourdieu's theory, the predominantly working class students attending Stoke High School are disadvantaged compared to the more middle class students at Thomas Mills High School, because schools are promoting the cultural capital of the dominant class. This cultural capital refers to the:

> [I]nvestments in aesthetic codes, practices and dispositions transmitted to children through the process of family socialization, or in Bourdieu's term, habitus-(Tzanakis, 2011:77).

Therefore, children that are exposed to an elite culture at a young age in the home are advantaged over children that have not been taught these cultural values before attending school (Tzanakis, 2011).

From Bourdieu's perspective the inequality in school arises from teachers only recognising and rewarding children from an advantaged background and excluding children from a working class background that lack the dominant cultural capital (Tzanakis, 2011). In fact, Bourdieu goes as far to say that the pedagogic action of the teachers subjects the working class and minority students to 'symbolic violence' (1973, cited in Tzanakis, 2011:77). This 'symbolic violence', refers to the 'power [...] to impose meanings [...] as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force' (cited in Lamont and Lareau, 1988:34). Therefore, it could be argued that the working class pupils at Stoke High School are suffering from 'symbolic violence', but the pedagogic action of the teachers is recognised as legitimate and meritocratic, therefore the children and parents are unable to recognise their inequality in the education system (Tzanakis, 2011). As a result children from more middle class backgrounds attending schools such as Thomas Mills High School are in an advantaged position in the education system even before they enter it. In fact Bourdieu goes even further by stating that teachers are conducting themselves with bias, not grading students on their educational performance, but rewarding academic achievement based on the pupils elite cultured background (Tzanakis, 2011). Therefore, the pupils from Stoke High School and Thomas Mills High School are not achieving equality of opportunity.

The modern liberal approach to education would support Bourdieu's cultural capital theory. Modern liberalists would argue that social class differences between students would cause unequal opportunity in the education system, particularly class differences that stem from the socioeconomic backgrounds of the students (Bowles and Gintis, 1972). In addition, mirroring Bourdieu's cultural capital theory is the conflict theory of educational stratification. This theory argues that employers use education to select pupils who have been socialised into the dominant status culture and that schools function either to educate pupils into the elite culture or teach students the skills to respect this culture (Collins, 1971). From this perspective, the working class students from Stoke High School are being taught the values to respect the elite culture at the top of the occupational hierarchy, instead of the means of achieving this status themselves. Therefore, it could be argued that teachers from Stoke High School are placing a high premium on necessary skills such as obedience and punctuality that are required for the lower occupational roles in the workplace. Whereas, the students from the more wealthy location of Thomas Mills High School are being taught the characteristics for obtaining the top, high salary jobs. This reinforces Bourdieu's theory, that inequality in education is linked to social class and cultural differences between the pupils.

Another point of comparison between the two schools is the Ofsted report. Overall, Thomas Mills High School achieved a grade 1 for outstanding, this is the highest grade possible (Thomas Mills High School, 2014). In contrast, Stoke High School achieved a grade 2 for good (Stoke High School, 2013). One aspect of the Ofsted report in which they contrast is attendance. In Stoke High School's Ofsted report, an area of improvement was to reduce the absence of students, bringing overall attendance in line with the national average. Whereas, Thomas Mills High School's attendance rate is in the top 40% of all schools, well above the national average.

The difference between the attendance rates suggests inequalities are likely to be reproduced as working class students according to Willis are more likely to reject the system. This is supported by the attendance rate at Stoke High School, which has a greater proportion of working class students, being significantly lower compared to Thomas Mills High School. Willis (1981) in his study of *Elements of Culture* identified that working class boys create a counter-school culture and oppose the authority of the school institution. In a group discussion on teachers, conducted by Willis on working class boys, they stated that 'Teachers think they're everybody' they 'think they're God' (Willis, 1981:228). As a result, Willis concluded that working class students do not value the middle class institution of the school and the qualifications that they can obtain.

This theory offers an alternative explanation to Bourdieu's explanation of educational inequality, suggesting that the cause of educational inequality does not lie in the education system itself which promotes the dominant culture, but in the working class students that do not possess the cultural values that enable them to believe that education is important to their development. Therefore, from this standpoint the poor attendance rate at Stoke High School compared to Thomas Mills High School, is caused by Stoke High School's large majority of working class students rejecting the school system and creating their own inequality.

Finally, another point of contrast is the academic progress made by disadvantaged students who are eligible for free school meals. At Stoke High School, out of the 54 disadvantaged pupils only 46% are making expected progress in English and 41% making expected progress in Maths (Department of Education, 2015a). This differs sharply with the disadvantaged pupils at Thomas Mills High School. Out of the 19 disadvantaged pupils a significantly greater 84% of these pupils are making expected progress in English and 58% in Maths (Department of Education, 2015b).

A potential explanation for this contrast is that the children from the rural area of Thomas Mills High School are from more educated backgrounds, compared to the children from Ipswich attending Stoke High School. The statistics support this theory. The percentage of the employable population unemployed in Ipswich stands at 8.1%, this compares with only 4.5% unemployed in the Suffolk Coastal area. Moreover, the percentage of people with NVQ4's (Non-Vocational Qualifications) in Ipswich is 2.6%, whereas the Suffolk Coastal area is 33% (Suffolk Observatory, 2013). Therefore, the statistics support the fact that children attending Stoke High School are much less likely to have parents that have the educational qualifications and skill that they can pass onto their children for their educational development and achievement.

The genetic school theorists would support the idea that inherited intelligence is fundamental to the younger generations' educational success and is the main source of natural inequality within a meritocratic educational system (Bowles and Gintis, 1972). Conversely, other theorists such as Bowles (1971) would argue that the inherited intelligence of students is not the fundamental cause of unequal educational opportunities and is in fact negligible compared to social class differences between the students and levels of schooling (Bowles and Gintis, 1972). According to Bowles (1971), schools reproduce the socialization process of the family home and neighbourhood. Therefore, instead of trying to change the outcomes of primary socialisation in the home, the school creates a complementary relationship with it.

In conclusion, having compared these two schools against several objectives, my essay clearly reveals that education as a meritocratic system is purely rhetorical and symbolic. It is clear from my essay that Thomas Mills High School students have greater opportunity for educational success compared to Stoke High School students. The reasons for this lack of equality can be linked to several theories that I have discussed in my essay, which support the view that the education system reproduces inequalities in society, creating unequal educational opportunities. Therefore, based on these arguments education can be viewed as an institution that reproduces a hierarchy of stratified outcomes, rather than an institution for social mobility.

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Does peer pressure amongst young females influence their individual alcohol use?

Amelia Levey

Introduction

From the 1990's onwards, the use of both legal and illegal drugs amongst young British adults has increased, especially the use of alcohol. The new 'culture of intoxication' was the term given to describe these young people's drinking habits, and this worrying 'culture of intoxication' was the driving force behind research regarding the youth drinking (Room, 2007: 5).

With reports showing that young people today are drinking more than earlier generations (Room, 2007) and with a third of British fifteen year olds admitting to drinking alcohol when aged thirteen or younger (Furnham, 2004), it is apparent that increased alcohol use amongst young people is a growing concern for all. The health risks associated with excessive youth drinking are the major concerns for parents, policy makers and also wider society, yet they are not the only worry (Room, 2007). Researchers believe that what is commonly known as 'binge drinking', defined as 'men drinking at least eight units, women drinking at least six on at least one occasion in the last week' (Engineer et al, 2003: 3), can lead to a variety of dangerous activities such as driving whilst intoxicated, drug use and unsafe sexual activities, as well as falling behind at school (Hingson and White, 2013). Therefore, young people's excessive drinking and the consequences of high alcohol intake have become a serious issue for modern society (Furnham, 2004).

The main aim of my research was to focus specifically on young females, their alcohol consumption, and whether there is a correlation between individual alcohol intake and the pressure from friends to drink alcohol, by asking the question "does peer pressure amongst young females influence their individual alcohol use?" Existing studies have produced results which demonstrate that 'peer pressure is a major contributor of adolescent substance use' (Reed and Wilcox-Rountree, 1997: 143), showing there is a substantial link between the two. Studies have also confirmed 'that there are significant associations between gender and peer influence' (Kirke, 2006: 71), yet have failed to look at just one gender. The conclusions drawn from these previous studies highlight the importance of looking at girls, who are said to be more susceptible to influence from friends (Schulenberg et al, 1999), and their individual alcohol consumption.

Literature Review

It became evident, after looking at the current literature, that studies concentrating on youth drinking habits were a very small area of the wider research, which focused more generally on the alcohol consumption of adults (Jarvinen and Room, 2007). Moreover, most literature, which does look at the alcohol consumption of younger people, rarely emphasises the connection between peer influence and individual alcohol intake. Studies which have focused on young people and alcohol use tend to pay attention to the legal age of drinking, as the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services in 2011 found that there was around 10.4 million underage drinkers in the U.S. (Hingson and White, 2013). Other research on youth drinking highlights the problem of binge drinking, as youth

alcohol use is a serious issue, 'all the more so when young people get involved in so-called binge drinking, which is particularly unhealthy and dangerous' (Furnham, 2004: 21). Earlier research and literature also focuses on the potential influences of alcohol consumption. These studies argue that how much someone drinks is a multi-determined problem, where a variety of personal, social and economic factors, given by Furnham (2004), all play a significant role in influencing alcohol intake (Furnham, 2004). Turrisi et al (2000) study looked at parental beliefs towards drinking and their own alcohol consumption, and found that this was a significant influence on the alcohol use their teenage children (Turrisi et al, 2000 cited in Furnham, 2004). This association between parental influences and young people's alcohol intake has thus driven more research, which has produced outcomes supporting the idea that the 'teenagers who had been taught to drink by their parents [...] were drinking more often than those who had not been taught' (Plant and Millier, 2007: 140).

Although there has been little research on the relationship between peer pressure and alcohol use alone, most do agree that there is a correlation between the two; Burges and Akers' 1966 study supported this as they found that 'the most important sources of influence on teenager's substance use were their peers' (cited in Kirke, 2006: 12). Another study which also confirmed this concept was Kandel's work in 1970 (cited in Kirke, 2006); found that teenagers who were friends with substance users later became substance users themselves. In addition to this, several studies, such as Jessor and Jessor's 1978 study (cited in Kirke, 2006), also looked at illegal drugs and the influence of peers to use them, supporting the argument that peer influences are the most significant regarding substance use. Further research on this topic has argued that peer influences are now more influential than parental influences, compared to what earlier research suggested. As Schulenberg et al (1999) point out; adolescence is a time when an individual is likely to become less attached to their parents, meaning parental influence is likely to have little effect, whereas peer influence is likely to have a more significant effect on behaviour and therefore substance use.

The majority of previous research looks at males and their alcohol consumption, ignoring females and especially young females, as it is sometimes believed women do not drink alcohol. This idea is reinforced as earlier findings, such as those from Ahlström (2013) suggests that 'in every culture women consume smaller amounts of alcohol than men' (Ahlström, 2013: 67). Likewise, if women were seen to drink alcohol, it was considered that their behaviour would replicate that of men when intoxicated (Hingson and White, 2013). However, in modern society the norm of condemning heavy female drinking has disappeared, and binge drinking amongst young women is increasing; the concern surrounding young females excessive drinking has consequently increased the amount of gender related alcohol use research (Hingson and White, 2013) and, as a result, this has been the motivation behind my own research.

Findings

Once the interviews were carried out and transcribed, the method of thematic analysis was employed to examine the similarities and differences between the interviews. Thematic analysis is an approach in qualitative data analysis which primarily focuses on investigating the commonalities, differences and relationships within the data set (Bryman, 2012). Codes are identified by looking at whether a feature of the data set is repeated by the participant, or whether it is said with strong emphasis for example (Gibson and Brown,

2009). Themes are then created as the codes highlight 'a pattern within the data which warrants being considered as a theme' (Bryman, 2012: 578).

Throughout the two interviews it became obvious that both participants drunk alcohol to have a good time, and associated being intoxicated with having fun. When asked why they drink alcohol, the participants replied with 'I just enjoy it. I think it is fun' (Interview 1) and 'to have fun' (Interview 2). Both participants later spoke about how, if they had a good time whilst intoxicated, they were more than likely to drink alcohol again, and both believe that 'someone who doesn't drink […] wouldn't enjoy themselves as much' (Interview 2). Due to this perceived relationship between getting drunk and having a good time, both admitted how they are able to persuade friends and be persuaded by friends to consume alcohol. When asked 'do you feel as if you could persuade your friends to drink'? Participant A replied 'yeah probably […] we will always end up encouraging someone to drink. We all want each other to have a good time' (Interview 1). This association between drinking alcohol and having a good night out was also a reoccurring theme throughout the existing literature. It has been found that drunkenness rates are related to young people's positive experiences with drinking (Jarvinen and Room, 2007). In addition to this, the Home Office Research Study of 2003 also found that young people's drinking habits are unlikely to change unless something particularly bad happens to them (Engineer et al, 2003). During the interviews, both participants acknowledged that there was a level of peer pressure amongst their friendship group when consuming alcohol. However, this pressure was not thought of as pressure; participant B explained how she 'wouldn't really think of it as pressuring someone to drink' (Interview 2), and spoke of how she perceived this pressure as encouragement to drink alcohol. Participant A also described how the encouraging is never 'done nastily', and if she did not want to consume alcohol her friends 'just accept it and are fine with it […] they don't like get nasty about it and leave me out' (Interview 1). This supports findings from the Home Office Report (2003) which also highlighted that some youths did not recognise peer pressure as 'pressure'; some of the young people interviewed were 'happy to be persuaded to drink something alcoholic' (Engineer et al, 2003: 19).

The participants were also in agreement as they both thought young adults succumb to this peer pressure due to the belief that if they do not, and therefore, not drink alcohol, they will be judged in a particular way by friends. When asked why they began drinking, participant A answered with 'I didn't want to be left out' and participant B with 'everyone else was doing it' (Interview 1 and 2). Furthermore, participant A explained how she did not want to be seen as unsociable if she was not drinking, whilst participant B described how some may succumb to pressure so they 'fit in with the crowd' (Interview 1 and 2). This relationship between the pressure to consume alcohol and the desire to fit in was also recognised in the existing literature. Younger people are 'defining their identity as adults' (Engineer et al, 2003: 21), during adolescence, and this time is associated with socialising with peers and forming peer groups; the need to be included in this peer group is strong (Furnham, 2004), consequently making these young adults prone to imitating their peers. Quigley and Collings (1999, cited in Engels et al, 2007) reviewed studies which found that when in a drinking context, imitation is a strong role and has recognizable affects on alcohol consumption, emphasising how the desire to fit in with peers is a strong factor for some in the consumption of alcohol (Engineer et. al, 2003).

Another theme which was present in the existing literature and was also highlighted in my research was the difference between young men and women, and whether there was different levels of pressure within their friendship groups. In the Home Office Research

Study (2003) when carrying out interviews, some young males did admit to being encouraged to drink by their other male friends, as they feel as if they have to 'prove themselves' (cited in Engineer et al, 2003: 20-21). However, it is suggested by Schulenberg et al (1999), that girls are more open to peer influence, so will consequently drink alcohol due to pressure from friends. Both participants agreed with this argument and believe that girls worry more compared to boys, about what others may think or say about them if they do not consume alcohol, thus meaning they are more likely to be influenced to consume alcohol (Schulenberg et al, 1999). Participant A spoke of how she thought 'girls are more concerned about what they look like […] so they are more likely to do something so they fit in' (Interview 1), and participant B replicated this when describing how 'girls are probably more prone to being encouraged to drink cos they are so worried about being left out' (Interview 2).

Despite the two participants agreeing on the reasons why some young females succumb to peer pressure when drinking alcohol, participant B argued that peer pressure and alcohol consumption may be more closely related to age. The participant supposed that when people are younger they are susceptible to being influenced as 'when you're younger you […] want to sort of fit in more and be like your friends' so are more likely to be 'pressured into anything' (Interview 2). This idea was not recognised by participant A in the first interview, demonstrating that although both participants are similar in age, are both females who regularly consume alcohol with friends, and both feel as if friends can influence their alcohol intake, they do in fact have different attitudes and opinions on the issue.

Reflection

Semi-structured interviews are believed to uncover and 'understand complex behaviour without imposing any […] categorization' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 361-362); for this reason, I chose to employ this method to answer the research question. Both interviews were therefore successful in terms of helping answer the research question, as both gave lengthy, detailed answers throughout the interview, without much probing or interrupting. The nature of semi-structured interviews ensured that the participants gave answers which allowed exploration of new topics which I originally had not thought of, such as age being related to peer pressure and alcohol consumption. Although the participants did speak about new topics and sometimes go off onto unrelated tangents, this is 'often encouraged' (Bryman, 2012: 470) in qualitative interviews, so overall the research question was answered once both interviews were carried out.

Granting that the participants did give detailed answers, and there was a planned interview guide, the interviews were shorter than expected, lasting only thirty-five minutes instead of the estimated forty-five. This could possibly be due to the fact participants picked up on the research question and topic quickly, so spoke about the topic in detail, thus answering the question in the early stages of the interviews. As a result of this, in later research projects, more questions could be planned to potentially prolong the interview.

In addition to improving and extending the interview guide, in future I would also carry out an ethnographic study as well as semi-structured interviews, to achieve a better understanding of the research topic, as Goffman (1974) believes ethnography 'is a technique that wouldn't be the only technique a study would employ' (cited in Goffman, 1989: 124-125), so should thus be used alongside qualitative interviews. An ethnographic study was not carried out in this research project, as although I am a young female and

could therefore carry out an ethnographic study without any personal characteristics affecting the research, I decided against this. If I was to assume an active role this meant I would have to consume alcohol along with the participants. I felt I would not objectively gather data if I was to drink alcohol, as it is believed adopting a 'participating observer roles carry the risk of over-identification and hence of going native' (Bryman, 2012: 445). I would also interview more young females so the findings were more generalizable and could be applied to the wider population. Furthermore, I would interview young males in order to compare their views and attitudes on the research topic, to those given by young females, in order to understand whether there are differences between genders when being pressured by friends to drink alcohol. If ethnographic studies were to be carried out as well as interviews, and a larger sample was researched which included males, the relationship between alcohol intake, peer pressure and gender could be tested to see if the correlation is stronger, or weaker, than perceived after carrying out my research.

Conclusion

The existing literature on youth alcohol consumption suggests that young people are now drinking more than their predecessors, and because of this increase, concern over youth drinking is growing, 'a fact reflected by the number of media reports, public discussion and research papers on the topic' (Furnham, 2004: 45); the fear surrounding this issue was the reason motivating my own research.

After carrying out the two interviews, and using the method of thematic analysis, many conclusions can be drawn from my study which answers the research question. Although participant B did relate peer pressure and alcohol intake more closely to age, this was the only difference, as both respondents gave similar answers and their general attitude towards the research topic was also alike. The relationship between alcohol consumption and peer influence was recognised by the two female participants, who both also acknowledged that peer influence and pressure may be more common amongst all female friendship groups, due to the fact girls worry more about how their peers perceive them, and may judge them if they do not drink alcohol with their friends.

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Transcript 1

I – Interviewer, A – Participant A

I: Right okay, erm … first of all before we start I just need to say that erm if there is any reason that you need to stop the interview at any point … or if you feel as if you need a break, then you can do so just let me know and we can stop the recording and stop the interview (pause) okay?

A: (nods)

I: Erm and the next thing is if I can just get you to sign at the bottom of this form, it's just a consent form erm so you signing it lets you know and lets the teacher know that erm you are consenting to all of the information that you say within the interview to be used erm in the report (pause). Erm another thing as well er just to let you know, that your name will not be given to anyone. You will be given a fake name, a pseudonym, erm only me and the class teacher will know your real name (pause). So is that all okay?

A: Yeah that's good.

I: Thank you. Okay. So we'll start off then. (Pause) Erm the first … first of all we are just going to look at … sort of how much you drink, erm your drinking habits … general sort of questions about that. So how often would you say that you drink alcohol?

A: … erm mostly on occasions, it'll probably just be on the weekends (pause) erm sometimes every other weekend, erm normally a Friday or a Saturday … not both, one or the other.

I: Okay … and on these occasions at the weekend then, how much would you say you drink? Do you drink just a few drinks … or a lot?

A: Erm (pause) as we are good friends our nights out will be planned, so we'll normally plan to get ready at a friend's … where we will have drinks beforehand erm so we'll have pre drinks … so I'll have a couple then. And then we'll end up leaving and getting to wherever we are going and I'll normally get more drinks there … So erm it just … erm I dunno, gets more and more and more, as the night goes on (laughs)

I: And what sort of occasions are these? Would you say they are like casual drinking with meals say if you go to restaurants? Erm … do you go to pubs or clubs, or do you just drink at home with your friends … whilst watching a film or something?

A: No not really normally it's just pubs and clubs. I don't really drink at home or whilst eating. I don't think there's really any point to drinking if I'm not in a pub or club.

I: Okay. So what sort of alcohol do you drink? Is it like wine, beers and ciders … spirits?

A: Spirits mostly … shots as well. Mostly vodka … vodka's my favourite (pauses then laughs).

I: (laughs) and who do you drink with mostly? Is it your family, your friends? Erm your boyfriend? … Erm a big group of friends? Or just by yourself?

A: Erm it's mainly my friends … But I've got an older brother that I go out with him as well … so I drink with my brother. (Pause) But I won't really drink apart from when I'm with them … when I go out.

I: Is it a mixed group of friends? Or just you and your girlfriends?

A: Sometimes it'll just be the girls … but if I'm going out with my brother it'll normally be me and my friends, then … him and his.

I: Okay. And why do you say you drink? … Is it for pleasure, for fun? … Erm to relieve anxiety or stress and relax? Erm to change your mood? Or anything like that

A: Erm it is to relax sometimes. Sometimes we'll go out on a weekend if we have all had a bit of a erm bad week. But I … I just enjoy it. I think it's fun just doing it whilst you're out with friends.

I: mhhmm

A: And it would be fun, yano drinking with your friends.

I: And has um anything ever happened to you or a friend or family member … or have you had any reason to sort of make you stop drinking, or to change your attitudes towards drinking, or made you want to drink more? You say you have fun when you go out drinking so does a good night out make you want to drink more?

A: Well yeah (pause) I've recently had a big accident after drinking … I was obviously drunk erm and I was knocked over by a car, um so I was in hospital with … I've got a bleed on the brain erm I got tinnitus from my ear. (Pause) It's just er shocked me in thinking that I should be more aware when drinking and erm … but I think (pause) I only went out drinking … Not with the intention thinking I was gonna get extremely … erm well that drunk. But obviously accidents happen … which has made me realise erm a lot more, that I should be more aware.

I: So have you, after your accident … have you sort of calmed down on your drinking? Have you not drunk as much since then?

A: Erm I have … but I think, even … although I've like stopped … drinking as much as I used to, er, where the bleed is on my brain … I think it obviously just gets to me quicker (pause). The alcohol. So it's quite a hard situation to be in cos I still love going out to enjoy myself … with my friends, yano drinking and enjoying myself.

I: So … you would say it's had an effect on you … but not a big effect? To make you erm make you completely stop drinking?

A: No.

I: Okay (pause). So now we're just gonna talk about erm sort of how you became introduced to alcohol. And sort of how you began drinking. So what age would you say roughly started drinking?

A: Ermm … I think … I was around erm maybe fifteen. When my friends at school were having their birthdays … My birthdays late in the school year so I would have just turned fifteen when everyone was having sixteenth birthday parties (laughs). Erm and then I guess sixteen (pause) that was when it was more of a huge … bigger deal. I'd go out a lot more then … probably even more than I do now I'm eighteen (laughs). But there were a lot more parties, and friend's having gatherings and smaller groups round, and like … oh we've got nothing to do at the weekend … so let's just sit in (pause). Or we'd invite our friends over … and have a smaller gathering, and so we'd just be sitting at home and we'd just start drinking, and then end up drinking more and more.

I: Okay. Erm so how were you introduced to drinking? Would you say your parents taught … sort of taught you to drink and let you drink from an early age? Or was it erm because … you say you've got an older brother … would you say that he had a sort of effect on you and introduce you to drinking?

A: Erm no. I wasn't introduced to it by like my parents or anything. God no (Pause). But my brother was always having parties. So then I was allowed parties, but … when his friends were always round I became friends with them … So if he had a party my friends would be there too … we'd all be together. And I'd start joining in with erm well whatever they were doing … So I felt like pressured cos I didn't wanna be the only one … like the younger one not drinking … yano [says brothers name] little sister who can't drink cos she aint old enough. And like looking really immature, whilst my older brother and all his older mates, and now including like my mates erm, were sitting their drinking. So I just guess I didn't wana be left out in my own house while they were all doing it … everyone else was doing it … And enjoying themselves cos they were drinking. And it got me more of a social life I guess … yano older mates who were always going out, I just got friendly with them so I just started doing the same stuff as them.

I: So if you say … that you started drinking when you was about … fifteen or sixteen … obviously this is under the legal age of drinking which is eighteen (pause). So erm how did you sort of … how did alcohol become available to you? Because you weren't legally old enough to buy it.

A: Ah I erm, obviously couldn't go get the alcohol myself. I'd just have to either erm ask my friends, if they were the older bunch … to bring it round for me. We'd share it. Or my brother would go get it for me. Sometimes I would actually … ask my mum to get some at the shop (laughs) Erm sometimes she would … but she'd always tell me to be careful. Most of the time if she did actually buy it for me it would be when erm we, my brother, would have a party. Erm so I was at home and yano mum was around so it weren't as if I was out and she didn't know where I was or anything … so she made sure I was careful with it.

I: And erm, you've just mentioned why you sort of drunk at this age. Obviously your older brother was doing it and your friends were so, is that just why you started?

A: Er yeah I guess so … But I still like wanted to grow up and see and like experience it myself so I could sort of say, yeah I've done it. I wanted to enjoy myself too and it seemed as if that's how everyone else was enjoying themselves.

I: Okay: Now I'd like to focus on you and your peers, and your er alcohol consumption ... As we discussed earlier, about how you may have been introduced to alcohol through your friends er and I'd now like to just look at their possible influence on your own alcohol consumption. Erm so you said earlier that when you go out with your friends it's to clubs and pubs, is that all the time or would you say that's for special occasions?

A: Yeah it's more of a regular occurrence. Like if we're going out then we'll only go to a club or a pub beforehand. If we get a break off work or uni or ... whatever we're all doing yano, we'll all go for a few nights out in the clubs and that. We all enjoy it and we gotta spend the time together seeing as we all have that break off, so we'll most probably just go to the club. Sometimes if there's a party round our area ... if we know someone having a party then we'll go to that to ... but they hardly happen anymore.

I: So if you go out to a club, erm, do you just drink there, or erm would you move between places and drink in different pubs and that?

A: Erm well as I said, we'll be at someone's house and have a few predrinks. I ... I try and not to drink as much when I'm actually out. But it doesn't always end up like that. We'll always have a few drinks before we go out though.

I: You just said there that you try and not to drink much when you do go out, why is that?

A: Erm mainly cos of money ... Can't be affording loads of drinks out when they can be like a fiver each time. So like if I drink more at home then I won't need as much when I get out. I wanna be safe .... stay safe when I'm out. Sometimes I think I'll be safer if I don't drink as much when I get out. Yano don't wanna be falling all over the place cos I've had too much to drink in a club. Aint really a good look. I don't want to be known as someone who can't handle their alcohol ... where I'm only small as well I don't need much ... but I'm guessing after my accident people know me and alcohol don't really mix well (laughs).

I: And you've just said there that you try and not to drink out because you want to be safer? Is that something that erm has changed since your accident, or have you always been aware and try to look after yourself when you're out.

A: Mainly cos of the accident (pause) before I reckon when I was going out I probably didn't care as much as I do now ... before the whole accident I probably wouldn't have had a clue and would still be drinking loads. Now I think the accident has made me more aware.

I: You've just said then that you mainly drink before you go out, round your friend's house, do you always do that? It's a set arrangement?
A: Yeah always. We never go out to a club without having a few first (laughs). It gets the atmosphere going.

I: What do you do then when you have a drink? Just drink?

A: No we will probably be getting ready at someone's house ... if someone's parents don't mind giving us a lift out we'll go to theirs so it's easier to get a lift.

I: Yeah. Some young people when they go out for these pre-drinks partake in games. There was one in the news recently called the neck-nominate, did you hear about that? Are these games something you and your friends do?

A: (Laughs) oh yeah that … na we didn't do it. Erm if we are gonna play drinking games we'll probably just be sitting in. Like there'll be more of us. Not just our small group that go out clubbing … Sometimes my mum will let us have a few people over so we'll play games then. They're fun though … but it'll only be cos we're staying in. You get so drunk playing them though … so most of the time er its best to stay in if you're playing them … I couldn't imagine going to a club after … I'd probably be so drunk from the game I wouldn't even be let in.

I: When you do stay in then and play these games, is there any sort of encouragement to join in?

A: Er not really … but I don't wanna be the one just standing there, being boring … I'll join in cos I still wanna be … I don't wanna be the only sober one while everyone else is getting more and more drunk. They're fun (pause) so there's no reason not to join in.

I: Okay good (pause). The next area that we'll be talking about which has already popped up a few times is peer pressure and alcohol use … So if I was to use the term peer pressure, how would you er interpret or understand the term?

A: Er (Pause) sorry say it again … sorry.

I: So if I was to use the term peer pressure how would you understand that phrase? … How would you define it?

A: Er … if they were forcing me to drink (pause). Well not exactly like forcing me … in my face … to drink (pause). Like go on … drink it drink it. I'd have to join in … I don't wanna be like that, so I'd just feel … I'd just feel really stupid if I was the only one not drinking, not joining in. I'd have to.

I: Do you feel then that there is a connection between how much alcohol someone drinks and a certain level of peer pressure?

A: Erm … I think mainly … in clubs. Cos when I'm out partying in clubs, yeah I'm probably drunk and I'm enjoying it, and it's me who got myself drunk … but there's still like that bit of pressure. Like everyone's getting … buying drink after another drink after another. Then there's shots … Someone buys a round of drinks in a club and it's rude to say no … then you feel as if you've gotta buy them a drink later. Next thing you know you're buying yourself another one (pause). Everyone else is getting more drinks and … like I don't wanna look like an idiot, er like everyone else is holding a drink and you're not. I don't wanna look silly cos I haven't got one.

I: As you've been saying then, do you feel that you may succumb to this peer pressure, cos you're worried about how you may be seen by other people? Or viewed in a particular way if you're not drinking?

A: Yeah. I just don't wanna er ... I duno ... er I just don't wanna like look like the immature one who isn't enjoying it ... the unsociable person cos everyone else is drinking together. I don't want people to think I'm not enjoying myself cos I'm not joining in.

I: Okay erm. So do you think then within your group of friends there are others who feel like this?

A: Erm. I don't think so ... I don't think they would feel pressured.

I: Why do you think that?

A: Cos they're probably not ... er, nervous about drinking. Like my accident has made me a bit nervous about how much I drink, even whether er I should or not. I don't think they would be worried as much about how much they drink cos they haven't had anything bad happen to them whilst drunk. So like if someone says something to them like get another drink, or buys them a drink (pause) they'll just do it. They'll just get so drunk and won't be bothered about people pressuring them to drink cos like they'll just do it, and like they aint worried about any consequences (pause). Most of them are older ... they are probably more aware of ... like they've been out more so know how much they can and can't drink. I just worry all the time now.

I: So would you say that when you've sort of got over your accident (pause) when you're a bit older and that, you won't worry about drinking as much as you do? You won't feel as much pressure to drink?

A: Yeah.

I: And because you worry so much and have this sort of nervousness around drinking you just assume if you don't drink people might judge you or see you in a particular way?

A: Yeah. Exactly.

I: On the flip side then, do you feel as if you could persuade your friends to drink?

A: Yeah probably. If one of them has work early the next day ... we will always end up encouraging someone to drink. We all want each other to have a good time ... We all want to party together and like if one person isn't drinking it might be a bit gutting for them ... as if they are missing out on it. So we'll just be like have a drink, don't worry. We should all just have fun so we do. It's not done nastily ... we just want each other to have a good time.

I: And er if you feel as if there is this level of pressure amongst your friendship group when you go out, and especially as you yourself say you feel a bit of pressure to drink alcohol ... erm do you think this is okay? Or is it a problem?

A: Er I guess it's not alright sometimes ... I guess I just give in too much, although I do worry about how much I drink ... after the accident. And I'll probably regret drinking that much the next day. But it's not always a problem ... like it's not always cos of them I get so drunk. I should be able to ... stand up for myself and drink how much I wanna drink and stop when I want to stop. And I never wanna put pressure on other people ... sometimes it just happens. We just wanna have a good time and I guess ... we should be able to be adult enough and just do whatever we ... ourselves ... want.

I: And then if you do think that it could get to a stage where it is a problem for you, do you think maybe you should address this amongst your friends and talk to them about it?

A: Er ... I think (pause) they already know. There's no need to, cos they're not forcing it in my face. Er like they agree with me most of the time. Like after the accident ... if I'm worrying about how much I drink, or er, if I'm like I've got a headache I duno whether I should come out ... although I want to ... I'm just not feeling it. I don't wanna cause more accidents. They just accept it and are fine with it ... they don't like get nasty about it and leave me out if I don't go. Like they'll be more upset I'm not coming out, and wanna make sure I'm okay. So it's not really a problem. It's more me than them.

I: Yeah so as you say your friends always support your decisions, and understand if you don't wanna drink?

A: They'll always be more upset about me not going out, but they understand.

I: So it's not necessarily the fact that they are forcing you to drink ... would you say it's more er like your mind ... you yourself getting worked up and maybe worrying about drinking too much?

A: Yeah since it happened it's always been more me than them ... They would never make me do anything I don't want to, (pause) its more about what I think I'll look like ... how other people will look at me. Not them pressuring me or whatever.

I: Okay. Do you think that within your friendship group, the level of peer pressure will differ if it's just girls or boys, or whether it's a mixed group?

A: Er I guess so ... We all get along as a mixed group well ... the boys are so much fun but they drink a lot more than us. I guess we feel as if we have to keep up with them.

I: What about when it's just the boys on their own? Do you ever get the impression that they would feel pressured by one another to drink more or something?

A: Maybe like they won't feel as if they are going to be judged as much, like how girls don't want to look silly so they drink (pause). I reckon they might feel as if they have to be one of the lads and be able to handle their drink, but not like as much as girls (pause). Boys will just laugh it off ... then go on to make someone else feel stupid (pause) but that's just boys in general.

I: and just the girls?
A: Yeah like ... I think girls are more concerned about what they look like and how ... what people will think of them ... so they are more likely to do something so they fit in or won't be judged by their friends and that.

I: Okay good. Moving on a bit. Would you say in like wider society there's a bigger problem around young people drinking?

A: Yeah I guess so.

I: In what sort of way?

A: Yeah well like the media will always have a big influence on us. Like the likes of Geordie shore and magaluf weekender ... So many of us watch them programmes, its everywhere ... we all watch it and it's all over facebook and twitter ... Whenever them programmes are on we love it ... it's our favourite programmes. Most of the time when we are watching it, we'll be talking about it too and ... it gets us excited yano ... for the weekend. They party so much and it looks like so much fun (pause) but cos they always look like they are having the best time and they are always so so drunk ... it always looks fun so it gets us in the mood. Like it encourages to drink more ... and er like advising us to get well drunk cos if they are like that and they have a good time ... so will we. But they never show the problems of drinking on telly ... the fights boys have cos they are so drunk or erm like the hangovers the next day ... It's not always a good think drinking that much, how they do on the telly.

I: So these people on telly, on these programmes, promote the lifestyle of drinking and partying?

A: Definitely. They always show the good bits ... the bits where everyone looks good and is dancing ... not them throwing up in the cab on the way home, or the ripped dress cos they fell over ... cos they're so bloody drunk. They never show that on telly, so like we don't know it goes on. We just like assume it's good and it makes us want to get that drunk so we have a good time as well.

I: And then do you think that if these programmes were to be banned, they weren't shown on telly anymore then it would reduce the amount young people drink? The likes of advertisement of alcopops as well that are marketed towards younger people, does it all need to be stopped in order for the problem of young people drinking so much to be reduced?

A: Yeah. Like I feel like it would (pause) it would have some sort of benefit. People wouldn't wanna go out as much ... they would have no interest in it. They're not watching a programme about people going out and getting so drunk and enjoying themselves ... the programmes like glamourize getting drunk. It's almost as if ... we are looking up to people that go out and party, and it just makes us want to be like them ... If we didn't see it I guess we like wouldn't want to do it.

I: Okay. Would you say that then it's a bigger problem. It's not just a problem about whether a young person gets a hangover? There are wider problems that affect others not just the individual?

A: Yeah it's not healthy ... like the same as me. I'm always looking up to my older brother, and whatever he was doing like I wanted to do too .... Now people my age who have got like smaller brothers and sisters ... they'll be copying them and it'll just be like a vicious circle. The kids looking up to young people drinking will just get younger (pause) next thing you know it'll be like 10 year olds getting hammered at the weekend. Like as well the amount of times I have been out and there's been a fight or an argument ... people get into fights cos they have had too much to drink ... it don't just get them into trouble but it ruins other peoples nights too. Then you've got the whole problem of people getting hurt (pause). And there's like a big worry about girls going out and like date rape and all that.

I: When you say girls going out and this date rape what do you mean?

A: Like people always worry more about girls going out and drinking ... compared to boys. Like that date rape drug that people put in girls drink to spike them, people worry about that and obviously its bad but boys get hurt or get into trouble too ... alcohol can be dangerous for anyone.

I: So would you say that there is a wider problem and more worry concerning girls drinking more?

A: Yeah people don't think it's good when a girl drinks I guess ... like girls getting so drunk that its bad and like frowned upon, as well as worrying about their safety and that.

I: So you think as well that there's the wider issue of peoples health connected to excessive drinking?

A: Yeah. Like everything that happened with my accident. That was horrible but it happens to people all the time ... not just on the odd occasion. And even smaller things like fights and it can have such a bad effect on someone ... like a festival in the summer some guy got punched ... and he died from it cos he was drunk or something I dunno (pause) but still being drunk can have like weird effects on people ... you never know what might happen. It's not healthy ... you could be risking your life for a drink.

I: Do you think that the pressure to drink could lead to pressure into doing other things? Such as taking part in fights or other activities?

A: yeah course it does (pause) boys I know won't just leave their mate if he's getting beaten up, there's sort of that pressure between boys to look after each other and if someone has a fight it means that your all having that fight ... Then there's drugs ... as soon as one person does it their whole friendship group is doing it. It just spreads and there's no stopping it ... by the end of the night at a party everyone's doing drugs cos someone's just like try it try it ... That's how it starts off with drinking, people just going try a drink ... so you do it ... then if you're in with the wrong sort of people, it'll just be drugs next time. It's so bad just cos like people have to look after them. The hospital when I had my accident were so good (pause) and like that was my own fault cos I got too drunk. But people forget about what consequences drinking loads or doing drugs will have on other people like that ... the ones who have to look after us.

I: So do you think then that if there were more laws and rules against people drinking alcohol or doing drugs it would stop?

A: Er yeah. If they made drink more expensive then ... young people wouldn't even have the money (pause) wouldn't have a clue how to get it cos they aint working as much and they can't buy it. But then even like people I know just drink cos everyone else is doing it whether they can afford it or not.

I: Okay then. That's good. Is there anything else you would like to add?

A: Er. Just really I guess that it's getting worse these days (pause) like how we are so media obsessed. Celebrities in the papers and that like ahh yeah they are getting drunk and they are celebrities (pause) so normal people do it too ... But ... younger people see it and they go out and like ... always drink excessively ... then like I said it creates problems for

hospitals … younger people can't handle their drinks like adults so they have to get their stomach pumped and what have you … and the police … the amount of fights they must have to deal with cos of young people … it's just getting worse and worse … In a way after my accident I can see why it is such a problem … and why adults don't like younger people drinking so much … we don't have a care in the world … and it's our parents and other adults who always end up looking after us.

I: Okay thank you. That's really good. Again thank you for your help today. Er (pause) once again your name will not be used in the transcription or the report (pause). Thank you.

Appendix 2

Transcript 2

I – Interviewer, B – Participant B

I: Okay first of all before we start I've just got to say that if there's any reason that you need to stop the interview at any point, erm, or if you need a break or anything then we can do so, just let me know and we can stop the interview. And the next thing is if I can get you to sign at the bottom of this form, erm it is just a consent form to show that you are consenting for any information that you give in the interview to be used later in the report. And also the last thing is your name will not be given to anyone, it is just me and the class teacher that know your real name, so your identity will be protected. So is that all okay?

B: Yeah.

I: Okay. So we'll start off then (pause) First of all we're just going to erm look at how much you drink, when you drink and general drinking habits … So how often would you say you drink alcohol?

B: Erm (pause) probably like … two to three times a week.

I: And on these occasions how many drinks do you consume?

B: Probably … between about five and ten … I reckon.

I: And what sort of occasions are these? Is it sort of … casual drinking with meals in restaurants, erm do you just drink at home? … Do you go out clubbing or drinking at the pub?

B: Er (pause) yeah … mostly like going out clubbing or to the pub with friends.

I: And er … what sort of alcohol do you drink? Like is it beers and ciders? Wine, spirits and shots …

B: Yeah mostly like spirits … sometimes wine but mostly spirits like vodka.

I: Okay. And who do you drink with the most? Friends, family?

B: Erm mainly my friends … sometimes me and my mum might have a glass of wine when we have dinner but that's not very often … but seeing as I go to uni it's mostly with my friends there.

I: And why do you drink … is it for fun and pleasure? Is it to relieve stress, and relax? Anything like that?

B: Mostly for fun … sometimes it can be relaxing … but mainly when I go out and to have fun.

I: And when you do go out with your friends then and consume alcohol, is it a mixed group like boys and girls … or is it just you and your girlfriends?

B: Er yeah (pause) well I live with six girls at uni … so it's mostly just us that goes out. And sometimes we might meet up with … our boy mates from uni or … er like … in societies or something there'll be a mixed group of people, but yeah like maybe like … 75% of the time it's just us girls.

I: Okay. Do you think that positive or negative experiences with drink either that you have experienced or a person close to you has, which makes you want to drink more or less?

B: Er … can you repeat that?

I: So like you've said earlier that you enjoy going out drinking, so does this make you want to drink more? Or if you have a bad night out whilst drinking has this made you want to stop?

B: Oh … er … like yeah yeah … cos like I suppose I'll associate a good night out with one where I was out drinking alcohol and that … and then it'll just make me wanna do it again and get me excited for the next time I go out … So yeah I'd say so.

I: Okay. So next we are just going to look at how you began drinking and your introduction to alcohol. So how old was you when you first started drinking alcohol?

B: Er … probably like thirteen, fourteen (pause) maybe more fourteen.

I: And how was you introduced to alcohol? Was it your parents did they let you drink or was it older siblings, your friends …

B: No my mum was really strict … like she wouldn't let me drink ever … so it was through friends and with friends when I started drinking.

I: So then if your mum was quite strict with you having alcohol, did this not stop you from doing it?

B: No … I guess I was sort of rebelling (pause) cos the more she said no the more I wanted to do it.

I: Looking back at your younger self, would you say that you were too young to be drinking alcohol, or do you think it's okay?

B: Er … yeah I guess it is quite young, very young actually … and I suppose if my mum let me have a little drink sometimes then it wouldn't have been a major issue. But it obviously wasn't her fault I started drinking that earlier, I just chose to do it. But maybe if I started drinking later it would have been a bigger problem … like spiralled out of control when I finally was able to drink.

I: Okay so you've just said that you was around fourteen when you first started drinking, obviously this is under the legal age of drinking and buying alcohol which is eighteen, so how did you … how was alcohol available to you? How did you sort of buy alcohol?

B: Through like friends … like older siblings, or sometimes their parents would buy it for us.

I: So although you wasn't legally old enough to drink and wasn't legally old enough to buy it, you could get it quite easily?

B: Yeah yeah yeah (pause) most of the times if I was going to drink it would be with my friend whose mum was quite lenient with it. She didn't mind us drinking at her house … and she was always letting [girls name] have parties at their house which was when we would drink. So [girls name] mum would buy it for us and we'd drink it together.

I: So were all of your friends drinking alcohol at this age?

B: Pretty much … there were one or two who didn't drink, or at least not as much as us. But from about fourteen everyone was pretty much doing it.

M: Why do you think these few people didn't drink alcohol?

B: I think it was to do with like their parents … either their parents telling them they couldn't, so they were scared to do it behind their back … Or just not being able to get any, like their parents not buying it or not having older siblings or something.

I: Okay so why were you drinking alcohol at this age?

B: I guess like I just said … everyone was pretty much drinking at around fourteen, everyone else was doing it, so … it just felt like the right thing to do. The most fun thing to do cos everyone who went to my school suddenly started drinking and going to parties at the weekend.

I: Okay. So now I'd like to focus on you, your peers and your friends and your alcohol consumption. Earlier we spoke a little bit about how your friends and yourself began drinking, and you all started drinking together, so we're just going to speak about them and your alcohol consumption at the present time okay … So when you go out with your friends … where do you go mostly?

B: Mainly to the clubs … if I'm at home it'll either be a pub or club … but most of the time we just go out clubbing. Sometimes when I'm at uni though … we might drink at someones house … like a little get together.

I: Okay so erm you say that you go out mostly to clubs, erm … if you do go out then … do you go onto different venues? Or just stay in one place?

B: Sometimes we'll just … stay in one place. So we'll just have a few drinks … before we go out, at either our house or a friend's house or … erm … like last year it would be in the student halls where we were all living. Sometimes though … we'll go through like different bars, like different pubs … do like a pub crawl, then eventually we'll end up at like a club anyway. But I'd say most of the time we'd just go to the one club, cos we would have had pre drinks before we come out … so there's no need to go to a pub or er bar or lots of different places before.

I: So you say that you have these pre drinks then, erm do you just drink alcohol then, or would you say you drunk the same amount before you went out and when you was out as well?

B: Er no (pause) I'd say I'd definitely drink more before we went out ... more cos of money ... but erm ... most of the time we'd drink ... a good like 80% of what I would drink would be before I went out. I might have a couple of drinks when I'm out but not really loads, just cos it's so expensive.

I: So would you say that that's the only reason why you drink beforehand? Cos it can get expensive if you drink loads when you're out?

B: Yeah mostly ... but then also like cos at home when you're drinking you get to spend more time with your friends (pause) like when you're in clubs your like split up, or it'll be so busy you can't really talk to each other or ... it just like gives us an opportunity to ... erm like not just chat and have a catch up but a laugh as well ... Like meet new people as well, like if my housemates will invite some people round from their course who I don't know so having a few drinks with them before we go out means I get to know them (pause) so it's like a good opportunity to meet new people and make new friends not in a clubbing environment, cos you can't really chat to people there cos of obviously how loud the music is and that ...

I: Would you say then that these predrinks are a regular occurrence?

B: Yeah regular ... cos of the money ... If we're just casually drinking like going to the pub then we won't but if we're going out clubbing then we definitely will have some form of predrinks before.

I: And you've just said that at predrinks you just have a chat to your friends, and have like a catch up, er is that all you do or does anything else happen?

B: Er (pause) yeah sometimes we'll play like drinking games and stuff ... so erm ... I suppose there the aim is to more get people drunk but to have fun as well and like especially like last year at uni when we were meeting loads of new people, erm in like first year ... you got to know a lot more about people through drinking games ... and it was a laugh and you had fun together when you were playing them ... like it was more sort of like er it was more like an ice breaker type thing to get to know people and socialise with people who you had only just met, and the focus of it was around alcohol and drinking games.

I: Yeah (pause) would you say that there's a lot of encouragement to join in when these games are being played?

B: Yeah there is definitely encouragement but ... I wouldn't say it's like forceful, like ... we would say down your drink or get someone to do a shot ... or ... something like that. But if someone didn't want to do it we would never force them to do it ... but yeah I would definitely say there was some sort of encouragement, I suppose it could be seen as like pressurising but I don't see it like that ... myself.

I: Okay. Er ... you obviously have been talking about your friends at uni and going out there ... would you say that erm you go out more there than what you do at home?

B: Yeah definitely (pause) at uni we'd like go out during the week, and stuff ... we probably go out about three times a week at uni ... so we'd be drinking like quite a lot on each of those occasions ... Erm whereas at home like we'd go out like most ... most weekends ...

sometimes like twice in the weekend but normally only just the once … on either the Friday or Saturday. So I'd mostly just be drinking like once a week when I was at home (pause) so yeah I'd say I drink more at uni than I do at home.

I: Would you say the drinking atmosphere at uni and at home is different?

B: Er yeah probably … like more so because … usually there's big groups of us drinking so it can get a bit more like rowdy and erm a lot more drinking games, loud music, and things like that … whereas at home I just go out with a couple of my friends … we'd still like drink just as much but it won't be as much … we wouldn't play drinking games nowhere near as much or … we'd more just sort of have a few drinks whilst we are getting ready and then erm … rather than playing like loads of drinking games.

I: Okay. Thank you … so the next thing that I'd like to move on to is you, your friends and peer influence or pressure … so if I was to use the term peer pressure, how would you understand or interpret this term?

B: Erm (pause) I would say like at its most extreme it would be like forcing someone to do something so … like being peer pressured into drinking so your being made to drink … or things like erm … I dunno more like influencing people to drink and like I suppose saying at like younger age like you're not cool if you don't drink … or you're not in with everyone else if you don't drink … but nowadays it would more be like if you're playing a game where you have to down your drink it would be more pressuring them to do it as part of the game … if you didn't it could be like you're not joining in with the game or whatever.

I: Okay. So you just mentioned there maybe younger people forcing other people to drink more … do you think then that this pressure to drink is more common amongst younger groups of people rather than older people?

B: I think so … I think when your younger you … want to sort of fit in more and you want to be like your friends and you want to … well it's not true for everyone but like you want to be part of the cool group or like with the cool people in school (pause) so I guess like if someone did drink alcohol … you would be influenced more when your younger … cos like when your older you know more about yourself and your more independent and you know what you wanna do and don't wanna do … so like you won't feel as pressured into anything like you do when your younger … like in my own experience I would never drink now I'm twenty just cos someone else was or just cos someone else told me to (pause) erm but I probably would have done more when I was younger.

I: Okay. Have you thought about whether maybe peer pressure and alcohol consumption are related in general? Obviously you've just said there that younger people might drink more because they might feel pressured by other people, so do you think that there's a strong connection between the two?

B: Yeah I think so … I think … especially when you first start drinking alcohol. Like … no matter what age you are when you start of drinking and if you're with a group … you're more likely to then carry on and the more you start drinking it sort of just turns into a cycle … if your group of friends are drinking your most likely going to be drinking too.

I: So when you was younger do you think you was influenced or encouraged to drink because of your friends?

B: Yeah I definitely think I was influenced (pause) to drink because of my friends. I wouldn't really say pressured.

I: Why's that?

B: Just because like it was my choice to drink alcohol … they never made me … it was just the fact that they were doing it, it made me want to do it too.

I: So you could say it was more of your own attitude and belief that it was fun and cool, and like your own mind telling you to do it just because they were, not them actually telling you to drink?

B: Yeah it was definitely more me thinking I should drink cos they are … not them physically making me drink.

I: And what about now … would you say that there's still that influence to drink or as you say you're a bit older now so …

B: Yeah not so as much … but still like … especially at uni like most people drink and a lot of like social events are based around drinking, and even though the societies are always like you don't have to drink if you don't want too (pause) everyone's always like still drinks and it … it just seems as if that's what the events and the nights out are based on … getting drunk.

I: Hmmhmm. So why would you say nowadays that although you and your friends are older, why do these people still succumb to this pressure or influence?

B: Er I think it's like what was said earlier (pause) you associate drinking with having a good time so at uni your only there for three years, you … it goes so quickly you wanna make the most of it and enjoy yourself and have fun … and the way to do that at uni is to go out and drink and that … and so if you associate with having a good time with drinking you wanna do it again and again … and the more you enjoy yourself the more you'll want to do it again (pause) and … then the less your sort of able to resist going out and not drink.

I: Would you say there is sort of this belief that you can only have fun when you're drunk?

B: Yeah I think so cos I have friends that I know that can go out and drive so they aint drinking and still have the best night out, still be a laugh and still be as funny as they are when they are drunk … like it doesn't bother them … but then you get some people, and I guess like a lot of people my age that just think they have to get drunk on a night out to have a good time.

I: And as we just said about when you were younger, it could be to do with your own perception of drinking … do you think that this pressure actually exists amongst friends or it is more to do with how you think you'll be perceived if you do not drink, whilst all your friends are?

B: Yeah (pause) it's more to do with how you think you'll be perceived by people … cos no one like … no one would pressurise you to drink like drink it drink it … but it's more like if you weren't then you'd feel like you weren't being part of the group or you weren't having

as much fun as the others … you weren't enjoying yourself as much as you could cos you'd feel like you were different compared to your friends and they'd judge you cos of it. Even though they wouldn't but it's just something you think.

I: And okay moving on a little bit (pause) you said earlier about there sort of being a different drinking atmosphere at home than there is when you are at uni, do you think that there could be more pressure or influence at home or at uni compared to the other?

B: Yeah like at uni probably cos of like societies and that … like the sporting societies will drink a lot, like there's a lot more pressure to drink when you're in one of those societies. Especially as well when your like new to the group, if you're a fresher … then there is a lot more pressure to drink and drink a lot and be able to handle your drink as well … compared to like when I drink at home its more chilled out … not so much of a competition like it is when your drinking in a society at uni.

I: Okay. Do you think that some of your friends whether it be at home or at university feel pressured or encouraged to drink?

B: I think it does go for most people like some people are quite strong willed and people who are religious and that aren't going to be pressured as much … but I think in general most people my age or younger … even older (pause) I think there's a lot of people who feel as if there is a pressure to think and belief that drinking is fun and that drinking is something which is good to do.

I: You just mentioned there religion, do you think then that the pressure placed on someone to drink could be dependent on them as a person and on their personality factors? Like someone who is religious do you think they could be pressured more because of that?

B: Maybe … no actually I think it's like the same for everyone … everyone at some point will be like influenced to drink no matter if they are religious or older or younger (pause) it's just part of life and like growing up. But then whether they will like be pressured to drink or whatever is more down to the individual than the pressure itself.

I: Okay. Moving on again … do you think that you yourself could like encourage someone who wasn't drinking alcohol to drink? Say if they had work early the next day or wanted to drive?

B: Yeah (pause) yeah probably. I wouldn't really think of it as pressurising someone to drink … like it's not done intentionally or in a nasty way but like when you say it like that I guess it is sort of pressuring them … or at least encouraging them not to drink. Like if they were driving I'd be like no don't drive we can get a cab … or if they had work early I'd be like we can just leave early … cos yeah I do feel like someone who doesn't drink would feel themselves like left out or wouldn't enjoy themselves as much … I do associate having fun with drinking alcohol, so if someone wasn't drinking I'd think they wouldn't enjoy themselves. So yeah if they were like driving or just not wanting to drink I'd probably persuade them to drink.

I: So it's not necessarily encouraging them to drink because you want to get them drunk, its more to do with persuading them to have a good time …

B: Yeah yeah I think so ... like it's not to get them drunk and to make them get drunk and do stupid things or whatever ... yeah its more to do with wanting them to have a good time ... that's why I would persuade them to go out and that.

I: Do you feel that if there is this level of pressure amongst you and your friendship group, do you think it's okay or it's a problem?

B: No I think it could be a problem ... like the age that people drink at like fourteen which I said I was like that's so young, and like (pause) but at the time you don't think of the consequences or the other problems that could happen because your drinking ... I still don't think about them now ... you just drink to have fun cos all your friends are... so it's definitely a problem in that sense. And like my mum when I was younger wouldn't let me have a drink or anything which I guess can have a negative effect cos it'll make me want to rebel. But I do think it is a problem like anyone encouraging anyone to drink, they ignore the health risks of it and just do it. And like as well it could have other affects like on you and your friends and your relationship with them, or with like your parents if they found out or whatever.

I: So if you think it's a problem then ... do you think it should be addressed amongst your group of friends?

B: I think it's more like everyone knows it goes on and everyone knows alcohol is bad for you and we just worry about the consequences later and we still do it ... and like the pressuring and that we all know we could encourage someone to drink or to drink more but it's not really done maliciously so it doesn't get brought up.

I: And do you think that this level of pressure or encouragement or influence ... is so strong, and as you've said especially amongst young people, do you think it could lead to anything else?

B: Er (pause) yeah ... Like I think with alcohol once you've had it with your friends ... it becomes like part of what you do ... Like if your friends were to do drugs as well I guess it is easily influential on the rest of the group and so everyone else does it too ... so as well then like crime and fights and that ... when your drunk and whatever you don't really know what your doing so alcohol could lead to it in that respect ... and like I guess if you're gonna be influenced to drink alcohol you can be influenced and like encouraged to do other stuff as well then like petty things like get into fights or vandalism or whatever ... but then the small things could always lead to the big.

I: Okay yeah. And looking at another topic as well, do you think the level of peer pressure or influence amongst friends can change depending on whether it's a mixed group ... or whether there's more or less pressure amongst just boys or just girls?

B: Er ... I don't think so ... I wouldn't say there's really that much difference depending on your friendship group. Like from my own experience being in a house at uni with five other girls ... we probably don't drink as much as boys we know erm ... and I guess like with boys there might be more pressure to like prove yourself as like a lad but ... erm (pause) I think that's more to do again with like the individual and us as a person rather than it being just boys or just girls. But then saying that like last year again when I lived in halls with all girls ... if we went to the flat opposite the boys would always drink a lot more and encourage each other to drink ... and us as well ... a lot more than we would when it was just us girls

on our own. In general (pause) I don't think there's much of a difference … I'd guess it'd just depend.

I: Depend again on what like individual factors?

B: Yeah it's more to do with like personality factors rather than totally based on gender.

I: So you just said there that boys may feel as if they have to prove themselves, do you think this could be the same as girls?

B: Yeah probably … probably even more cos like girls know that other girls can be bitchy and nasty and that … behind each other's backs, so I guess they might drink so they won't be judged or bitched about or whatever by their girl mates … girls are probably more prone to being encouraged to drink cos they are so worried about being left out or what the other people will say about them.

I: Okay. Again moving on, would you say that there is sort of a wider problem of young people drinking? And like the pressure from say the media to get young people to drink?

B: Yeah I suppose so … it probably does start as like more of an internal smaller thing between friends … but then seeing like magazines and telly programmes where like celebrities are drinking, if you saw that then you think getting drunk is normal and like everyone does it. So like it could be a wider problem like the pressure to drink is wider and bigger than just your friends but I think it'll always start off between friends.

I: Yeah. As there has been a lot of media attention on programmes such as Geordie Shore and that, and also advertising of alcopops, which are both marketed towards younger people, do you think that it's all glamourizing and promoting the lifestyle of getting drunk and partying? It could make the problem of young drinking bigger?

B: Yeah definitely. I'd say like programmes like that do worsen the problem cos like they are aimed towards young people and young people look up to them as role models and think they can copy what these people do on the telly … they want to be like them … and if these people on telly are going out and getting drunk all the time then they are promoting … encouraging people to do the same. If they see these people on telly go out and get really drunk and have fun … then in the next episode they are like last weekend was so much fun we were so drunk bla bla … then yeah I think it would influence young people to behave like them and do the same as them.

I: So do you think if there was more control and regulation over these types of programmes and advertisement then it could possibly help reduce the problem of young people drinking excessively?

B: It would still go on (pause) it might help … but you'd still get influenced by your friends and family … but it could reduce … like people who watch those programmes like if they could see them go out and have fun without alcohol then it might stop them drinking a bit.

I: Yeah. Do you think that there is more of a problem of young girls drinking compared to young boys?

B: Most people think like it's okay for boys to drink like oh boys will be boys … and when like on them programmes and that there's the girls who are smashed everyone criticises them cos it's not how a lady should act and whatever … but there is definitely more worry about young girls cos of stuff like spiking your drink or getting attacked by a man or something whilst your drunk so I guess so … but boys can be just as bad like the fights they get in and stuff can be just as dangerous, and they shouldn't be allowed to drink more or whatever just cos they are boys … but people do think there is more of a problem surrounding young girls drinking yeah.

I: And as you were mentioning earlier about the health risks and consequences, do you think that this is a major problem? If young people were more aware of the health risks then they may stop drinking as much?

B: Yeah definitely like the alcohol awareness things that can go to schools and that they are helpful but then I guess people who care won't drink or won't drink as much (pause) the people that drink loads probably know that it's not healthy but they don't care. They'll never think it could happen to them. So the health problems are like over looked a lot, unless something happened to you or someone you knew, you'd carry on as you were.

I: And do you think maybe if there were more rules and laws against young people drinking alcohol, would this help to reduce the problem?

B: Erm maybe … possibly … but then there's the law to stop people drinking under eighteen but it still goes on, people still have fake ID's or can still get hold of alcohol one way or another so it's not as if that really stops underage drinking. Or like putting the price up of alcohol, if people wanna drink then they are gonna find a way to get drink so it's not as if that helps or whatever. Like in a way it could help reduce it but increasing the age limit or whatever could just do the opposite and make young people wanna drink more and that.

I: Okay thank you that's really good and really helpful. Is there anything else you would like to add?

B: Er (pause) no I don't think so.

I: No that's not a problem … Again thank you for your help today … And just again your name will not be used within the report and we have your signed consent form so thank you very much.

Appendix 3

Outline of Consent form – signed consent forms attached to hard copy of assignment
Example taken from Bryman (2012: 141)

I, the undersigned, have read and understood the Study Information sheet provided.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I understand that my personal details, such as name, will not be revealed to anyone outside of the study.

I understand that taking part in the study will include being interviewed, and that this interview will be recorded.

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any material related to this project to Amelia Levey, who is carrying out the research study.

I understand I can with draw from the study at any given time, and I will not be asked any questions about why I no longer want to take part in the study.

Name of Participant   Date

Signature of Participant

Name of Researcher   Date

Signature of Researcher

Appendix 4

Study Information Sheet
Example taken from Bryman (2012: 141)

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate within this research study. This information sheet is provided to explain what the study is about and how we would like you to take part in it. The purpose of this study is to research the relationship between individual alcohol consumption and whether peer pressure amongst young female friendship groups can influence, affect and change individual alcohol consumption.

In order to stimulate your views, I would like to interview you, on behalf of the University of Essex. If you agree to this, the interview will be carried out and audio recorded, and will last approximately forty-five minutes. The information provided in the interview will be used for research purposes only. It will not be used in a manner which will allow identification of your individual responses.

The study has been considered by an Institutional ethics committee at the University of Essex and has been approved.

Once again, we would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study. If you have any questions about the research at any stage, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Amelia Levey

Do women adopt certain strategies to cope with living with a chronic illness?

Emma Woonton

Introduction

According to Wright and Ellis a chronic illness is 'something that is prolonged, doesn't resolve spontaneously, and rarely cured completely' (2010:13). In other words, Charmaz succinctly notes, 'illness disrupts their lives; it intrudes upon the day –frequently each day; it engulfs them' (1939:9). From this it is clearly evident that the impact a chronic illness has upon an individual is inevitably profound. Thus, sufferers of chronic conditions are faced with a life of uncertainty in terms of their unremitting symptoms and the future that awaits them. In this case, for sufferers of chronic conditions, this means more than learning how to live with it. It requires the ability to adapt to living with a chronic illness and therefore cope with the consequences. According to Bury (1991) coping is 'the cognitive process whereby the individual learns how to tolerate or put up with the effects of the illness' (Bury, 1991:460). In this case, for individual's learning to live with a chronic illness it involves adopting coping strategies in order to manage daily life and more importantly, make sense of their illness.

For my research project, I specifically chose to research further into chronic illness as it was a subject close to home and was therefore of personal relevance. I was inspired and intrigued to research particularly the coping strategies that individuals adopt as it was something I was surrounded by and witnessed for myself the extent to which chronic illness impinges upon an individual's life. Therefore within my research project, I conducted semi-structured interviews with two females who were diagnosed with Crohn's Disease, a long term condition that causes inflammation of the lining of the digestive system. Common symptoms can include abdominal pain and diarrhoea (NHS Choices, 2015). With chronic conditions becoming increasingly common and Crohn's Disease affecting one in every 650 people in the United Kingdom (Crohn's and Colitis UK, 2013), the aim of my research project is therefore to demonstrate the contributing factors that guide and help sufferer's to cope with an illness that hugely disrupts their life.

Literature Review

Whilst looking at the existing literature review, it was clearly evident that studies on chronic illness and coping strategies were sparse. Kelly's (1992) study of sufferers of Ulcerative Colitis and their experiences was briefly mentioned in my first literature review as it related to my purposed research to a certain degree (cited in Nettleton 2013). This is because both Crohn's Disease and Ulcerative Colitis are major categories of Irritable Bowel Syndrome and therefore patients of both conditions would share similar experiences of their conditions. Thus, whilst exploring the literature review, it was found that there were many studies on Irritable Bowel Syndrome. One study by Larsson et al (2008) focused on the 'quality of life for patients with exacerbation in inflammatory bowel disease and how they cope with disease activity' which again was to an extent related to my research. In particular, finding studies that were related to Crohn's Disease was also problematic as much attention of existing studies were focused on well-known chronic illnesses such as

Cancer, Parkinson's disease and Arthritis. Similarly, whilst looking at the existing literature review, it was also brought to my attention that many studies were concerned with the quality of life of individuals living with a chronic condition. For this reason, I was primarily concerned with the coping strategies individuals adopt in the face of a chronic illness. With regard to Kelly's (1992) study, it was found that in most cases the adoption of coping strategies was problematic and challenging. Kelly (1992) identified that one key problem in adopting coping strategies was the uncertainty and inherently unstable nature of the condition such as bowel movements (diarrhoea). Norton et al (2013) also found that bowel movements were the greatest need for coping strategies in his study of patient's perspectives on the impact of Crohn's Disease. Thus, in attempts to overcome the problematic urgency to go to the toilet individuals adopted 'protective strategies' such as carefully mapping out routes and places according to the accessibility of the bathroom (Reif, 1973:81).

To my surprise, it was found in Norton et al (2012) study that the participants did not easily share information about their disease with family and friends as they often felt they did not understand what they were going through in dealing with Crohn's Disease. In direct contrast, Nicholas et al's (2007) study found that honesty and open communications with family and friends regarding diagnosis, bowel symptoms, and treatment led to more effective coping strategies and adaptation to Irritable Bowel Syndrome. As would be expected, this finding is in much agreement with many other studies similarly highlighting the positive effects of family support in helping an individual to cope with their chronic condition. Prior to my research project, I assumed that support from family and friends would be instrumental for my participants, after conducting my research, this was confirmed by my participants. Thus, finding relevant studies to position my purposed research was proven to be difficult as not much research focusing upon sufferers of Crohn's Disease and their coping strategies has been carried out yet.

Findings

After conducting and transcribing both interviews, the method of thematic analysis was used to analyse the findings. Thematic analysis is a process of analysing data according to commonalities, relationships and differences between the participant's responses (Gibson and Brown, 2009).

My first participant "Helen" was diagnosed with a severe case of Crohn's Disease in 2009 although she had been suffering from symptoms since 2007. For "Pat", my second participant it could be argued that she went on a turbulent journey during 2013 with her diagnosis and was finally diagnosed with Crohn's Disease in March 2014. Here then, it is important to note that throughout my research I have wrote under the pseudonyms of Helen and Pat to protect both my participants' identities. Both women underwent the same procedure due to their severe cases of Crohn's Disease and was therefore their last option in making them better. The operation involved removing the large bowel and an ileostomy bag, also known as a stoma bag, is constructed which means the individual does not defecate in the same way as other people as the waste is collected in the stoma bag (Nettleton, 2013). Both women are therefore in the process of adapting and learning to live with this stoma appliance.

With both women undergoing the same procedure, interestingly they discussed very different experiences of the support from the hospital that they received. In Pat's case, she received an 'Ileostomy Starter Pack' in the preparation of the operation which provided an

information booklet about the operation. In the aftermath of the operation, she received 'great help from a stoma nurse' (Interview 2) who made home visits to check she was coping well. In comparison, for Helen, the hospital was unsupportive and she received no help from the hospital after her operation. Similar to these findings, in Cooper et al (2010) study found that a lack of knowledge about Irritable Bowel Disease on the part of the NHS was a barrier to patients' personal control and self-management of the condition. Helen also briefly mentioned that in the lead up to the second stage of the operation her operation had been cancelled twice. Thus, my findings therefore demonstrate that the support from the NHS made available to Pat were significant in providing her with medical knowledge, however the same cannot be said for Helen, who was left in the lurch and at the receiving end of sheer incompetence of the NHS.

The role of family and friends in providing emotional support deemed to be an instrumental coping mechanism throughout both interviews and was also in much agreement with existing studies. Both women pointed out the encouragement from family and friends helped them to cope with their current situation. For Pat, her family assured her she would get through it and provided upbeat encouragement to keep her going (Interview 2). In the case of Helen, she spoke extensively of her parents encouragement during her education and it was those 'extra pushes' they gave, that helped her to cope with being ill and completing school. Due to the lack of medical support in Helen's case, she counts herself lucky for the emotional support she received from her family and friends when she was feeling self-conscious or unwell (Interview 1). What is more striking is that, although both women were grateful for the support of family and friends, they both pointed out that living with Crohn's disease is not only affecting them but also affecting their families. Helen felt it is 'just as tough on family members as it is on the person who has the illness themselves' as they have to see you in pain and unhappy (Interview 1). Pat disclosed the suffering and pain that she was going through by putting on a 'brave face' to protect her family from knowing the full extent of her suffering (Interview 2). For both women, it is clear family and friends were a significant coping mechanisms in providing guidance and a positive mind-set of their condition.

However, it can also be pointed out that although emotional support from family and friends was instrumental in helping them to cope with their illness, both women mentioned that speaking to someone else with Crohn's Disease was also beneficial. For Pat, knowing that someone who was much younger than her had gone through what she was about to undergo, helped her significantly to come to terms with the operation and her own illness. She explained that she felt more at ease and prepared for her own operation as she had been given an insight into someone else's experience. In Helen's case, she felt expressing how you feel was harder with someone who does not understand your situation in comparison to speaking to someone else with Crohn's Disease. She therefore felt it was comforting to talk to someone else with Crohn's Disease as they are able to sympathize and empathize (Interview 1). From this it is clear, that talking to someone else with Crohn's Disease provided both women with emotional support different to the support they receive from family and friends.

In both cases, social media acted as an external coping mechanism for both women. For Pat, the Crohn's and Colitis website provided information that she described as 'unreal' and therefore helped her throughout (Interview 2). In the same way, Helen spoke of how joining the Crohn's Page on Facebook broadened her knowledge on the illness due to reading through posts people had shared of their experiences of Crohn's disease. What was also interesting that Helen touched upon was that, by joining the Crohn's page on

Facebook, she was made aware that she was not alone in this situation (Interview 1). In the same way, knowing that there were people worse off from herself, Pat felt optimistic and grateful of her own condition (Interview 2). The use of social media as an external coping mechanism therefore provided both women with information different to that of medical knowledge, but more importantly, provided them with reassurance that they were not the only people with this condition and in this situation.

A final point that I believe is worthy of mentioning is that one coping mechanism that appeared prominent for both women was having an outgoing and extroverted personality. This was greatly discussed in my interview with Helen whereby she believed 'your personality makes a big difference to how you cope' (Interview 1). In Pat's s case, having the confidence to openly talk about her illness also proved to be an effective coping mechanism in itself. It was also found that both women remained optimistic about their condition. These findings correlate with Larson et al (2008) study which found that optimistic coping behaviours amongst patients were frequently used to help cope with their conditions. When describing how she felt about her diagnosis, Helen frequently used the phrase, 'there is light at the end of the tunnel' which clearly demonstrates she maintained an optimistic outlook on her situation.

Reflections

Reflecting back on my research project, I believe using the semi-structured interview enabled me to answer my initial research question successfully. The use of the semi-structured interview therefore proved to be a powerful research tool that encouraged a 'partnership on a conversational research journey' (Crabtree and Miller, 1999:89), which to my advantage, provided my participants with leeway to respond in as much detail as possible. This method therefore gave opportunity to go below the surface of my research topic and enabled new areas and ideas that had not been anticipated from the outset of my research, to be uncovered (Britten, 1995).

Although Bryman (2012:47) encourages rambling or 'going off on tangents', I believe that due to my inexperience, I did not maintain control over my subjects when this occurred during the interview process. Indeed, my role as an interviewer is to be a good listener and 'mine the gold of information stored in the respondents' (Miller and Crabtree, 1999:89) however, it is also essential that as an interviewer, my role is to guide and direct the interview back to its aim when required. As a result, it could therefore be argued that a critique of my research project is my lack of control and failure to interrupt my participants when it was necessary. Nonetheless, luckily to my advantage, the majority of the data gathered from both interviews were relevant to my research topic and did enable me to answer my initial research question. However since my participants going off on tangents was a problem I encountered during my research, again, to my disadvantage, there was potential for some topics to be explored further, yet this was not possible due to time restrictions.

Due to the sensitivity and personal nature of my research topic, it is inevitable that the process of sampling would be posed with difficulties. However, to my advantage, my participants were obtained through convenience sampling. Convenience sampling, according to Bryman (2012:710), is selecting a sample because of its 'availability to the researcher'. Under this circumstance, the rapport with my participants had already been established. Thus, prior to my research project, I thought having a pre-existing relationship would be beneficial for my research topic due to its sensitivity. To my surprise, in one of

the interviews, it was a fundamental drawback. Within Pat's interview, it was clearly evident that she felt uncomfortable discussing the topic due to the fact that her responses to the sensitive questions were very short and brief. My role as an interviewer was therefore to use probes in order for Pat to elaborate on her answer and essentially maintain the progressive flow of conversation. What I also picked up on throughout the interview process is that Pat did not make eye contact with me when responding to an answer. Once the interview had terminated Pat did admit that she felt the interview was challenging because of our pre-existing relationship.

Conclusion

Having looked at the main findings from both interviews it is clear that various conclusions could be suggested with regard to the coping strategies that females living with chronic illness adopt. Indeed, it is important to note that my overall findings cannot be generalized to the wider population due to the relatively small sample and therefore my research only proposed a minute contribution to research relating to this topic. Overall, it was found that the support from family and friends was clearly an effective coping mechanism and proved to be most significant for both women in terms of guidance and maintaining a positive outlook on their situation. However, it could be argued that emotional support from family and friends was not exclusively the prominent coping mechanism for both women. The findings show that social media and speaking to someone else with Crohn's Disease provided a sense of comfort and highlighted they were not alone in this situation. Thus, an interesting point to conclude on is that, maintaining an optimistic outlook on their situation was equally important to the support from family and friends and therefore proved to be an effective coping mechanism for both women.

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Appendix 1: Transcript 1

A: Okay just to begin with I need to go over a few things and just clarify that you understand what you are consenting to. I'm interviewing you as part of my research project for my research module, the information contained within this interview will only be seen by myself and my class teacher. I will change your name and use a pseudonyms to protect your identity um as stated in the consent form at any given time during this interview you need a break or you want to terminate the interview you have the right to do so um just let me know and the interview will be terminated ... um I just need you to sign the consent form as evidence to show that you consent to participating within this research project. Um do you have any questions before we begin?

A: No I completely understand the process.

B: Great, so I'll just begin with getting to just know a little background information, so um what are you currently doing now? Do you work? Are you in education?

A: I am currently out of work and education, I had to drop out of university because I had an operation so I am currently not doing anything but next September I plan to go back to university and carry on with my education.

B: Okay, so now could you tell me a little about your medical history?

B: Well I was diagnosed with Crohn's in 2009 but prior to that I had symptoms for two years, so I was going back and forth to the hospital appointments but they, they couldn't find anything wrong. They told my parents there was nothing wrong, they were just over protective parents, and the symptoms included having diarrhoea for urm maybe six weeks at a time, but at the time I didn't think anything of it and thought it was normal, but when I went to the hospital they suggested Lactose Intolerance ... anything they suggested but they didn't do a test for Crohn's until um my parents suggested I do a camera test and then when we did the camera test, it revealed that I had quite severe case of Cohn's disease and some Ulcerative Colitis.

A: Um so did you know about Crohn's Disease before your own diagnosis?

B: No I had never heard of Crohn's disease before, it was something that was completely new to me.

A: Yeah, okay then urm, what was your reaction to hearing that you had Crohn's Disease?

B: Um I think my reaction wasn't too bad when I first found out I had it because I was living with symptoms for so long um it wasn't something that was going to be a shock to me because it wasn't something that I had been living with already, so in that sense it didn't affect me ... at that present moment when I found out as much as someone maybe who would be told that they got something then the symptoms follow after that they find out.

A: Okay then, so you've obviously just spoke about your symptoms,

B: Yep...

A So how would you say living with Cohn's Disease affects your daily life?

B: I would say it is quite difficult (long pause) because the thing with Crohn's is that it's an invisible illness so on the outside you may appear perfectly normal so when you're experiencing symptoms there's things that you keep inside or keep to yourself so for example you, you can have diarrhoea you have stomach cramps you can be lethargic, that was one of the hardest ones is the tiredness, coping with day to day, whether it be work or school ... having to explain why you are always so tired and not appear so lazy

A: Yea..

B: ... Which some people may think ... but I'd say ... living day to day with the symptoms, they vary, you can have good days, you can have bad days, but ... some days you may be going to the toilet up to twelve times a day ... and that will affect your day, if you are constantly rushing thinking where's the nearest toilet when you're out.

A: Yeah ...

B: So ... I would say it is pretty difficult ...

A: Would you say then that it affects you psychologically?

B: Yea I would actually say it does affect you psychologically, especially ... urm with having the stoma bag ... that was quite difficult to come to terms with because it's a whole new change, it changes your lifestyle completely, it changes your daily routine, it something that you may be self-conscious of when you're putting on clothes, you're constantly thinking ... can people see ... so ... I would say yea it does affect you because if it's affecting say maybe your school work, or your job, you're going to be at home worrying that you can't keep up and that stress builds up and then, the stress causes your illness to get worse.

A: Mhmm.

B: So yea I would definitely say it affects psychologically.

A: You mentioned a stoma bag, could you elaborate on what it actually is?

B: Yea okay ... so a couple of months ago err my Crohn's got quite severe and I was admitted to hospital and it turned out as a last resort ... um that I would have to have an emergency operation to remove the diseased areas of my bowel, so they removed my large bowel and um as a result of that during the recovery process urm ... you have to have a stoma bag in order to allow your insides to heal ... in that in the meantime, so yea ... when I woke up from my operation I had a stoma bag but psychologically I wouldn't say they prepared me very well for it as I was in hospital and they were drawing red crosses on my stomach, and I had no, and I didn't have a clue what they were drawing red crosses on my stomach for until they asked me ... but it is something in the end you do get used to um I think it took me two months to get used of having ... even longer maybe, having to adjust to having this stoma bag (long pause) um what other things would you like to know about having the stoma bag?

A: No that's pretty fine um ... would you say that you had enough support from the hospital, Doctors

B: Definitely not, definitely not.

A: Nurses?

A: I'll say I was lucky that my … home situation and my family and friends were very supportive in that sense because I had no, no help from the hospital, the system didn't offer me, they didn't … they didn't even contact me after my operation to see how I was coping when it was a really tough time to have to cope with, but I'ld say yea … the support wasn't all there from the hospital but definitely my family and friends who helped me get through it.

A: Does the stoma bag then affect your self-esteem?

B: It affects, it does affect your self-esteem, especially it, it would affect anyone of any age. If you're going out let's say … even if you're going to dinner or going out, there's always going to be the whole idea can someone see … or you never know with the bag you could easily get a leak anytime.

A: Yea…

B: So … yea I would definitely say that it affects your self-esteem but it's just get getting used to it, and I suppose it can affect people in relationships … if you're in a relationship it might be hard for you, or if you're not in a relationship and you're trying to date, like how do you break to someone, how do you say to someone who you may not be so comfortable with that you have this situation, it is quite, it's quite a big and personal thing to have to tell someone, so … I think there's loads of components towards it that do affect yourself esteem.

A: You said about the bag could leak and um basically difficulties of having a stoma bag

B: Yea

A: So how would you say you cope with like err any difficulties with the stoma bag?

B: Um … I would say (long pause) with the difficulties … I dunno it was quite hard being (long pause) I think it was hard the … to deal with the difficulties, especially the leak, like once I was out in a restaurant and I was just eating my food, then all of a sudden, something didn't feel right and I went to the toilet and … I had leaked and it's that sense of panic, you don't know what to do, you're not near your house, you don't have a spare bag which is obviously my fault on that occasion that I didn't have a spare bag with me but where I wasn't expecting it to happen, I wasn't prepared … you go through this shock, you panic, you don't know what to do you have to get home quickly so I would say in some situations I didn't deal very well … with the difficulties, but as you go on and know that these things happen, you slowly well not slowly but you have to prepare yourself for any situation like that you might have because it could happen anywhere.

A: So it's pretty much unpredictable.

B: Yea, but also with the bag um (long pause) it can really hurt sometimes … so like it makes your skin really, really sensitive … underneath. So sometimes it is hard to put a bag on because it is so sore and then when that happens you don't even feel like leaving the

house because if you're not comfortable or your clothes are tight around it, it's just not cool.

A: Do you feel then having a stoma bag is a burden on your life?

B: Yes I would definitely say that … um I'm glad that I have my temporarily but for people who have them permanently, I guess that it is a blessing for them because they are able to live their life pain free … with the bag but for me, for someone who already feels better and is just literally waiting for the reversal, I would definitely say it is a burden … but for, I have to be thankful that it is something that could be reversed and this is something that has helped me to get better. If I hadn't done this operation it would have just been my Crohn's getting worse and worse, but I would say it's a burden but I'm lucky it's only temporary.

A: You referred to a reversal, you've got another operation could you elaborate a little on what um the operation consists of or um what happens?

B: Yea the operation will be the re-joining of the bowel um so that this means you'll be able to go to the toilet normally um … I would say the lead up to operations are quite stressful and in my situation, I haven't been so lucky where my operation been cancelled twice um … in the first instance when I had my operation booked, they had rung me up three days before to tell me they were cancelling the operation … by this time my mouth was full of cold sores, I was stressed, my body was run down, I had loss of appetite because you're knowing that you are gonna be in hospital, you're not going to be well, you may not even be able to walk for a month after because it is so painful. So mentally preparing yourself for something and then for them to tell you it's not happening to you, for that not only to happen once but to happen twice, it really affects you. So I would say with the operations it's the anticipation, it doesn't help … and as far as having the operation and the um repercussions after the operation, the recuperation is it's tough and it is really really … it is difficult to go through, again if the support is not there from the hospital um and it's not there for some people, let's say for their families, they might live on their own, it must be very difficult. But luckily for me I have the support from my family and friends.

A: Urm is support from your family and friends is basically your coping mechanism to help you deal with living with Crohn's disease?

B: Yea a hundred percent, hundred percent. Because when you are feeling self-conscious or unwell, those are the people you talk to because those are the people that understand and because again where Crohn's is an invisible illness, people take you at face value. They look at you, they, anyone could have it and you would never know. The take you at face value and you look like a completely normal person, they might not see that you're in pain, they might not see that you're trying hold yourself in to try and not go to the toilet, they don't see that … wait what was the question?

A: Support from family

B: Oh yea … so when you are with family and friends they understand your situation so you don't feel alone.

A: Yeah

B: Because if you are on your own, you're like oh my god who do I turn to. Well obviously

there are um Crohn's societies and Facebook pages where everybody is going through the same thing and they are talking about stuff and um also that is quite a good coping mechanism again. So social media does help a lot because you might through something and think oh my god am I the only person that this is happening to, but then you go on one of these websites and you will look and oh someone else is going through the exact same thing and if you want you can talk to them and obviously the Crohn's society have systems where they can give you a little card, so when you are out. if you um if you need to go to the toilet you show this card to anyone, let's say somewhere where they don't let people go to the toilet unless you are working there or something. Then you show them this card and they let you go to the toilet. Also they offer you a key so you can open toilet doors with this special key. So I suppose there are things but they don't come to you, you have to go them, you have to research, you have to find them. So I think if there was a system where you've got Crohn's, okay would you like us to put you in touch. If they had a hospital system where they be like okay you have this, we've got a Crohn's society if you would like to join, you can talk about um your illness … I would say that would help a lot of people.

A: Um … so you wouldn't have known about that before you were diagnosed with Crohn's disease, you never knew at the beginning that there were many help at hand.

B: Yea definitely, so if they had um when they had diagnosed you, they should definitely make aware that you are not alone in this situations, this x many people have, have this illness. They have societies you can join, have groups where you can talk about it, they have Facebook pages, they have twitter pages but obviously it depends on your age as well in what you would be more likely to do. If you're a more older person then you may want to go and talk to people face to face, but I think for younger people or even middle aged people be just as easy to online, go on Facebook and see what people are talking about … broadens your knowledge on the illness really but I think … I think it is important that you talk about your illness.

A: Why would you say it's important to talk about your illness?

B: Because in doing so … let's say you have an illness you talk to a friend about their illness, they become aware of your illness and of your situation, that person may easily, you never know in their life down the road, they might have a relative or a friend that is going through the same thing, but where they have already seen someone go through it they can offer their advice because they know someone who has gone through it. So I think talking about is important but it is quite a stigmatized thing to talk about. People don't talk about their toilet habits because it's a personal thing, it's not something that would crop up in conversation. So I dunno, I think if it was to become … less stigmatized and more people were to talk about it, I think it would be umm I think it be better because people wouldn't feel like it's something they shouldn't talk about, or shouldn't mention or can't tell anyone. For example, when I had my stoma bag, I saw loads of people posting pictures trying to raise awareness and I thought okay my reversal is coming up and I've gone through this … should I like expose to everyone what I've been going through for the past seven months and I did. And then someone contacted me on Facebook, one of my friends on my friends list … and was like you are really brave for doing that for posting the picture. I have been living with this for year and I haven't been able to tell any of my friends, and this was a male, a young male … so to think that, for a year he has had to keep that to himself only, the only people he had told is his mum, his did and his girlfriend. And his girlfriend after a month, she left him after he had the operation. So yeah um I felt like happy that I had put that up … he had someone to talk to, he didn't know anyone that was going through the

same thing. So he wasn't aware of these Facebook groups and stuff. It actually helped him to tell some of his friends, oh you know that girl who posted that picture, and yeah I have that too … so yeah I think … I think talking about it will help a lot of people.

A: So then would you say using social networks is another coping mechanism for you?

B: Yea definitely.

A: Um so again you were talking about feeling alone, do you feel isolated because you have Crohn's Disease or because you have a stoma bag.

B: Like isolated from society.

A: Yeah, or just in general.
B: Umm sometimes I feel like you do, especially when you are talking to people who don't understand your situation … um I feel it is hard to express how you feel about something or for someone to empathize with you when they haven't been through it themselves. So I would say … in a sense yea … but … I would say it depends on who you feel isolated from because I'm quite an open person so I am fortunate that I haven't been, haven't shied away from telling people.

A: Yea.

B: I haven't hidden it but whereas for other people who may have a little more … um what's the word … they might have more introverted character. They might not be comfortable telling people there situation so I think your personality has a lot to do with your coping mechanisms. If you're more introverted person, I'd say it be more harder to deal with because you may not feel comfortable telling anyone at all, you might even find it hard to tell certain family members. So I think your personality um and how you … how you look at the situation you're in, how you feel about it yourself affects how you deal with it and how others deal with it around you because … if you're open around it others it's not something that they will step toe around you. For example if I was to talk to my friend about it, even make jokes about it and stuff like that, they won't feel like, if they bring it up I'm gonna get all shy and be like oh my god don't say anything. So I think your personality makes a big difference to how you cope with having a stoma or even having Crohn's disease.

A: Okay then um you having to deal with Crohn's Disease, has it affected your family?

B: I think it's extremely upsetting for family members to have to see someone they care about and someone they love in pain and not being able to help them. I feel that you know even going through it myself there's a lot of burdens, you… it affects you day to day but you have to think it is also affecting the people around you and the people have to see you in pain, people have to see you unhappy. Obviously it does affect them, say … from my parents I think they definitely found it hard (long pause) to cope with me, one second with the illness could come at any time, one second you're just normal going about your day to day business, then you start getting symptoms … and all of a sudden everything changes, it can happen anytime to anyone. So I think it is quite a shock to family members when they find out that a member, member of their family has this illness and they have to now be supportive of them

A: Mhm.

B: And they now, obviously they don't have the illness but now they start looking at this illness as if they have it. So they be looking at symptoms, they be looking at medications you take, the side effects of these medications because if it is affecting the person around you, in a way it is affecting them as well. Going through certain medications … like all the symptoms you get, it could be anything from drowsiness to um blurry eyes to even more diarrhoea that you've already got already. I think it is just as tough on family members as it is on the person who has the illness themselves.

A: Good point, does having a stoma bag then give you a better quality of life in comparison to before you had an operation.

B: Yea I have never felt so well, since I've been diagnoses with Crohn's I have never felt this well in myself =. So while there is so many negatives to having it … your quality of life has improved. I, I used to be maybe walking in a shopping centre and would have to crouch down in the shopping centre because I would be in so much pain … but you forget, you're so preoccupied with thinking oh my god can someone see my stoma bag, can someone see that it is getting full or even someone think I am overweight because your bag has filled up um … what was the question again? I know what I was going to say.

A: Better quality of life.

B: yea yea yea yea, so … yea sometimes I forget that I've never been this well before. Even since you just asked me that question I forgot I have never been this well since 2007. That is seven years I have never felt as healthy as this in seven years. So I definitely say … in health wise a hundred percent my quality of life has been improved. I mean it takes a while after the operation to get to that stage where you can feel healthy and you can get back to doing your day to day activities, but I haven't had as much once cramp since, since I've had my stoma and obviously, the symptom of diarrhoea … you wouldn't, wouldn't that wouldn't affect you anymore because you have … the bag. And symptoms like being tired … um I don't know, I don't know if I would say I have more energy than before

A: Yea

B: … but I still think the process of recovering from an operation is a long process and um takes a long time for you to get back to your normal self. Whatever you can call normal.

A: umm you said you were getting symptoms in 07 was it, so that obviously um as a young girl it must have disrupted your life hugely, for instance your education.

B: yea it did, I mean I was the person at the back of the class trying to take naps because I was so tired. I would literally wake up for school in the morning just about, most mornings I would just have to say to my mum, mum I cannot go into school I'm too tired. And for anyone else they would think (laughs) this kid just does not want to go to school, this kid is a lazy kid and they are just not putting in effort. But I'd go to school in the morning and I would get home about four 'o' clock … bearing in mind being a student coming up to say GCSE's and A levels … we had quite a heavy homework load, doing research, writing essays. I would come home at half four and I would sleep, as soon as I got home I would sleep … half four, half five, half six, half seven, until eight o clock … because I would be fully done as soon as I got home. So that has not only affecting your time to do homework and fully engage in your studies … when do you have dinner? So that's eight o clock now, by the time

you have dinner, say that's half an hour... that's half past eight, by the time you get in the bath that's nine o clock. When, when do you have time to do homework and then go to bed. You are not left any time to do anything and that ... if your school system are not supportive that can really affect your grades if you don't get that extra help. Like luckily for me, my um my parents have been in education and they've been able to help me again, home support with school, going through essays with me, encouraging me to read outside of school. I definitely think those little extra pushes that some other people might not have did help me ... but with the school, they had systems in place where ... if I didn't come into school they wouldn't straight away ring my parents, assume I was truanting. So luckily ... if I was late they would be understanding and they um didn't hold me responsible they knew it was my illness.

A: So your school were very understanding of your condition.

B: yea yea very understanding

A: Mkay um so what was in place for you when you were critically ill and you couldn't work or continue education, was there anything in place for you?

B: Um the social welfare system again, is something you're not aware of unless you go and find out yourself. You have to think what are you entitled to, no one tells you what you're entitled to ... that something you have to go through Yousef. So um I was in hospital for ... I was in university and I got admitted I think it was February, I was in hospital form February to April ... which is a long time to be in hospital, and I wasn't working but I was at uni, and obviously I had come home and I had no means of income support or money coming in. So luckily for me my parents... they were able to support me and I was living at home with no form of income until my mum and dad said this is, this is not right, we pay taxes we pay we pay this money, so if something like this happens we have that support as backup ... So you have to go and look for this yourself and if you do look for it you will find there are so many things that can help you. So I think now I receive ESA money which gives me one hundred and twenty three pounds a week so that money is just to ... get me by day to day um activities, things I need to do, transport etc. They know I live at home so if I needed to I would get concession of rent and stuff like that. But I would say the system we have in place in this country, we are quite lucky to have this system but it would be better if it was more known to people that this is in place, but then again if it is known to people it means more people can take advantage. So in a sense it is for people who, they need it and they do if they need something you go and search for it and you do get it. But I would say also that was a big help to know that I can take my time to recover and not force recovery. So in taking my time to recover I think I have recovered better and I haven't been thinking oh my god I haven't got any money, I need to rush and get myself back into work. Whereas (long pause) I would of felt like, if my mum and dad couldn't support me I would have felt like I wouldn't have enough time to recover properly but it's difficult where it's an operation where you have one operation you wait, you have a second stage, there could be three stages depending on their case. So you know, you don't want to look for a job ... soon as you recover let's say four months after the operation, let's say you look for a job how are you meant to keep a job if in two months later you're gonna have another operation and after that operation you might be out of work for another three months. So I think it is definitely good that we have this system in place where we do get support.

A: Um would you say your age, being young has helped you to cope with Crohn's disease.

B: Umm I don't know because obviously I can only talk on how I feel and how it has affected me ... but I think it's harder to go through it at a younger age ... because we are at the time where people are going to university, people are travelling even as things as to going festivals and stuff like that where obviously, stoma having a stoma bag shouldn't stop you from doing anything but obviously when you're in the early stages of having it, you might not be used to it, you may not be able to ... go to festivals all day and have to queue up to empty your stoma bag and stuff like that. you don't know what facilities are available to you ... yea so age, maybe when you are a bit older you're more comfortable with, this is just kinda an assumption. You might be say If you are older, you may be married, settled down with kids, you may at that age you're more at stable time maybe you have a job and stuff like that where ... you can, it's not like at school, the grades that you get at this time will affect if you are able to get a good job in the future. So I think maybe when you are a bit older and a bit settled in your life it may be easier to cope with ... especially let's say if you are married or in a long term relationship. You have that support from your partner, you don't have to worry about the gossip of teenage girls like oh my god she's got that. Even though people gossip at any age but I think teenage, that age is definitely something would talk about and especially with social media people could be sending pictures like oh my god you know this girl yeah she has this. Which is fine ... but I dunno I think it gets about quicker when you are younger but that's through social media again I suppose. So I don't know how someone would cope, I don't know because I haven't gone through it. From their point they might think it's easier, your younger you can bounce back quicker.

A: Yea

B: So I guess it just depends on the personality, I think it depends on how you see it, if you're positive, if you feel like you can recover and come back from it then ... I would say yea its easier.

A: Great um ...

B: Oh you can get inflammation of the joint, I had that, that was really bad, my knee, I couldn't walk at all. So yea that affected my school, that would affect anyone if you can't walk how are you getting to work, to school, how are you even walking to get your shopping. So anyone in this situation ... I don't think it really makes a difference what stage of life you're at. I think it would affect you anyhow. So I wouldn't say it's any easier for someone then someone else, everyone still has to day to day activities and obviously if it is something that stopping you from walking or stuff like that then I wouldn't say it matters what age you are. Everyone has stuff to do.

A: Okay great so urm to conclude then, what advice would you give to someone who has just been diagnosed with Crohn's disease

B: Okay for someone who has just been diagnosed with Crohn's disease. First of all I would say do not panic, do not believe everything you read on the internet don't go on the internet and scare yourself by look at all these different ... all these different things non official websites and um stuff like that. Talk to your doctors because everybody's case of Crohn's is different. Talk to your doctors, talk about the stage your Crohn's is at, because you can get very minor case of Crohn's where it does not affect your life day to day.

A: Yea

B: So I would say first of all, don't panic it's not it's not … what d'ya call it? … It's not a terminal illness you will not die from it … well I don't think so I hope not (laughs) it is very rare case. Um it it's something that millions of people, yea you have to realise you are not the only person in this situation, millions of people have this illness. I'm not quite sure of the number.

A: yea it's something like one in every six hundred and fifty people in the United Kingdom

B: Yea millions of people deal with it, it's not something that has just been discovered. They're medications which help to calm the severity of the symptoms um that's one thing, just talk to your doctors. I would say um keep a positive attitude don't feel like this is the end and I am doomed I have been diagnosed with an illness, how am I gonna live … plenty of people live like there is body builders, there's loads of people doing loads of different things that have Crohn's, footballers … actors, so many people and they all live there day to day lives. They may be affected but it hasn't stopped them from doing anything. So definitely say positivity. I would say talk to your friends and family they are the people … definitely be there to support you and I definitely say may sure you involve even as many people as you can. So that people are aware of your situation and they know how to deal with you if they are out with you and something happens. They know the deal. They know what's going on. How else would I give advice to someone? I would say talk to someone else who has Crohn's and see how it affects them, I dunno I think talking to someone who can definitely um empathise and sympathize with you can help. Instead of just talking to someone who doesn't know what you're going through. I think when someone knows how you are feeling and what you are going through it is quite comforting. Hmm what other advice would I give? Um I'm not sure.

A: In your case then, have you spoke to anyone you know or just anyone with Crohn's disease who could relate to you?

B: um yes I have. I have spoken to people I think when you are talking to people who has the disease already, there's um there's not that stigma there. You both know (laughs) that you both have diarrhoea. It's not something you would have to say secretly because you are shy because you both have it. So I have talked to people with Crohn's disease. Um yea it's good to even just exchange stories, you can joke about it you know they won't be offended because they are going through the exact same thing. So I definitely think that talking to people has helped me and hopefully helped others going through what I was going through. Um I would happily talk to a psychologists actually, I actually think that I would benefit from that because I dunno sometimes … you can just feel really down and it's nice to talk to someone who doesn't know you at all and maybe talk to them how about your feeling. I would definitely recommend that and I would like to do that myself and um will be something I will consider.

A: Um yeah maybe that would help you never know unless you try it. Um do you have anything more to add or any question?

B: Nope I think I've probably spoke too much (laughs).

A: it was great, well thank you for taking time out to participate within my research project it will be really helpful.

B: No worries. END OF INTERVIEW.

A: Okay just to begin with I need to go over a few things and just clarify that you understand what you are consenting to. I'm interviewing you as part of my research project for my research module, the information contained within this interview will only be seen by myself and my class teacher. I will change your name and use a pseudonym to protect your identity um as stated in the consent form at any given time during this interview you need a break or you want to terminate the interview you have the right to do so um just let me know and the interview will be terminated … um I just need you to sign the consent form as evidence to show that you consent to participating within this research project. Um do you have any questions before we begin?

B: Nope I understand.

A: Okay great, let's begin by just providing a little background information to start off. So what are you currently doing? Are you in employment? Education?

A: And what are you currently doing? Are you in work? Education?

B: I'm on sick leave at the moment, I was working up until February 2014 when I was ill and I decided I couldn't carry on with work, because the job I was in only had one toilet … and I needed that toilet constantly.

A; Okay, so could you tell me a bit about your medical history?

B: my medical history from a young child is that I suffered with Asthma, and throughout the years I always sort of had medical problems … and in my late thirty's I got TB … which I got treated for and then I seem to become well once again up until … up until 2013, I became really ill.

A: And could you tell me a little more about what happened in 2013?

B: 2013, July 2013 … I started hot sweats with cramps in my stomach, and I actually put it down, because I was forty eight to um change of life, but I realised that the pains were getting worse. The sweats were really bad and I went to my GP to explain about the pains in my stomach and the sweats … he put me on HRT tablets thinking that I was in the change. I did start taking the tablets but my condition got worse. The pains became unbearable, it was like a knot in my stomach, it was like someone was twisting, twisting my stomach, and then all of a sudden I had to start going to the toilet … once I passed, once I went to the toilet and done a poo, the pains sort of go … but then I was at the toilet frequently, loose poo. I gradually started to lose weight because I couldn't keep anything down, and then I went round to the doctors … he made me an appointment at Bart's Hospital to have a scan. I went to have a scan done in the August of 2013 … I waiting for the results of that scan, the scan came back normal, nothing was showing that there was anything wrong with my stomach … so I left it at that but in the meantime the pains were getting worse, the weight was … the weight was falling off me and I kept going to the doctors. At one stage he said I might have IBD, he gave me medication for IBD but no medication was working, no medication was killing that pain. I carried on going to the doctors and they kept giving me different medications. I kept telling them the same symptoms over and over again, the pains wasn't getting any better and the sweats were getting worse … felt tired all the time, managing to go to work … actually falling asleep in

work and then coming home falling asleep … consistent pain and diarrhoea. I finally went back to the doctors in December 2013 … then he got in touch with the Homerton hospital, I got an appointment with the hospitals gastro team in February 2014 (long pause) I attended the appointment, the gastro team examined my stomach um they said it was very tender, I had to have anal examination as well and he couldn't really say from having anal examination what my symptoms were, but he said my stomach was very tender. After getting dressed and sitting down talking to him … he gave me, he sort of said there could be two reasons why I'm feeling the way I am … one was cancer of the bowel and two … would be IBD, but wouldn't be able to tell me until I had some more tests done. I managed to get more appointments in March of 2014, I had a colonoscopy and um ….endoscopy … and the colonoscopy wasn't too bad because it was just the tube going up your back passage … to have a search and see what the symptoms were there, but they could only get to a certain part because there was a blockage … as for the endoscopy that was worse, the tube had to go down my throat into my stomach and it just made you vomit … I had that done, the worse part about that examination was the actual moviprep that I had to take, which was more worse than the actual examination. But then I had to wait around again …. Had to wait another six weeks before I could get my results … six weeks past and the pain and diarrhoea, the diarrhoea was even more now, ten to fifteen times a day now. Every time I drank and ate I ended up in the toilet. The weight was just … just falling. I ended up getting my results in the middle of March … um and they told me it was not cancer, which I was pleased to hear and that it was Crohn's Disease. They admitted me straight away because my weight had deteriorated so bad that I needed … nutrition inside of me. Once they started to find out what was wrong with me, things started to move very fast.

A: Um so you what do you mean when you say things started to move very fast?

B: Once they admitted me into hospital, they had to put a NG tube inside to feed me, to build me up, because they still needed to do more tests to find out how far … how much Crohn's I did have. Was it the left side or the right side? Um … they had to send me for scans, MRI scans … and after all the scans I had done and the medication they were giving me. I was still suffering with diarrhoea … so it was put to me that they would have to do a procedure where it would be key hole surgery to see how inflamed my bowels were …. Hopefully they could have done the operation, cut away part of my bowel … without having to … through keyhole surgery. And I remember once … I remember going down to theatre and thinking if I wake up … and … they done …. If I wake up and I look straight down at my stomach to see whether it was keyhole surgery or actual operation and that they had cut it away. But to my … but to look down and see just two small plasters, they had done keyhole surgery that they couldn't do the operation without having to cut me open. The actual surgeon came round and told me that due to my nutrition, my weight and being very ill … that the only road I could go down was to have an operation but they wanted to try me out on medication first, to see if the inflammation would go down with the medication they gave me um … I would come in every other week as an outpatient to have this Infliximab. I turned around and said to the IBD nurse that I don't feel no different from having this infliximab, it hasn't done anything for me, i still have the pain and I'm still going to the toilet often. With that she called down the consultant, he came to see me … he just looked at me and said I've lost more weight and he admitted me into hospital once again. This time they couldn't give me any medication because no medication was working. So the surgeon came round and told me that I would have to have an operation because the medication hadn't worked. During my stay in hospital, they had to put another tube inside of me to feed me up, which I was on for 12 hours every day to feed me. Because without that they wouldn't been able to operate because I was too weak and they needed to build me up. They kept me

in hospital because I was too unwell and had no energy … and all I kept having was this feed. Two weeks down the line, I finally had an appointment for the procedure … which involved them cutting me and having a stoma bag. So that they could relax the bowel. They still wasn't sure what disease I had but they were treating me for Crohn's … but because the medication wasn't working they through there was something else there but they wouldn't know until they actually operated, and cut away what need to be cut out … for them to send off to be examined. So come, 25th of July., I had to go down to theatre knowing that they would be cutting away part of my bowel and that I would up with a bag. The operation went well, I did wake up (laughs), first thing I did was look down to see not one bag but two. One was my stoma and the other was a fiscula it would be poo coming out of the one and mucus out of the other.

A: Okay great, so did you know about Crohn's disease before your own diagnosis?

B: To be honest I had never heard about Crohn's disease … um but my daughter's friend 'Chelsea' had Crohn's and I remember when my daughter was going to school she would say about her friend Emma … how she was having trouble with her stomach and it wasn't until I started having pains in my stomach … not knowing what was wrong with me … and then to find out I had Crohn's in the small bowel and Diverticulitis in the large bowel and once I knew I had the Crohn's, all of sudden, people that I actually knew, who I never knew had Crohn's, started to talk about it as well.

A: Okay um and what was your reaction to hearing that you had Crohn's?

B: (long pause) my reaction to that was, knowing that it was treatable and not curable and that I would always suffer with my stomach and I had to eat certain foods and be on special diet. But at the end of the day there was light at the end of the tunnel and that you could live with Crohn's.

A: You had also said you were pleased to hear that it wasn't cancer um as that was one of the possibilities.

B: Yeah that's correct, I was glad when the consultant told me it was Crohn's disease and not the C word.

A: And how does living with Crohn's disease affect your daily life?

B: the affects it has on your life is that you need to know where the toilet is, at all times. So if you had to go shopping you need to know exactly where the toilet was and having to carry underwear, clothes, spare bags with you on days out … and also affecting the family because living in a property with one toilet … and you needing that toilet all the time, it affects the family … and the smell.

A: Um is there any other ways you can think of in that it affects your daily life?

B: Eating, fatigue, tiredness … you're tired all the time, you have no energy or strength to do anything. Your hair falls out because you have no nutrition. Your confidence goes, all things like that.

A: Um so have you encountered any difficulties with your stoma bag when you've been out, because you've just mentioned you need to carry extra clothes.

B: With regards to my bags, you have to cut them to a certain size, to whatever size your stoma is. But throughout the weeks, your stoma gets smaller, so you have to keep measuring and if you don't cut your bag to the right size, you will get a leak and the bag will start leaking. That has happened to me, I went out shopping and my bag was cut at one size but the time I was out my stoma had got smaller and my bag begun to leak. So it had leaked all through to my clothes, making my skin very sore, because of the diarrhoea leaking through the bag onto my skin, making it red and sore and blistery.

A: How would you say you have coped with the difficulties of having a stoma bag?

B: Um ... you have to cope because it is only you that can do it. You have to change it, clean it and the only person that can do that is you. But I had great help from a stoma nurse who showed me the best way to do it and to just be patient. You have good days and you have bad days.

A: You've just mentioned you had great help from a stoma nurse, do you feel you had enough support from the hospital um after your operation?

B: The support I got from the hospital was amazing really, because from the time they sort of diagnosed me, things got moving and I didn't have to wait and they were just checking on me all the time. Just before the operation um they gave me a um ileostomy starter pack which had lots of booklets of information about what I was about to go through and um there was a little experimental kit of an ileostomy bag and that I was to fill it up with water so that I could see how I would be living for the new few months. Once I had the operation and the stoma and my bag in place ... I was then passed onto the stoma nurse who would come round and make sure I was doing things and that I was coping well with the bag. And she used to watch me change my bags to make sure I was doing it right. So they were a great help and that I could ring her at any time if there was a problem, which I have done on several occasions ... due to the bag being too flat ... my stoma was sort of input rather than output ... and then I ended up having a convex bag ... which pushes the stoma out more. But I did get sore with the convex bag because it was pushing into my stomach ... and causing pains around the stoma. So the bag had to be changed again, to another type of bag.

A: Um ... would you say it affects you psychologically having Crohn's disease and having a bag?

B: Yes.

A: In what way?

B: You ... the thought of just getting up and having a normal shower is not something you can do anymore. You have to get up ... you have to have a shower, then you have to change your bags. So everyday life is all about changing your bags, cleaning yourself and having that urge to go to the toilet knowing its not actual toilet you would be passing but it is mucus.

A: And would you say it affects your self – esteem?

B: (Long pause) Yes.

A: And again in what way?

B: Because you have to change the way you dress, because certain things … to have fizzy drinks would make your bag puff out or blow out. So to wear tight fitting clothes is not a possibility … so from … wearing normal clothes to having to wear escalated clothes, it was a big change … um confidence. I had no confidence to go outside, I would only go to places where I know I could get back home in time … um going out on my own that was one of the things, clothes, meeting people. … your confidence is just gone.

A: Um … so is, do you feel having a stoma bag and Crohn's is a burden on your life?

B: (long pause) I feel the stoma bag has given me a new lease of life … in the way that I don't have to rush to the toilet, that I can just eat and drink knowing that if I needed to go toilet it would go into my bag. So I would rather have … the bag then having to rush to the toilet having a sore bum.

A: So it's pretty much given you a better quality of life.

B: A new lease of life yeah.

A; Okay um … so you had support from the hospital to help you cope. Has there been any other coping mechanisms that have helped you to cope with having Crohn's?

B: My family were amazing, and they kept me going. They kept saying that you'll be alright and you can do this … that they would support me all the way … and knowing that your family can't help you although they see you suffering, and you don't want your family to see you suffering so you put on a brave face, even though … even though it is killing you inside. It is a disability on the inside but no one recognises it. I actually found a website called the Crohn's and Colitis website … and um it's a website for all people suffering with Crohn's and Colitis and the information you can get from that site is unreal, knowing that there are other people out there, worse off from you, with that condition, it makes you feel um better about your own illness. But without my family and without this website I wouldn't have known what to have done.

A: And you said you knew of someone with Crohn's Disease, did you speak to that person when you were going through the same thing?

B: Yeah I did.

A: And did that help you as well to cope with Crohn's and the stoma bag.

B: Knowing that my daughter's friend 'Chelsea' had gone through the same operation as me … she came to visit me and she showed me her bag and what it was all about. For her to be so young and for her to go through that … I thought if she could do that then I could do it too, knowing that I was much older than her … and she had said to me all along … that you will get better and you will put weight on. So, to me … she is just an amazing person that went through the same thing and she helped me throughout.

A: So in a way she prepared you for what you were about to go through with the operation and um having to live and adapt to having a stoma bag.

B: Yes, she made me feel more at ease when she would talk about her experience and about her operations and the bag. She um she was just a um inspiration for me to be honest. So, to me again knowing she went through it, I knew I could too.

A: Good, do you think it's harder for you to deal with Crohn's disease because you are older, or does age not really matter?

B: … With me being older having Crohn's … it's much easier than being a young person because they have their life ahead of them they have to wear bikinis when they go on holidays, to show off their scars … and to be sick all the time, not being able to get up and no energy and then to go on to have children. I think it's harder for a young person then it is for someone … who has already had their family … and lived their life.

A: So having this illness, has it disrupted your life in any kind of way?

B: … Knowing that I can't go to work because I haven't got the energy and that … I can only do certain things without … like lifting … You just have to be careful in what I do. I just can't go out and sort of lift anything heavy, driving… long distance driving um certain clothes.

A: After having this operation, would you say you are on the road to recovery um like back to your normal self?

B: After having the surgery, I have actually gained weight … I've gone from six stone to eight stone. So it does go to show that I did need that surgery to cut out the bad … to cut out the bad because without that surgery, I would have never gained weight and would have still been having constant stomach pains and diarrhoea. I got a new lease of life really. Um what was that question again?

A: Recovering um are you on the way to being back to your normal self?

B: I'm on the road to recovery but then I'm gonna have to go through it all again to have a reversal. So I do not know what is gonna happen once I have the reversal. Will I go back to losing weight?

A: You mentioned a reversal, could you explain what this is? Or what you are about to go through?

B: I will be having a second procedure in February next year to connect my bowels back together, so that I will no longer have to have my stoma bags because um I'll be able to go to the toilet normally.

A: Last but not least, what advice would you give someone who is going through the same thing or has just been diagnosed with Crohn's disease?

B: … There is … a lot of help out there and … just talk about it, don't shy about it and there is light at the end of the tunnel.

A: So would you say talking about it helps you as well to cope with living with Crohn's disease?

B: Talking about, even having a joke or a laugh about it, as my life at the moment is all

about poo, so to not be ashamed of your condition.

A: (Laughs) Great um thank you for taking your time out to be interviewed today, it went really well so thanks again. Um do you have any questions or anything else to add?

B: Nope I don't have any.

A: Well that's good, we can terminate the interview now.

END OF INTERVIEW

Appendix 3: Consent Form

This consent form is intended to check that you understand the purpose of this research study, that you are aware of your rights as a participant and that you confirm you consent and wish to participate within this research study.

I, the participant, have read and understood the general purpose of this research study.

I have been given the opportunity to discuss any questions or concerns that I have about the study.

I understand that I can terminate the study at any given time.

I understand that I can refuse to answer a question.

I understand that the information I provide will be treated in the strictest confidence and my personal information will be anonymised.

Name of Participant   _____   Date: _____

Signature of Participant _____

Name of Participant   _____   Date: _____

Signature of Participant _____

Secondary Data Analysis Report:
Gender and attitudes towards social welfare; BSA 2010

Bogdana Storozuk

Introduction

Global economic crisis and strict austerity measures led to situation where the social welfare in many European countries is currently being under pressure. Nonetheless, even before the financial crisis women in the UK faced a range of persistent economic inequalities. For example, almost two-thirds (63%) of those earning £7 per hour or less are women; across the board (for full-time and part-time work), women earn an average of 19% less, per hour, than men; benefits make up a much greater percentage of women's income than men's. (Hills et al., 2010; Lawton and Pennycook, 2013; Office for National Statistics, 2013; Plunkett, 2011; Fawcett Society, 2010)

The research can suggest that due to the fact that women are more reliant on government's support than men, there should be a distinctive gender gap in the attitudes towards social welfare. Previous research revealed that generally women tend to attach a higher priority to social welfare issues than men (Everitt, 2002), particularly when discussing the importance of the social welfare provision for those in need (i.e. unemployed).

Research Question and Hypotheses

Through taking into account various theoretical perspectives and available research, coupled with my own analysis of the relation between gender and attitudes towards social welfare, I address the research question I propose: *Is there an association between gender and attitudes towards social welfare?* Prior to performing the data analysis I developed several hypotheses based on my expectations from the findings:

- Hypothesis 1: Women are more supportive of social welfare than men.
- Hypothesis 2a: Socio-economic factors, such as income, impact the association between gender and attitudes.
- Hypothesis 2b: The effect of income on attitudes towards social welfare will be stronger for majority than for ethnic minority.

Data and Methods

The British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA) 2010 was used as a dataset for this analysis. The BSA survey has been conducted in Great Britain every year since 1983, by the independent centre for research NatCen Social Research, and is being used to measure attitudinal movements in the country. This survey focuses on attitudes related to various topics such as education, environment, welfare and healthcare (etc). The annual research is carried out using a questionnaire that is normally comprised of an administered part, and a self-completion one. The data resulted from this exercise usually consists of responses from more than 3.000 people who are selected on the basis of random probability sampling method. The BSA 2010 version of the survey, which was used for this secondary data analysis, includes opinions from 3.297 respondents, and the dataset contains 878 variables.

Dependent Variable

The outcome variable measuring the concept of attitudes toward social welfare and labelled 'ATSW' was inferred and created manually by using a summated scale of 5 observed variables from the dataset. Identified questions and answers given to them were expected to cover an aspect related to the issue of social welfare provision for those in need, which I was primarily interested to look at. These variables were all measured on a 5-point Likert Scale, thus they were all continuous interval variables, which could be summated. The coding scheme was identical for each variable where '1' referred to 'Agree Strongly', '2' - 'Agree', '3' - 'Neither Agree nor Disagree', '4' - 'Disagree' and '5'- 'Disagree Strongly'. In all cases low number signified 'negative attitudes' whereas high number indicated 'positive attitudes' towards social welfare. Original coding was retained as it completely satisfied objectives of my analysis. The identified variables were:

- The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other?
- Most unemployed could find a job if they really wanted one?
- Many people who get social security don't really deserve any help?
- Most people on the dole are fiddling in one way or another?
- If welfare benefits weren't so generous, people would learn how to stand on own feet?

Based on my opinion all variables listed above were expected to measure a single aspect of the attitudes towards social welfare. Prior to creating my dependent variable by summating a scale of these questions, it was necessary to look at whether these variables correlate with each other, and if they do, to run a factor analysis in order to make sure that they all cover a robust dimension related to attitudes.

Thus, when testing the correlations between chosen variables it became evident that they all correlate positively (see Table 1, Appendix A). Correlations ranged between 0.265, which is a moderate correlation score, and 0.632, which is a strong correlation score. This conclusion allowed proceeding to the administration of explanatory factor analysis which could provide with more information on variables. Explanatory factor analysis supported my expectations and revealed that there was only one underlying factor behind five analysed items. Table 1 presents summary of analysis results:

Variables	Factor 1
'Many people who get social security don't really deserve any help?'	0.808
'Most people on the dole are fiddling in one way or another?'	0.778
'If welfare benefits weren't so generous, people would learn to stand on their own feet?'	0.743
'The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other?'	0.606
'Most unemployed could find a job if they really wanted one?'	0.471
Eigenvalues	*2.871*
% of variance explained	*47.985*
Cronbach's Alpha	*0.809*

Table 1. Explanatory Factor Analysis Results. Summary (drawn from *Total Variance Explained, Factor Matrix and Reliability Statistics*).

As is evident from the table presented above, all variables had particularly high factor loadings ranging from 0.471 to 0.808. This indicated that there was no need to rotate the factor solution as the structure was simple enough to interpret and see the common underlining dimension behind variables which all loaded well with a single concept. Eigenvalues score is 2.871 and it shows how much variance between the items is explained by the factor analysis. Although several factors were extracted (Table 2, Appendix A), only one had eigenvalues greater than 1 and thus was retained as others were not meaningful to use in the model according to low eigenvalue scores extracted and the scree plot (Figure 1, Appendix A).The cumulative percentage of variance accounted for by the extracted factor is 48%. The Cronbach's Alpha for five variables is 0.809 or 81%, suggesting that the internal consistency of items is high enough and thus they are reliable to be used as a scale. Guided by the factor analysis which showed that it is appropriate to create a summated scale using all 5 items, a new variable 'ATWS' (attitudes towards social welfare) was created in order to be used in my model as a dependent variable later on. Figure 1 represents a histogram of the frequency distribution of the computed variable which almost perfectly resembles a normal distribution and once again convinces that 'ATSW' is reliable to use in the linear regression model as a dependent variable:
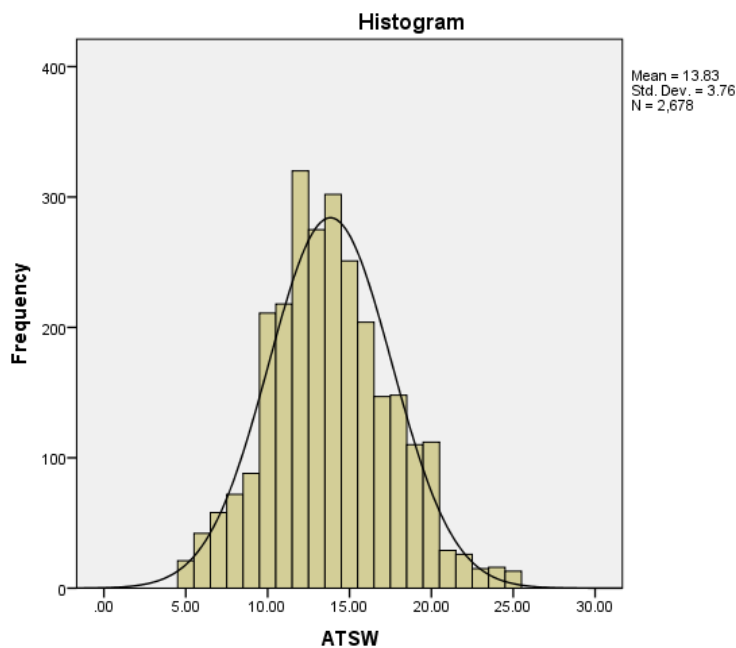

Figure 1. Frequency distribution of 'ATWS' variable.

Independent Variables

Other variables that were used in my models were representing respondents' gender, age, level of education, ethnicity, income and labelled as follows: *Gender*, *Age*, *Education*, *Ethnicity Binary*, *Income*. As the main focus of this study was on gender, covariates age, education and ethnicity were included as control factors in the analysis. Some of the variables needed recording due to the objectives of the analysis.

Variable *Gender* was initially coded as '1' for male and '2' for female yet a "dummy" variable was created and recoded into one where "1" represents female and '0' stands for male.

Age is a continuous variable comprised of 7 different age categories such as '18-24', '25-34', '35-44', '45-54', '55-59', '60-64' and '65+'. Original coding was retained as variable completely satisfied the objectives of the analysis.

Education is a categorical nominal variable which represents highest education qualification respondent obtained. This variable comprised of 7 different categories which all refer to different levels of education, as '1' referred to having a 'Degree', '2' indicated 'Higher education below degree', '3' was 'A level or equivalent', '4' - 'O level or equivalent' and '5' - 'CSE or equivalent', '6'- 'Foreign Qualification or other' and '7'–'No qualification'. In order to make the interpretation of analysis easier the original variable was recoded into a scale where scores ranged between '1' – 'No qualification' and '6'-'Degree'. It should be noted that category 'Foreign qualification and other' was intentionally excluded from the analysis and coded as missing as any other unspecified qualifications would be difficult to fit into my hypothetical scale. Although the main focus in the analysis was held on sex, it was assumed that it would be interesting to look at whether attitudes towards social welfare change with any additional qualification obtained.

EthnicityBinary originally comprised of 11 categories which referred to different types of ethnic groups respondents might belong to. These comprised of several categories for 'Black', 'Asian' and 'Mixed' ethnic groups as well as several categories for 'White'. A new 'dummy' variable was created from variable representing person's ethnicity in order to indicate whether respondent belongs to the ethnic minority ('Black, Asian, Mixed') or majority ('Any White'). Thus in recoded variable '1' stands for 'minority', while '0' refers to 'majority'.

Finally, *Income* is a continuous variable measured on a scale of 1 to 10. It comprises of different categories and divided into groups according to respondent's earnings per month which range from '1' – 'less than £430 p.m' to '10'-'£3.601 or more'. Original coding was retained.
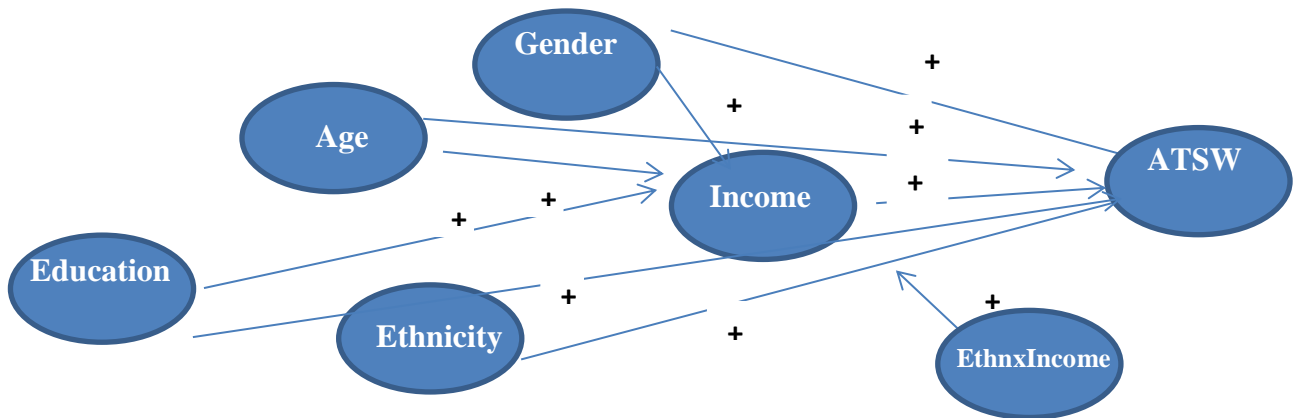
Nested Models

In order to test my hypotheses and analyse whether gender differences in attitudes towards social welfare remain significant when controlling for demographics and socio-economic factors mentioned above, several nested models were built. Control variables age, education and ethnicity are antecedent variables and were included in the models as they can potentially affect the results if not controlled for. Models are:

Model 1. ATWS= gender + (age + ethnicity + education)
Model 2. ATSW= gender + (age + ethnicity + education) + income
Model 3. ATWS= gender + (age + ethnicity + education) + income + ethnicityXincome

It was expected that gender will have a direct effect on attitudes towards social welfare (ATSW) while this relation will be also partially explained through income which was expected to be an intervening variable. Interaction between income and ethnicity was also included in the model. It was predicted that ethnical majority will hold more negative views towards social welfare in comparison to minority with the same income due to the biased representation of ethnics and immigrants in society. Expectations from the findings are illustrated with the following elaboration model:

Results

Table 2 represents estimates for three nested OLS linear regression models. Included predictors account for 5.4%, 5.8% and 6.3% of the variance in the attitudes toward social welfare in Model 1, Model 2 and Model 3 respectively.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B (Std. Error)		B (Std. Error)		B (Std. Error)	
Constant	10.93(.4)	***	11.27(.42)	***	11.11(.43)	***
Gender (Female)	0.59(.21)	**	0.42(.22)		0.43(.22)	
Age	0.29(.08)	***	0.31(.08)	***	0.31(.08)	***
Education Qualification	0.47(.07)	***	0.54(.07)	***	0.54(.07)	***
EthnicityBinary (Minority)	-0.07(.41)		-0.14(.41)		1.8(0.83)	*
Income			-0.1(.04)	*	-0.07(.05)	
EthnicityBinaryxIncome					-0.39(.14)	**
R^2	.054		.058		.063	
Standard errors in parentheses			$^{*} p < 0.05,$ $^{**} p < 0.01,$ $^{***} p < 0.001$			

Table 2. Summary of OLS regression results.

Model 1: Knowing the respondent's gender, age, education level and whether they belong to an ethnic minority or not, explains 5.4% of the total variation in attitudes towards social welfare between people in Britain. The constant is 10.93 meaning that our prediction of attitudes towards social welfare is 10.93 on the scale if all independent variables in the model take the value of 0. The t-test of 27.7 (see Table 5, Appendix A) is statistically significant which means it is unlikely that the constant is 0 in the population.

Gender indicates that females score on average 0.59 more than males on the attitude scale (controlling for other variables in the table) which is also statistically significant. This means that being a female is associated with holding more positive attitudes towards social welfare, and this can be generalized to the whole population. Thus Model 1 supports my first hypothesis that there is a gender gap in attitudes.

Analysis also revealed that almost all of the other factors presented in the table (apart from ethnicity which is insignificant) impact formation of positive attitudes. Thus as people are getting older they become more supportive of the social welfare as well as the higher the education qualification is the more positive attitudes person holds (holding other factors in

the table constant). Statistically significant results for age and education show that these claims can be applied to general British population. Education was identified as the best predictor of attitudes so far due to the highest value of standardized coefficient beta it obtained (Table 5, Appendix A).

Model 2: The more complex model, where *Income* is included, is a slightly better predictor as it accounts for 5.8% of all the variation in attitudes which is 0.4% more than in the previous one which can be seen as an improvement. The inclusion of income revealed that rise of earnings has a negative impact on attitudes towards social welfare as the more people earn, the less supportive of social welfare they become (controlling for other factors in the table). This finding is statistically significant and thus can be applied to general population.

Nonetheless, the second model revealed that the gender gap completely disappears (insignificant unstandardized coefficient, controlling for other variables) when income enters the model and thus, despite my expectations, the direct positive effect of gender on attitudes is no longer present. Although my first hypothesis (that there is a distinctive gender gap in attitudes) is no longer supported in the second model, this new model partially supports my second hypothesis and some previous research as the effect of gender on attitudes towards social welfare became mediated through socio-economic factor which is income.

Also, although the effect of both age and education on attitudes remained to be positive and significant, it is evident that all unstandardized coefficients slightly changed when income was added to the model. Thus, when comparing the two models, it seems that income became an intervening factor between gender (as well as it's covariates) and attitudes towards social welfare.

Model 3: Model 3 incorporates the same variables as the second model, yet interaction term *EthnicityBinaryxIncome* was added to see whether the effect of ethnicity remains the same on different levels of income. Although the percentage is still low, the third model explained even more variation in attitudes accounting for 6.3%. The new variable added some explanatory power to the model. Including an extra explanatory variable lead to the R square change that went up by 0.5%, which is statistically significant. The F-test of 13.6 for Model 3 is also statistically significant (see Table 4 Appendix A) indicating that the improvement is true to the population.

The new model keeps contradicting my first hypothesis as gender is no longer significant (controlling for all other variables) and thus it can be stated that it is unlikely that there is a difference between British men and women in their attitudes towards social welfare which is, according to the statistically significant result, a valid claim for the general population. Control variables age and education remained significant as well (as their coefficients did not change) which indicates that the added interaction term did not have any impact on their relation with attitudes.

Nonetheless, although in model 1 and 2 the effect of ethnicity was not present, the inclusion of the interaction term revealed that depending on the level of income differences in attitudes occur between those belonging to the ethnic minority and majority. Thus with the increase in earnings representatives of ethnic minority groups on average become less supportive of the social welfare than any white with the same income (controlling for all other variables in the table) which completely contradicted my expectations. Nonetheless,

this finding is statistically significant and can be generalized to British society. This factor can be seen as even a stronger predictor of attitudes than age according to standardized Beta coefficients (Table 5, Appendix A). Thus the effect of income on attitudes towards social welfare is stronger for ethnic minority representatives than for any white person, particularly after they start earning more than £1.800 per month, as also represented in Graph 2 (Appendix A). It can be stated that in the case of Model 3 the interaction term acted as a moderator of relationship between ethnicity and attitudes toward social welfare.

Summary and Conclusion

Despite my expectations, it was established that generally there is no gender gap in attitudes towards social welfare in Britain. The difference between attitudes of women and men was explained through income, and gender does not have any direct relationship with attitudes towards social welfare as was predicted. It was also noticed that the effect of income is significant for ethnic groups. Surprisingly, ethnic minority representatives become less supportive of social welfare than ethnic majority particularly when they start earning above £1.800 per month. Moreover, education was identified as the best predictor of attitudes. Thus findings can lead to the conclusion that socio-economic factors have stronger influence on attitudes than gender.

Although the analysis provided some interesting findings about the formation of attitudes towards social welfare among British population, it was a small-scale study, and further research is needed to analyse the association between gender and attitudes in more depth.

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Appendix A – Tables and Graphs

Table 1.

Correlations

		Many people who get social security dont really deserve any help?	Most people on the dole are fiddling in one way or another?	If welfare benefits werent so generous, people would learn to stand on their own feet?	'The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other?'	Most unemployed could find a job if they really wanted one?
Many people who get social security dont really deserve any help?	Pearson Correlation	1	.596**	.578**	.341**	.473**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	2729	2715	2714	2710	2717
Most people on the dole are fiddling in one way or another?	Pearson Correlation	.596**	1	.632**	.335**	.448**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	2715	2728	2713	2705	2714
If welfare benefits werent so generous, people would learn to stand on their own feet?	Pearson Correlation	.578**	.632**	1	.417**	.493**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000
	N	2714	2713	2729	2707	2714
'The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other?'	Pearson Correlation	.341**	.335**	.417**	1	.265**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	2710	2705	2707	2725	2711
Most unemployed could find a job if they really wanted one?	Pearson Correlation	.473**	.448**	.493**	.265**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	2717	2714	2714	2711	2734

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.

Total Variance Explained

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.871	57.424	57.424	2.399	47.985	47.985
2	.767	15.350	72.774			
3	.580	11.605	84.379			
4	.428	8.550	92.929			
5	.354	7.071	100.000			

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Figure 1.

Scree Plot
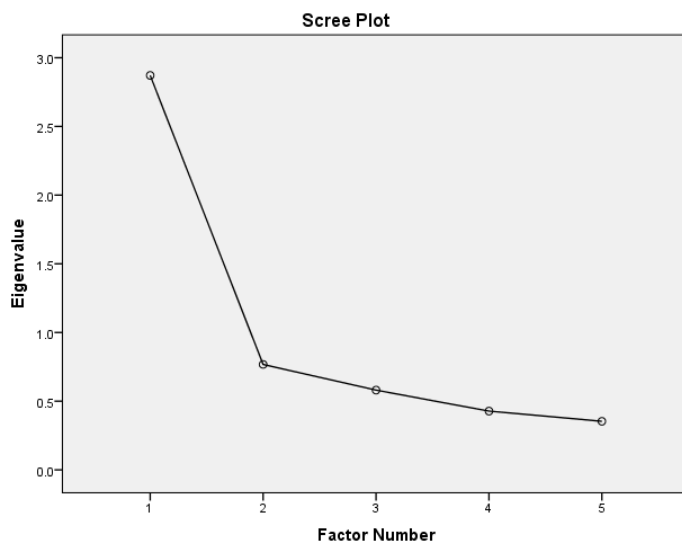
Table 3.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.232[a]	.054	.051	3.61865
2	.240[b]	.058	.054	3.61261
3	.251[c]	.063	.059	3.60333

a. Predictors: (Constant), EthnicityBinary(Minority), Education Qualification, Gender(Female), Age

b. Predictors: (Constant), EthnicityBinary(Minority), Education Qualification, Gender(Female), Age, Income

c. Predictors: (Constant), EthnicityBinary(Minority), Education Qualification, Gender(Female), Age, Income, EthnicityBinaryxIncome

Table 4.

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	899.763	4	224.941	17.178	.000[b]
	Residual	15857.552	1211	13.095		
	Total	16757.315	1215			
2	Regression	965.700	5	193.140	14.799	.000[c]
	Residual	15791.615	1210	13.051		
	Total	16757.315	1215			
3	Regression	1059.702	6	176.617	13.603	.000[d]
	Residual	15697.613	1209	12.984		
	Total	16757.315	1215			

a. Dependent Variable: ATSW

b. Predictors: (Constant), EthnicityBinary(Minority), Education Qualification, Gender (Female), Age

c. Predictors: (Constant), EthnicityBinary(Minority), Education Qualification, Gender (Female), Age, Income

d. Predictors: (Constant), EthnicityBinary(Minority), Education Qualification, Gender (Female), Age, Income, EthnicityBinaryxIncome

Table 5.

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Unstandardized Coefficients Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	10.932	.395		27.697	.000
	Gender(Female)	.585	.209	.079	2.800	.005
	Age	.287	.078	.105	3.696	.000
	Education Qualification	.471	.065	.205	7.227	.000
	EthnicityBinary(Minority)	-.065	.406	-.004	-.160	.873
2	(Constant)	11.272	.422		26.704	.000
	Gender(Female)	.418	.221	.056	1.891	.059
	Age	.310	.078	.113	3.965	.000
	Education Qualification	.538	.072	.235	7.520	.000
	EthnicityBinary(Minority)	-.142	.407	-.010	-.348	.728
	Income	-.099	.044	-.072	-2.248	.025
3	(Constant)	11.109	.425		26.116	.000
	Gender(Female)	.430	.221	.058	1.949	.052
	Age	.308	.078	.113	3.955	.000
	Education Qualification	.536	.071	.233	7.505	.000
	EthnicityBinary(Minority)	1.794	.826	.124	2.172	.030
	Income	-.068	.045	-.050	-1.500	.134
	EthnicityBinaryxIncome	-.386	.144	-.154	-2.691	.007

a. Dependent Variable: ATSW

Figure 2.
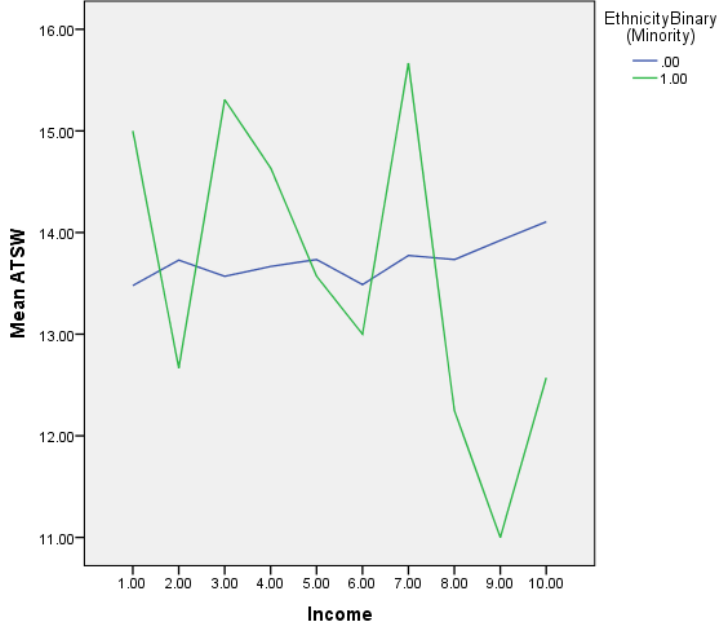
'The West' is a conceptual construct.
Outline and assess the implications of this statement.

Emine Tarim

East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgement Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
tho' they come from the ends of the earth!

Rudyard Kipling

When one initially attempts to describe the West, Western Europe is the first geographical region that comes into mind. However, the Western World stretches beyond Europe, in areas such as America and Australia, thus a more accurate description is required to understand this complex construction. Stuart Hall (1992) outlines the West as a conceptual construct, arguing that it has been defined and developed through the events of history. Several theorists suggest the same idea, proposing their arguments from different perspectives. In this essay, I will focus on the writings of Stuart Hall and Edward Said, and their understanding of the West developing as contrary to the East. I will assess these perspectives and their limitations, offering alternative ways of understanding this phenomenon touching on the works of Paul Gilroy and Chandra Mohanty. It must be acknowledged that these perspectives offer a postcolonial approach, thus the significance and relevance of the term 'West' in the modern day must also be assessed.

The West is described by Hall as 'a society that is developed, industrialised, urbanised, capitalist, secular and modern' (Hall & Gieben, 1992: 277). It is a concept that he argues arose after the break-up of feudalism, when the structure of societies began to shift. Therefore, the West must be assessed in terms of its historical processes, which have resulted in this set of characteristics belonging to this construction. This does not mean to say that the concept did not exist before the break-up of feudalism. However, Hall argues it is the shift in the structure of Western societies that led to its dominance in the world, which crystallised and distinguished this concept from other parts of the world.

Going back to outlining the West geographically, it is extremely problematic to simplify the concept to locations, as the construction of this concept over time has created several polar-opposites, which helped crystallise the West's definition. Many of these contrasting perceptions are still used to define 'the West from the Rest' (Hall & Gieben, 1992: 276): rational vs religious, developed vs developing, industrial vs agricultural, First World vs Third World, male vs female, mind vs body, progress vs tradition and white vs black. To create these opposites by simply considering the two phrases 'the East' and 'the West, is extremely sophisticated and has been developed slowly over time, through systems of representation. This is Hall's overarching perspective, implying that these concepts are so deeply embedded in the world's culture, language and relations that it is virtually impossible to readjust or recreate these representations, and for our psyches to objectively assess the stereotypes and simplified associations listed earlier. However, once these opposing representations are taken into consideration when trying to understand the West

as a construct, it becomes clearer that the concept is historically rooted (Hall & Gieben, 1992).

Hall outlines how the concept of the West solely benefitted the West and was the biggest contributing factor as to why their power to dominate the rest of the world, grew. He outlines four ways in which this idea of the West could be seen as functioning to benefit the Western World, and creating a basis from which certain power relations were justified. Firstly, distinguishing between 'Western' and 'non-Western' has created a 'tool to think with… it sets a certain structure of thought and knowledge in motion' (Hall & Gieben, 1992: 277). This then leads, secondly, to characterising these classifications in order to create representations. This is a key point Hall makes, as the representation of the West can only exist strongly when a contrasting representation exists. The third point he makes is that by outlining and condensing the idea of the West, it creates a 'standard model of comparison' where one can compare or contrast societies to assess the differences the rest of the world have from the West. Finally, by comparing models, it allows for evaluation where other societies can be ranked. In short: these four stages 'produce a certain king of knowledge about a subject and attitudes towards it that functions as an ideology' (Hall & Gieben, 1992: 277).

Another key point Hall proposes is that the construction of the West was solely established by the presence of the East being used as a model of comparison. Western history was written to suggest the developments that happened from the 16th century onwards were created from within the West; however Hall argues it is the mere presence of the Eastern culture that the West used to develop their own representations of themselves. This somewhat phenomenological approach suggests that identity is strongly shaped when one identifies their differences from the 'other'. Part of the reason why the enlightenment became such a significant process in the development of the West from the 1600's onwards was due to the fact that the supremacy of 'rationality' opposed Eastern beliefs; where religion dominated. Hall further argues that written history suggests the enlightenment developed from within Europe, but does not account for the contribution of the East being used to differentiate 'the West from the Rest', thus the construct is distorted (Hall & Gieben, 1992).

Paul Gilroy (1995) adds to this, arguing that the slave trade is the biggest contributing factor that led to the development of modernity in Europe and North America:

> Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that gave the colonies their value; it is the colonies that created the world trade and it is the world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry (Marx, 1977:203).

Gilroy (1995) describes the currently taught events in history as the exchange between the two continents: America and Europe, however it does not account for the contribution of 'the Rest' which in this case stand for Africa. This transatlantic trade could not have existed without the contribution of Africa, but is ignored by the Western world. This is another example of how the West created ideologies from within; ideologies that portray the West as being more rational, desirable and civilised, through reconstructing events in history and defining the 'other' as less civil. Moreover, it further shows that the creation of the West was not a naturally occurring phenomenon and was manipulated and distorted through the reconstruction of historical events to create ideological representations of both the East and the West (Gilroy, 1995).

Power relations must be acknowledged when trying to understand the extent the West developed in comparison to the rest of the world. It was solely through colonialism that the West was able to create this complicated construct, which reinforced the importance of power relations in society. Edward Said (2003) amplifies this point, arguing that through Western power, history has been written to describe the biases of Western success, ignoring the contribution the rest of the world had and creating false ideologies of Eastern culture. Hall does not touch on this point so much, but both argue that the construction of the West developed as a means of comparison to the East, thus must be seen as a historical construct that was developed within the West, through the reconstruction of historical events (Said, 2003).

Said (2003) further argues that the West has produced inaccurate representations of the East and that the West is responsible for creating the constructions of both the East and the West, which has only benefitted the West develop its identity. These representations are expressed in popular movies such as *Cleopatra*, *Aladdin* and *The Thief of Bagdad*. Using Aladdin as an example, the West has maintained the idea through popular culture that the East is 'magical and mystical' which is expressed in the film through flying carpets and genies. Moreover, the history of the story suggests Aladdin was originally Chinese, however Western representations of him suggest Aladdin is Middle Eastern, thus can be used as an example of how Western representations of the East are blurred and imprecise, failing to distinguish between the differences in cultures within the Eastern part of the world (Marzolph, 2006). Another example using Disney's representation of the 1992 animated film adaptation shows Aladdin wearing a turban, a religious and cultural piece of clothing which does not belong to mainstream Arabic cultures, again presenting an element of Middle Eastern culture that has been inaccurately represented (Marzolph, 2006). Said (2003) argues that 'Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and Occident' (Said, 2003: 76) and this was used as a means of justifying colonialism and power relations. He argues the Occident's claimed to 'know more about the Orient than the Orient themselves' and that 'European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self' (Said, 2003: 77). Both he and Hall argue these attempts at defining the East have been the basis of what has created the concept of the West and has allowed this concept to dominate. This is a tool that has been used to create representations that benefit the West, which is extremely important when trying to understand the development of the concept of the West as a construction. This tool can be applied to various other opposing representations that have developed by the dominating power: women and men, and black and white.

Although Gilroy also suggests that the West developed as a result of the rest of the world, his perspective does not take into account the complex construction of both the East and the West, in order to define each other. His perspective suggests power and dominance is the most significant factor when acknowledging how the West developed as a construct. He argues it is the mere absence of the contribution of the rest of the world, in significant global eras such as the slave trade, which allowed the Western world to dominate (Gilroy, 1995). Hall and Said's perspectives can be seen as limited to only taking into account the East and the West as opposites, which can overlook the complexities of race, which Gilroy picks up on. Race is just as significant when trying to understand how the West was constructed, as it is the justification of racism and colonialism that was created by the West, which led to the development of modernity in Europe and America. Even though Said and Hall do acknowledge this in their writings, they do not magnify the importance of race

when assessing topics of colonialism and power: 'the relationship between the Occident and Orient is a relationship of power and of domination' (Said, 2003: 77). Whereas Gilroy argues it is race itself that was at the forefront of discrimination against African people. It is also problematic to over simplify the concepts 'the West' and 'the East' as they represent various different cultures and groups of people, thus should not be used to assume a unified construct when there are fragmentations from within. For example, feminist theorists would argue the construct of the West opposing the East does not take into account the 'other' from within the Western world: women (LeGates, 2001). There are not only power struggles within different race or cultures, but also ones created by patriarchy which has allowed males to dominate women within the West, throughout history.

Contrary to this, Chandra Mohanty (1995) argues there is an 'other' within the Western's view of 'other' which is women from Eastern parts of the world. She argues Western feminist theorists do not take into consideration the reality of women living in developing countries. Although Western notions of feminism could criticise the concept of 'West' and 'East' for not taking differences of gender into consideration, feminism as a concept can also be criticised of over simplifying the experiences of women and assuming the world is working towards the liberation of women at the same time. Mohanty states 'this average third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender... and being third world' (Mohanty, 1995: 261). She further argues:

> ...the assumption of women as an already constituted, coherent group with identical interests and desires, regardless of class, ethnic or racial location or contradictions, implies a notion of gender... which can be applied universally and cross-culturally (Mohanty, 1995: 261).

Thus, not only are 'Eastern' women subject to discrimination from the West due to their culture; they are also discriminated within their culture, for being female: which has led to both false representations of the East and of Eastern women.

Although Hall and Gilroy do assess the danger of simplifying such constructs, it can be argued that the use of them alone can reinforce the meanings and stereotypes that they stand for. Moreover, in questions about modern day representations of the East and the West, these constructs do not have as strong labels attached to them compared to eras in history where the Western world colonised the vast majority of Southern Asia and Africa, creating a monopoly power. With the growth of new technologies and the shift from a modern to postmodern world, definitions and boundaries of the West and the East are becoming more fragmented. One could argue that the growth of power in China and other parts of the East have now prevented the West from 'producing knowledge' of them (Hall & Gieben, 1992). Instead, the East now has the power to create accurate representations of themselves, which has deconstructed previous assumptions of the East and created a more democratised power of knowledge than what existed when the East were subject to Western colonies.

Postcolonial studies have further helped understand the development of history and how power has manipulated historical events. With the growth of freedom of speech through social media, the fragmentation of society and through the reassessment of history from postcolonial perspectives: the West as a conceptual construct is becoming ever more fragmented from the solid construction it once was and stood for (Featherstone, 2005).

Mohanty is a key example of how Eastern academic voices now play a significant role in understanding feminism in the East (Mohanty, 1995).

To conclude, the West is still addressed as a conceptual construct, and it can be argued that it will always exist as a representation of supremacy and development. However, the once crystallised concept is now disintegrating as the power in society is shifting towards the East. Thus Hall and Said's concepts of Western power exiting through the creation of inaccurate representations of the East, can be seen as outdated; failing to acknowledge modern day shifts in power. This demonstrates that implications of the West are not as distinctive as they once were, as perspectives from the East are becoming more visible so the distinctions between Eastern cultures are being acknowledged. All theorists mentioned have acknowledged that the concept of the West cannot be over simplified; however each theorist believes a particular perspective is dominant in the creation and maintenance of this concept. Each is problematic in this sense, as the creation of the West is not a matter of perspective, rather a combination of events and developments in history, thus should be equally presented in their importance. However, a final point that should be recognised is that although society is changing at a more rapid pace than ever; is it changing enough to reconstruct our meanings of the West? Could it really, as Hall suggests, be so deeply embedded in our culture, language and society that even with the shift in power relations, this ideological construct will still exist?

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