IDEATE

The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

Introduction

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This edition presents work across a wide range of topics, among them for example: Marx and 'alienation', Du Bois and 'double consciousness', the relationship between inequality, poverty and social exclusion, the problem of defining race, Durkheim and the function of religion, the culture of policing, responses to terrorism, Bourdieu and 'habitus', globalization and crime, feminist critiques of Freudian psychoanalysis, UK street crime and global forces.

All of the work published here has achieved a grade of 85%+ (1st year students), or 80%+ (2nd & 3rd year students). The only exception to this is for SC203 (Researching Social Life) data analysis assignments where the top assignments only are published.

We are pleased and proud to be able recognise our undergraduate achievement in this way.

Congratulations to all and best wishes,

The IDEATE Editorial Team

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

Lily Jones

This essay will introduce and discuss W.E.B. Du Bois' notion of 'double consciousness' as well as answer the question of whether it is still relevant today. To do this, a brief history of Du Bois will be given, along with what is meant by the notion of double consciousness. Secondly, the notion will be evaluated in terms of its appropriateness and any conflicting views regarding it. Lastly, it will be argued that the notion is still very relevant today, and reasons for this will be explained using contemporary examples.

Sociologist William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B) Du Bois was born in Massachusetts in 1868, and died in 1963 in Ghana, the country in which he adopted citizenship (Lewis, 1993). He was the 'first African American to earn a Ph.D. from Harvard University' (Biography, no date: 1) and was a 'co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP)' (Lewis, 1993: 4). For these reasons Du Bois was a strong civil rights activist and his notion of double consciousness is derived from his work related to this.

As defined in his work 'The Souls of Black Folk' (1903), Du Bois defines double consciousness as 'always looking at oneself through the eyes of others, of measuring ones soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity' (1903: 8). By this he means that oppressed groups, such as Black Americans in this case, see themselves through the eyes of the oppressive white society, in which they perhaps feel they do not belong. Additionally Du Bois writes 'one ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls' (1903: 8) which illustrates the point that black Americans felt, and perhaps still feel, a disconnect between their black identity and their American identity. This theory can be applied to other situations of inequality, for example women who are oppressed not only due to their gender but also to other factors such as their race. Evidence of this comes from Frances Beal's (1969) writing in which she says 'Black women likewise have been abused by the system and we must begin talking about the elimination of all kinds of oppression' (1969: 1). By 'all kinds of oppression' she likely means the oppression she faces as a woman and that she faces for being black. She will therefore face a double consciousness of being a woman, who can relate to the oppression that comes with this, and being a black woman, who faces more oppression than her white counterpart.

The notion of double consciousness is helpful in that it allows us to give meaning to why some groups in society are segregated, or perhaps segregate themselves, from the dominant group. For example, Beverly Tatum's (1997) work 'Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?', describes how minority groups seek out those in the same group as them as they feel insecure in an environment where they are not part of the dominant (white) group. This shows double consciousness as they are conflicted between their role as a high school student but also as a black high school student, and how this may differ from their experience if they were white.

Despite its effectiveness in explaining the segregation of groups in society, there has been controversy over the role of black people in America which conflicts with Du Bois' views and his theory of double consciousness. For example, Booker T. Washington, who was also black himself, believed that black people should submit to the oppression they face and give up their right to vote, their 'insistence on civil rights' (Du Bois, 1903: 39) and their access to higher education. This was because he believed 'the Negro can survive only through submission' (Du Bois, 1903: 39). In his speech, the 'Atlanta Compromise', Washington stated that this was because 'the opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house' (Bacon, 1896: 16). This relates to the theory of double consciousness as it could be argued that Washington thinks people *should* look at themselves through the eyes of others, in this

case the white population, and submit to their rule (by, for example, not fighting for their civil rights).

The notion of double consciousness is, in my opinion, still very relevant today. I believe people do still struggle to find one identity if they feel they perhaps fit between two groups rather than securely in one. For example, astronomer Maggie Aderin-Pocock says that growing up she felt a conflict between being British and being Nigerian. Though she was Nigerian by ethnicity, she could not speak Yoruba with her family and therefore felt disconnected from them but at the same time she never identified as British out of fear that 'somebody would say: 'No you're not, you're the wrong colour.'' (Saner, 2014: 1). This is an extremely clear example of double consciousness as she clearly felt, and perhaps still feels, the 'sense of two-ness' discussed by Du Bois (1903: 8).

Another contemporary example of the notion of double consciousness is the childhood account of M People band member Andrew Lovell, who being a black child 'adopted' by white parents felt a conflict between being a member of his family but also not fitting in because he was black. He later discovered that his mother was related to him biologically but she had had an affair. This led Andrew to want to find his biological father, and other relatives (The Secrets in My Family, 2017). This shows his double consciousness as he yearns to connect to his black family but he still wants to be part of the family that he grew up with. This is likely to be a common feeling among many adoptees who may feel a lack of a full connection to either their biological or adopted family and therefore have a sense of two identities.

One example of how the notion may perhaps not be still relevant is that people may have become more resistant to 'always looking at oneself through the eyes of others' (Du Bois, 1903: 8). For example, when visiting Pakistan, a BBC journalist asked Mayor of London Sadiq 'Does it feel like coming home?' to which he replied 'Home is south London' (Horton, 2017). This shows that despite assumptions being made about his sense of identity due to his family's origin, Sadiq Khan does not feel the need to adhere to this, and shows that he can be from a non-British family by ethnicity but still identify as a Londoner (as, after all, that is where he was born and raised). This shows that the notion is perhaps not so relevant today among individuals who have the same attitude as Sadiq Khan and feel secure in their sense of identity, even if it is not what others may expect of them.

To conclude, Du Bois' notion of double consciousness is about a conflict one has between how they identify, and how others see their identity. This notion is, in my opinion, very relevant today especially in the case of adoptees and members of minority backgrounds in a predominantly white society. However it could be argued that it is becoming less relevant as people become less affected by the way they are seen by others, and instead of feeling a disconnection between their two identities they embrace both, and feel comfortable doing so.

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

Hillery Phillip

'Race is the child of racism, not the father' (Coats, 2015:7). Coats argues that the justifications for racism occurred before the creation of racial categories. This is important to consider because, when looking at the creation of race, racial categorisation helped to justify legal and social behaviours that were already occurring. For example, the pseudoscientific phenological studies of Blumenbach (1779) helped to justify slavery in the Americas (1444 - 1863) and later Jim Crow in the US. Race is often defined in relation to whiteness; an example of this would be how different groups became absorbed into the American definition of whiteness. Ignatiev (1995), for example, examines the shift in how Irish people were perceived in the US, during the 19th century. The Irish, through disassociating themselves from African American communities, moved from being seen as similar to black people to becoming absorbed in American whiteness, and as a result received the privileges of being part of that group. This essay will argue that the concept of 'race' is difficult to define because its definition has changed over time in both colloquial and academic spheres. This essay will look at how historical biological essentialism has shaped how we perceive race today. It will also examine the relationship between race and ethnicity and how useful ethnicity is when describing and defining race.

Biological essentialism was one of the first theories of race. This theory was created by Blumenbach (1779), who used phenology - the idea that skull sizes are positively correlated with intelligence - to split humans into five different 'races' (the Caucasian (white) race, the Mongolian (yellow) race, the Malayan (brown) race, the Negroid (black) race and the American (red) race). An issue with the theory of biological essentialism is that there is no scientific evidence for the idea that people are split into five different races. The biological essentialist theory was created before the discovery of DNA. Since its discovery scientists have failed to find biological support for this theory.

Biological essentialism was used by the Nazis to justify the holocaust. They used these pseudoscientific theories in order to rationalise how they treated Jewish people, Romani people, disabled people and LGBT people. Jewish and Romani people were racialised in Nazi propaganda. This racialisation linked to scientific racism by segregating these groups from German society which caused them to be redefined as other within German and other European Societies that had been invaded by the Nazis. Biological essentialism, coupled with a growth in social Darwinism - the idea that the best-adapted social groups are able to raise the level of a society by surviving - and increased support for eugenics, allowed the Nazis to carry out the holocaust. This demonstrates how dangerous biological essentialism can be because it can lead to acts of genocide.

Frankenberg (1993) argues that it is important to acknowledge biological essentialism when looking at or creating other theories of race because it was one of the first theories of race and, as result, most other theories have grown from or engaged with it. Frankenberg's interviews with white, American women demonstrate how influential biological essentialism can be when examining an individual's relationship to race. For example, race riots were perceived by some of the women to be a result of 'black "unruliness", despite an acknowledgement that black people tended to have poorly paying jobs and as a result there was an economic basis for those riots. This is important because it signifies how influential

biological essentialism is in society. Its influence means that, despite being disproven, it is still reflected in some of the stereotypes of different groups of people.

White people, by comparison, are rarely racialised, which in itself links to biological essentialism because it suggests whiteness as a default. The 'invisibility' of whiteness is an issue because it results in non-white people being 'othered' within society. This means that, when defining and discussing race, the conditions of whiteness are rarely considered. Frosh et al (2002) mention this when looking at the interviews they carried out with young, white, teenage boys and how this specific group of boys felt uncomfortable talking about their own race and how they self-identify. Likewise, Frankenberg (1993) supports this, arguing that, especially in the US, whiteness is seen 'as an "empty" cultural space'.

Due to the issues with scientific racism, there was a shift after 1945 towards using the language of 'ethnicity' rather than a biological definition of race. Ethnicity refers to a shared culture, which includes languages, customs and institutions.. It is based on how people identify themselves, by comparison with race where people are often put into a group by others (Giddens and Sutton, 2017:106-110 and (Abercrombie et al, 2006).

A criticism of ethnicity however as a form of racial categorisation is that it is not broad enough to truly capture how different people self-identify. For example, forms that ask for ethnicity rarely include 'Jewish', which may hinder how British Jews can express how they feel about their identity. Judaism is more often referred to as an ethnoreligion, creating problems for people who identify as Jewish but who may not be religious.

Ethnicity, as it is used in western countries, can be quite Eurocentric. An example that Shams (2016) highlights is the tone-deaf 'Check it right, you ain't white' slogan, which aimed to get Arab-Americans and Iranian-Americans to write-in their ethnicity rather than checking 'white' on the 2010 US Census. This campaign failed to contextualise why so many Iranian-Americans identified as white. In fact, this was pushed by the nationalist Pahlavi regime, and aligned with the perceived superiority of white Europeans, as espoused by colonist regimes. This is important to consider when looking at ethnicity and how it relates to race, because an Eurocentric view often fails to contextualise why certain people may consider themselves in a way that seems antithetical to western notions of ethnicity and race.

Giddens and Sutton (2017:106-110) suggest that an additional issue with ethnicity is the growing ethnicity-based discrimination which focuses on the idea of a superior culture; for example, the common racist rhetoric surrounding Muslim people as being associated with terrorist acts. This results in an expectation that Muslim people who live in Western countries apologise for such acts. In comparison, when a mass shooting occurs in the US, which could sometimes be seen as a terrorist attack, it is not anticipated that white people will have to apologise on behalf of the shooter. This suggests that in western countries whiteness is seen as the default, which links into notions of a superior culture because it suggests that terrorist attacks are inherent to Islamic cultures, while downplaying non-Islamic terrorist attacks.

The definition of race has changed and adapted over time, especially with advancements in genetic research. It is also defined by the concept of whiteness being the default position, as in the example of Iran, or the 'taken-for-grantedness of whiteness' (Frosh et al, 2002:46). This is important to consider when defining race because, without looking at the context in which people view and discuss race across societies, there can be cultural barriers to

understanding how different people are perceived; for example, there is a difference in the way that whiteness is viewed in Iran versus how it is viewed in western countries.

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What is the connection between inequality, poverty, and social exclusion in the UK?

James Turone

Throughout British history a hierarchy of power has existed which has determined a person's position in society. Understanding the distribution of power within any society is arguably of key importance when trying to determine the connection between inequality, poverty and social exclusion. However, the power structure in the UK is complex and ever-changing, so understanding it has become increasingly difficult. Embracing an awareness of the intersectionality of divisive elements within society is necessary to avoid over-simplifying their complexities . Drawing upon the work of key sociological theorists, this essay will explore the new forms of capital which are diluting the traditional barriers of economic-based class factors (Pakulski and Waters, 1996: 1-2). Economic-based social stratification will be examined to determine if the related notions of class divides continue to be important. The aim of this essay is to evaluate the concepts of inequality, poverty, and social exclusion, and to clarify the overlapping connection between each, using qualitative and quantitative data.

Marx's theory of a binary class system based on economic factors does not adequately explain the multi-faceted nature of power structures today. Subsequent sociological theorists have sought to understand how a variety of factors other than purely economic ones can cause social exclusion. Peter Townsend contended that poverty and subsistence were 'elusive' concepts; in response to the euphoria about poverty reduction after World War II, he pioneered the concept of relative deprivation, asserting that customary standards of living within a society are important (1979: 31). When certain groups and individuals are deprived of customary standards of living, this creates a poverty of opportunities (Ferragina et al, 2013). 'Relative poverty' may cause social exclusion when resources become unaffordable for some, but not for others (Gordon, 2000: 13-14). Levitas et al asserted that 'Income poverty is a driver for most other domains of exclusion'; they found that social exclusion affected education, political and civic participation, health and well-being, and caused criminalisation (2007). Since the economic downturn of 2008, the median income for the richest fifth of households in the UK has fallen by £1900, whilst there has been a £1600 income increase in the poorest fifth of households (Office for National Statistics, 2017). This appears to indicate a reduction in inequality. However, these statistics do not adjust for the cost of living which has a more damaging effect on the poorest; relative poverty can cause social exclusion when goods become unaffordable for some, but not for others (Gordon, 2000: 13-14). Sometimes, a person may decide to borrow money from a lender to compensate for feelings of alienation, resulting from being deprived of a customary standard of living. The lack of financial capital which instigated borrowing in the first place, may then be further compounded by the high interest rates added by many lenders (Levitas et al, 2007: 55).

The UK's class structure has changed shape, and the acquisition of power is increasingly dependent on new forms of capital. A fluidity of capital which crosses traditional class boundaries seems to be affecting the constitution of social mobility. Education is arguably more readily available to the majority of the UK population than it used to be; this has created a larger potential for upward social mobility. Since 1992, student numbers have nearly doubled (Office for National Statistics, 2016). If new forms of capital have facilitated

social mobility, then one could argue that the notion of class is no longer a useful paradigm to assess economic inequality. Pakulski and Waters asserted that the concept of class is no longer relevant, highlighting that it is challenged by '"new associations" and new social movements'; the Left is no longer solely focused on economic disparities, but are also concerned with issues such as gender, race equality, and the environment (1996: 1–2).

However, the aristocracy is still a powerful force in modern Britain, pervading much of high-level government. If the highest echelons of society in the UK are still dominated by a distinguished minority, it seems reasonable to assert that a person's inherited economic circumstance is still important. The majority of UK Prime ministers have attended elite institutions, such as Eton, Oxford, and Cambridge (Nimmo, 2016); five of the top ten UK Universities still have the lowest proportion of state school pupils (Coughlan, 2017; Complete University Guide, 2018). Such statistics seem to suggest that a ruling class does exist, and that inherited wealth is a factor which determines a person's position in government. Also, it could be inferred that, because interests of an aristocratic class have permeated high-level government for centuries, the economic disparities which exist today have been perpetuated by a distinct class who have continuously secured their own interests.

Bourdieu explored social and cultural capital, and argued that a multitude of lifestyle elements define and constrain an individual's life chances (Baron, 2016; Bourdieu, 2011: 47). The abstract realm of social and cultural capital exists in different states which translate into varying ways to utilise power; this type of capital allows an individual to mobilise connections with people from the same social group. Unlike many other theorists, Bourdieu does not necessarily presuppose that economic factors determine a person's collective group; for example, an aristocratic family may become bankrupt or simply lose their wealth, but maintain their influence amongst others with a long line of family wealth (Bourdieu, 2011). What seems to define a collective, are the values, attitudes and belief systems which are held by them; these aspects of cultural life usually retain significance, even when economic influence has gone. According to Bourdieu, the social world has many distinct 'fields', such as work, religion, law, education and markets, within which people compete for capital. Individuals and groups develop 'a feel for the game', allowing them to skilfully traverse the various 'fields' which in part form their 'habitus' (1990: 66). Contending with economically influential and powerful collectives may enhance disparities amongst weaker groups; the Social Mobility Commission (2017) found that economically disadvantaged people in affluent areas had less social mobility than those in less affluent areas. One could argue that cultural capital is more pronounced in areas with significant wealth inequality; therefore, if a person's 'habitus' is constrained by the limits of their economic and cultural capital, this may reinforce the socially constructed hierarchy of power, and ultimately affect life chances (Anderson and Hansen, 2012). Because of the complexities in economic and cultural disparities, it could be argued that characterising poverty and inequality through social exclusion may damage efforts to address overall inequality; Levitas explained that 'Attention is drawn away from the inequalities and differences among the included', some of whom may lack capital themselves (1998: 7).

The types of capital which perpetuate poverty, inequality and social exclusion transcend economic disparities to an extent; however, underlying poverty is a constraint on economic capital which has crossed generational divides. The concept of social exclusion is useful when trying to understand the nature of societal divides; however, the diluting of the UK class structure infers a need to avoid simplifying inequality and poverty into the 'us and them' configuration. A comprehensive understanding of the multi-layered structure of

power needs to exist, to avoid neglecting significant portions of the population who may not fall into the extremities, but may still have disadvantages of capital. Alongside economic circumstances, the cultural and social states which govern an individual's collective group, shape the state of power in the UK; a poverty of opportunities exacerbates inequalities through the use of socially exclusive capital. Social exclusion most affects the poorest whose lack of power is magnified by the insufficient features of their cultural and social capital. To conclude, inequalities of capital make accessing resources difficult; isolation results from social exclusion which entrenches poverty. The connection between inequality, social exclusion and poverty seems cyclical. When not tackled, levels of inequality deepen and the cycle seems to strengthen.

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What could be a feminist critique of Freudian Psychoanalysis?

Rebecca Chivers

Freudian Psychoanalysis has been critiqued by many academics for a number of reasons, however one of the main forms of critique that psychoanalysis has been subject to is feminism. This essay will address the Oedipus complex as described by Freud and focus on its passive description of women, how it underestimates their role as mothers, and enforces gender essentialist ideas. I will also address the feminist critiques of Chodorow, Friedan and Mitchell, and the contradicting theories of Bowlby and Winnicott and how they are heavily influenced by their placement in time. I will be making the argument that psychoanalysis is heavily embedded in its historical context and applied gender essentialist views, which are still present today.

Freudian Psychoanalysis is based on the concept of the Oedipus complex, which underestimates the role of women and enforces gender essentialist ideas on sexuality. Frosh (2012) argues that Freud's Oedipus complex is best described first from the perspective of a boy as Freud's understanding of female development came at a later date. In Freud's "Dissolution of the Oedipus complex" (1924) he describes the process by which a boy develops psychosexually; describing the initial step as the threat of castration, which occurs when the boy begins to stimulate himself sexually. However this threat is only taken seriously when the boy is confronted with the sight of female genitalia, and then the loss of his own penis becomes imaginable. This deters the child from seeking sexual relations with his mother and he subsequently transfers the libidinal energy he had for her into idealizing his father (Freud, 1924). By comparison, for a girl the complex begins when she realises she has been castrated and feels a 'wrongdoing' has been done to her; this becomes grounds for her feeling inferior. She wishes for a penis but has to replace this desire by wishing to bear a child.

According to Chodorow (1999), who adapted on Freudian Psychoanalysis, Freud's Oedipus complex suggests that due to their psychosexual development men look for sexual gratification in relationships, whereas women are sexually inhibited and can only have true love-object relations with their children. Freud outlines how men, due to their sexualised attachment being encouraged whilst their oedipal- genital wishes were punished, look for "narcissistic phallic reassurance" rather than "love and mutual affirmation" in adulthood (Chodorow 1999). Chodorow argues that this is why men invest more in sexual relationships to achieve instinctual gratifications rather than risk their love being rejected. This argument maintains gender stereotypes by assuming that because of their psychosexual development, men repress affectionate feelings and look for sexual gratification instead. However, Chodorow's critique is based on first wave feminist thought and therefore reflects attitudes of the early 20th century, which are different from today. Her point is that as women, our psychosexual development has led to valuable characteristics, which men do not have, such as having better capacity for affection rather than sexual attachment. Nevertheless this argument that Chodorow makes, not only assumes that men have an incapacity to love on an affectionate level but it can be seen as an excuse for hypersexual behaviour committed by men. In Hymen and Giles' article on 'gender and psychological essentialism' (2011), they argue that gender essentialist ideas can be used to justify inequities in the social world, such as the inequality surrounding how women and men are labelled in relation to sex. Gender essentialist attitudes could be seen

to have an influence on the current issue and phenomenon of young girls being told to dress more conservatively at school because they are considered a 'distraction' to young men (Bartko, Globalnews.ca, Accessed: 19th November, 2017). This can be seen to relate to the assumption made by Freud that men are more sexual beings on a psychological level, and thus we must accommodate it. Gender essentialist attitudes, which may have originated in Freudian ideas, could arguably have facilitated the attitude that causes women, which indulge in sexual gratification, to have negative connotations associated with them: words like "slut" and "whore" are commonly associated with sexual women, whereas male counterparts who indulge in sexual gratification do not deal with negative connotations. This is an inequity formed by gender essentialist views that Freud enforces in his Oedipus complex. Not only does Freud implement gender essentialist views that may have impacted attitudes today, but he also underestimated the role of women by failing to recognise the importance of motherhood.

A feminist critique of Freudian Psychoanalysis could be that it fails to recognise the importance of the mother role. However, theories that express the importance of 'mothers' explicitly are embedded in a set of assumptions arising from their historical context. Juliet Mitchell in "Psychoanalysis and Feminism" (1974) explains how Freud was a 'prisoner of his time' and culture-bound, and therefore accepted society's faith that women were inferior and expressed this by assuming that men have the authority. Schafer in "Problems in Freud's Psychology of Women" (1974) also argues that Freud not only assumed that girls seek love and self-esteem from men, but also proposes that girls' development through the Oedipus complex always follows the equation: "my lost penis = father's actual penis = the baby given me by father's penis." (1974:464). This presents the idea that women lack autonomy; that by having been 'castrated' they will seek their father's penis and desire to bear his child. Freud not only describes 'girls' in a passive manner but also fails to acknowledge the mother role and its importance; this is a major flaw in Psychoanalysis. The mother is the first and most formative figure in a child's life; she is the one who gives birth, breastfeeds and provides the child with the care required. Theorists who appreciate the importance of a mother role are Winnicott, and Bowlby.

In the "Theory of the Parent-Infant Relationship" (1960), Winnicott expresses that Freud neglected infancy as a state by failing to mention the importance of the mother role. According to Winnicott "[t]here is no such thing as an Infant" because where one finds an infant, they find a mother; the infant relies on the mother to provide 'good enough care' in order to develop healthily, both mentally and physically. One could argue that according to Winnicott's ideas, the mother ensures that society functions well as she guarantees societies' members are mentally healthy individuals (Winnicott, 1960). Bowlby in " The Nature of the Child's Tie to his Mother" (1958) similarly expresses the importance of the mother role, by discussing how children become attached to their mother, and that the type of mothering the child receives defines their relationship. Bowlby, likewise to Winnicott, assumes truth in Freudian Psychoanalysis and expresses surprise at the lack of appreciation "*of the infant(s) close tie to his mother*" (1958:351). According to Bowlby and his attachment theory, healthy attachment with the mother allows for healthy development of the child. If there is 'maternal deprivation', the long-term effects could be: delinquency, increased aggression and affectionless psychopathy in adulthood (in Cassidy and Shaver, 2002). Both Bowlby and Winnicott describe the mother "*as [an] active [agent] in the infants development*" (Frosh, 2012"138) and in doing so communicate the significance of women. Their theories critique psychoanalysis by finding value in the role of mothers and expressing the importance of the mother-role. Nevertheless, one could critique their theories by observing that they place all the responsibility on women, and in doing so

neglect the capacity of men to be effective caregivers. They also do not take into account their historical context; in contemporary society two million men are stay-at-home dads, which is double the number they reported in 1989 in the US (Livingston, 2014). Children do not necessarily need a consistent "mother", but a consistent "carer". One could also argue that Bowlby and Winnicott's theories were designed to ensure that gender essentialist views on the roles of women were maintained. Their theories emerged post World War II, when women had begun to become actively involved in the workforce. This could have been seen as a threat to patriarchal society and therefore their theories were potential tools to maintain gender roles. In doing so, they failed to recognise that confining women to the domestic sphere has consequences.

Freudian Psychoanalysis is problematic because in its outline of the Oedipus complex it explains how women and femininity are in a devalued role, yet fails to offer a solution. Betty Friedan in the "Feminine Mystique" (1963) discusses the discontentment of women in the 1960's as well as their social role, stating that over 70% of women were married by 24, and were expected to be content in their roles as 'house wives'. Friedan describes that despite the expectations that women should be happy in their roles, they were not. This led to women feeling ashamed and unable to discuss their discontentment because "*[w]hat kind of woman was she if she did not feel this mysterious fulfilment waxing the kitchen floor?*" (Friedan, 1963:19). In early 20th century the assumption was that having more kids could solve women's discontentment with their lives. This notion was supported by Freud's Oedipus complex which argued that women's true love objects were their children. Friedan's argument, however, was that there is a reason for human suffering and the reason for the continuation of female suffering was because the "*right questions had not been asked*"(1963:26). Freud's theory, without intention, excused sexist ideas by failing to acknowledge that there was a problem and by answering the 'wrong questions'. Psychoanalysis was so embedded in its historical context, that it failed to recognise that it was social constructs in a patriarchal society that made women inferior, not their psychosexual development as girls.

Friedan's argument is that gender essentialist attitudes, which psychoanalysis adopts, trapped women into the domestic sphere and caused their discontentment. This highlights a key issue with Freudian Psychoanalysis; Freud assumed that the Oedipus complex separated men and women into their socially respective roles and never questioned the separations of those roles. It can be argued that it was the systematic oppression of women in patriarchal society that was causing the 'hysteria' that psychiatrists were witnessing, and subsequently labelling as " the women problem" or " the housewife's syndrome" (Cleaveland in Friedan, 1963:20). Psychiatrists were failing to understand the problem from a holistic perspective and focused on what was causing the hysteria from within women's unconscious mind. They were assuming it was due to women's psychosexual development and 'penis envy'. If psychiatrists and Freud were not so culture-bound, they may have realised that women's suffering was because they envied the social benefits of having a penis, not 'having a penis' in the literal sense (Mitchell, 1974). According to Lewin in "Feminist Anthropology" (2009), the main issue with Freudian theory is that it does not offer a solution, such as the "*elimination of a social system which creates sexism and gender*" (2009:102). This is maintained by Deleuze and Guattari who argued that psychoanalysis is problematic because it places femininity in a devalued role and offers no solutions (In Blake, 2009). Freud's psychoanalytic theory explained how a patriarchal social system is reproduced, but failed to question or offer solution to it.

In conclusion, Freudian psychoanalytic theory received many feminist critiques. It failed to recognise the importance of women in their roles as mothers, which is a significant fault according to Bowlby and Winnicott. Both of them recognised mother roles as being important to the development of a healthy child, however they were strongly embedded in their historical context and not only assumed truth in psychoanalytic theory, but enforced gender essentialist assumptions on the role of men and women. Freudian psychoanalysis can also be seen to have potentially excused hyper sexuality of men and to have made false conclusions on the sexuality of women. It also failed to question the separation of the sexes and offer solution to the devalued role of women.

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Are 'the police' changing? Discuss with reference to the culture of policing and the role of women and minorities

Renee Edwards

To discuss whether the police are changing, we must therefore analyse police cultures, in relation to minorities, and gender divisions. Police culture is determined on how police officers respond to society, and their role within it. When analysing police culture, it mainly has negative connotations, with specific emphasis on how police deal with crimes and how the state can or have over policed certain individuals; in particular, ethnic minorities. Furthermore, we must also examine what the police stand for, how they balance crime prevention, and order maintenance with the use of legal coercive force. In some cases, it is argued the police use their legal platform within society to 'produce patterns of bias on the lines of class, gender and ethnicity' (Carrabine et al., 2014: 350).

The police are not found in every society, but policing is a crucial part in maintaining social order and efficiency. The police are an institution under the control of the state in order to maintain law and order. However, this hasn't always been the case. In the 'fourteenth century towns and villages were generally policed by community-based systems of the watch, local constables and thief takers' (Carrabine et al., 2014: 342). It is suggested that from the introduction of 'policing societies' these groups would predominately work for the rich to police the poor, from evictions to maintaining order within the workforce. By the seventeenth century through to Robert Peel's introduction of the Metropolitan Police Force in 1829 there were huge calls for a change within the policing structure. Due to many believing the police were corrupt and contained spies. Peel's new police force was put into place to prevent this view and prevent crime. They were highly visible and mainly from working class backgrounds. So, it is evident to say the police force itself has dramatically changed over time, from having no form of police, to community policing systems to an established state force with constabularies in every community within the UK. However, distrust of the police and allegations of abuse of discretionary police powers remains especially within those living at the 'base of the social pyramid'. (Carrabine et. al, 2014: 342). Moreover, in today's society the police have to undergo special training routines, exercises, and exams before they are allowed to be an officer. This training is crucial in allowing police officers to learn and understand how to tackle crime efficiently, while maintaining peace and order within society. Additionally, with the developments of technology, and the use of telephones, CCTV and so forth the police are now able to surveil society much more easily, and the public can communicate a lot better with the police when reporting crimes. This has allowed the police to attend crimes in real-time, with the ability to get a clear understanding of a crime as it's taking place, from exact location, to offender profiling. Moreover, a lot of police services use social media as a platform to gain information and inform members of society about recent crimes and events that have taken place in their local areas. For example, Essex Police has a licensed Facebook page that allows them to post pictures of wanted criminals, CCTV images, missing individuals; aiding the police in their search and allowing them to gather further information. Social media has allowed the communication of police officers and the public to run more effectively and has increased the trust and support towards the police. Allowing the public to easily contact the police has allowed us to feel more protected. However, some individuals still feel a lack of faith and confidence within the police.

Onto police culture, which is a key factor into why these views are held by a large section of the public, and why there is such a widespread distrust of and lack of support for the police. 'The fear of crime alongside recent instances of excessive violence committed by the police has created an ambivalent mixture of repulsion for and appreciation of the police in modern democracies' (Mladek: 2007: 1). Police cultures vary across constabularies, and can be impacted by numerous factors such as their local communities. For example, when comparing the Metropolitan Police in Greater London, to Greater Manchester Police you would see many differences, such as policing techniques and attitudes. However, the main negative connotation of the police refers to institutional racism. This view has been held for a long period of time, and little has changed apart from its growth; the police are being seen increasingly racist as societies grow and develop. One of the earliest and main cases of the corruption of the police force can be shown through the Stephen Lawrence Murder in 1993 and The Macpherson Inquiry in 1999. 'The police investigation was grossly inadequate, and the racist nature of the attack given little attention' (Carrabine et al., 2014: 51). Since then, there have been numerous cases of police discrimination, brutality, and racism. 'Racial minorities are still at the forefront of discriminatory and abusive policing practices' (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2012: 315). Twenty-nine-year-old Mark Duggen, fifteen-year-old Jordan Edwards, and eighteen-year-old Michael Brown were all shot and killed by police. These are just three examples, however there are many more, and they all had two main similarities - their race and gender - they were all black men. Police brutality has mainly been seen to effect those within the black community, which has resulted in many movements such as #BlackLivesMatter campaign across countries, with arguments such as 'Yes all lives matter but we're focused on the black ones right now, ok? Because it is very apparent that our judicial system doesn't know that. Plus, if you can't see why we're exclaiming #BlackLivesMatter you are part of the problem', (Washington Post, 2016). Under the law police are able to stop and search individuals if they have reasonable suspicion that person has committed a crime, or is going to. Linking this to police cultures of racism, do they hold negative stereotypes of black males as criminals? As they are more likely to be stopped and searched than white males. Is this stop and search process a physical action based on prejudgements and police attitudes towards skin colour? It is also noted that African Caribbean suspects are more likely to be arrested, sent to trial, and given harsher sentences compared to their white counterparts.

Following on from this, it is suggested the police hold sub-cultures within the work place, and 'act out shared thoughts in self-fulfilling behaviours and culture is confirmed' (Crank, 2004: 3), this is known as the canteen culture. As stated in the Macpherson Report after Stephen Lawrence's death, 'canteen culture in the police was a breeding ground for institutional racism' (Brennan, 2017: 21). The canteen culture is said to be a set of beliefs held by the police that are particularly discriminative and racist; they shape and contribute to police ideologies towards certain members of society. Nevertheless, since this report was published there has been a huge call for ethnic minority recruitment within the police force, and there has been a dramatic increase on those minorities applying compared to a few decades, but it's still somewhat failing, and more needs to be done. Moreover, some experts suggest police officers, particularly males hold a 'brotherhood' connection, a code of silence, in which certain beliefs are discussed within their workplace, and left there. Certain cultures, attitudes and beliefs are expressed between officers and stay between officers. However, some of these beliefs can be acted upon in society, resulting in inequalities between the police and the wider population. It can be argued because of these negative attitudes some believe the police hold, the number of ethnic minorities applying for the police force is failing.

Linking to the lack of recruitment of ethnic minorities, there has been huge gender differences within the police force. Women have been under represented within the police force; those that were part of the police faced many challenges. 'Acceptance from male colleagues was a slow, gradual process, as most men felt that female officers could not handle the macho world of policing' (Wells & Betty, 2005: 45). Police has always been seen as a masculine occupation, even in today's society, due to the physical work they have to fulfil, such as arresting a suspect, and conducting home raids. Moreover, 'policemen are overtly and consistently hostile towards women in the job and that the social control of these women is a burning issue' (Young, 1991: 193). Gender differences have been a platform for discrimination for many years, from physical attributes, to the views of women being housewives, and mothers, however outdated. It is evident to conclude that police culture has been one highlighting many inequalities women face, just based on their biological differences.

In addition to facing challenges at work, women also face much pressure outside of the police force, as victims and offenders. When discussing women, the police, and the criminal justice system as a whole, feminists take a strong viewpoint, suggesting women are severely disadvantaged. One key issues is women as victims. Statistics have shown women are the most likely victims of sexual assault. Emma Bond (2015) conducted research with Suffolk constabulary using 69 domestic violence victims, 63 females, and 6 male victims and found that:

> There is a considerable inconsistency in the survivors' experience of police attitudes, responses, assessment procedures and actions' … 'clear need to improve police training on domestic violence and abuse, and acceptable modes of conduct when responding to reports of domestic violence and abuse. (2015: 6)

Summarising Bond's research, it is evident to suggest the police in general lack certain skills when dealing with victims, considering the high number of female victims and the amount of sexual abuse and domestic violence cases that go unreported. Moreover, female victims can feel low self-esteem and shame when reporting these crimes to the police. Does police culture reflect an unwillingness to report these crimes? Can police attitudes and beliefs negatively influence whether these crimes go unnoticed and unreported?

When considering reactions to female crime, we can examine the chivalry thesis. This implies that 'police and other officials may regard female offenders as less dangerous than men' … 'Women tend to be much less likely to be imprisoned than are male offenders' (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006: 816). However, this could be due to other factors such as age, race, and class as well as gender. To be able to understand police attitudes and beliefs towards women we must analyse general attitudes of women, and the idea of 'double deviance' or 'double standards'. There are two main arguments to these theories, one being women are treated more leniently by the police and criminal justice system, the other being treated more harshly as they have gone against societal norms and values of a women's role. This may be because women from an early age are restricted to certain roles, mainly within the private sphere and family life. 'One study indicated that women offenders received more sympathetic and individualised justice for serious crimes, while men received no comparable understanding' (Carrabine et al., 2014: 108). Some women have characterised their encounters with the police as extremely unjust. So, it is very unclear as to what police culture includes towards women, as there are many different cases of mixed experiences. However, it is evident to say that police attitudes towards

women inside and outside the job clearly needs more improvement, even with the increase of female officers and the changing of police culture. Such as Cressida Dick becoming the first women to take control and power of London's police force as the new Metropolitan Police Commissioner. Women still face much scrutiny and discrimination as the police force is still seen as a male dominated profession, with patriarchal attitudes and beliefs, 'Sexist attitudes toward female officers still persists irrespective of the style of policing and even when it is shown female officers perform their tasks just as well as male officers' (Sims et al., 2003: 281).

If we look at how ethnic minorities are extremely discriminated against within police culture, and how women are disadvantaged, here lies a big problem within society. 'Black women's experiences of profiling and often deadly force remain largely invisible in ongoing conversations about the epidemic of racial profiling, police violence and mass incarceration' (Ritchie, 2017: 2). In Ritchie's work she discusses how black women's encounters with the police remain 'uncharted territory'. She underlines the rooted cause of this still remaining in colonialism and slavery beliefs. In the case of Sandra Bland, a black woman from the United States who died within police custody. Her case had a huge impact and influence on changing police culture in America. Sandra had previously made videos expressing the need to end police brutality 'there is an identical pattern of racial disparities in police stops for both men and women' (Ritchie, 2017: 10). Bland's death had such an impact on society the hashtag #IfIdieinpolicecustody' was expressed by many black women and their fear of experiencing Bland's fate. Moreover, 'violence against women in the home is a crime, the police are highly unlikely to arrest the man'…'If the man is black, however they are more likely to arrest him, but black women are confident this is motivated by racism rather than out of concern for the women's safety' (James & Harris, 1993: 135). It can be argued that black women are also over-policed as much as black males, due to the gender stereotypes and racial inequalities. 'Black women's bodies are policed more often than white women's by sexual and intimate partner violence, and they are simultaneously less likely, because of both race and social class, to be able to access the services they need to heal and escape'. (Hattery & Smith, 2017:227).

To conclude, the police have changed dramatically over time, with more community-based policing, and due to the development of race and gender within the police force, some are gaining a more positive view of the police. However, there is still a huge ask for more changes within the police, as these suggested police cultures have a negative and physical impact on certain individuals within our communities. The idea of canteen culture mainly effects racial minorities, from the excessive use of stop and searches on black people, and police brutality, and sexism within the workforce effecting women.

The main change within the police force is the laws and legislations making the police a governed force of the state. The police force is ever growing, and issues such as terrorism and knife crime have called for a stronger, and more widespread police structure. Police culture has effected the change in police dramatically; the police used to work for the rich to govern the poor, now it is suggested that the police combine factors such as age, class, gender, and race when policing societies. This contributes to the number of black males from urban areas who are over policed and over represented within the criminal justice system. Therefore, the police itself has changed and grown. Nevertheless, police cultures still have negative effects on society, whether the cultures themselves have changed, certain members of society are still on the receiving end of discrimination and violence.

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How can the police respond to terrorism?

Caterina Fantacci

This essay will discuss how police can respond to terrorism. Counter-terrorism police methods can take many different forms, and a range of diverse strategies, depending on different forces and organisations, the social context, and the type of threat. Aware of the complexity of the subject, the text will focus on a few key points regarding the issues with law enforcement action in response to terrorism. In the first part of the essay, the conceptualisation of terrorism and its challenges for policing will be discussed. Following this, I will explain how high police and low police mechanisms may be useful or counterproductive in these responses. These systems seem to be overlapping, however, and it will be argued that the militarisation of policing that derives from this interconnection may have various impacts on public spaces, public perceptions of fear, and the criminalisation of marginalised communities. For the purpose of clarity and length, I will focus on fundamentalist Islamic-based terrorism and the policing of Muslim communities. The essay will conclude, having presented a clear picture that addresses the main reactions and mechanisms of police to terror threats, by discussing the effectiveness of those, and the problematics that may arise, including the repercussions and implications for the use of police powers.

Terrorism is a concept with a debated definition; there is no clear agreed conceptualisation. However, there seems to be general consensus that it can be defined as a premeditated, threatening and/or harming act aimed at influencing policies or intimidating and causing fear in societies (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013). The ideologies at the roots of terrorism can be political, ideological or religious; victims are usually random people, or the targets symbolic places. Other agreed-upon elements of terrorism are: political violence, communicative violence and asymmetry of power (Innes and Levi, 2017). Political violence and communicative violence refer to how violence is used respectively to achieve a political aim, and to convey threatening messages to society. Asymmetry of power refers to the unbalanced dynamics of the relations between a powerless group and a powerful one, and the first needs to elicit a reaction from the latter . An understanding of what terrorism is, is pivotal to the development of counter strategies on the part of police forces and governments. Elements to take into account are also that the perpetrators can be groups as well as lone wolves (Leenaars and Reed, 2016). The usage of social media to publicise their acts and install fear in the public, and of new technologies to recruit and radicalise people everywhere, or to develop strategies to attack, make counter-terrorism endeavours of prevention, detection and reaction quite challenging. Modernity, new technological developments, in fact, have been thought to produce unpredictable and possibly dangerous risks. For this reason, Beck (1992) talks about how we now live in a 'risk society', where national security can be interlinked with the security of other countries. This is another element of terrorism: being 'glocal' (Wilkinson, 2001), that is an issue that has both local and global dimensions. The threat may come from within the nation as well as from outside. This adds implications for law enforcement and the police agencies that need to respond, because cooperation among organisations, national and international can be difficult. Secrecy issues are key in these dynamics as well, as it will be explained later (Innes and Thiel, 2008).

The objectives for policing terror by the government in the UK are set out in the CONTEST strategy (HM Government, 2006). According to this, the four key points are: prevent, pursue, protect, and prepare. *Prevent* the events from happening in the first place. *Pursue* the terrorists, so they can be prosecuted and justice can be served. *Protect* the country from attacks by 'target hardening' measures, especially where the potential target forms part of the 'critical national infrastructure'.*Prepare* for acts of terror, through political, economic, social, and technological resilience.

Policing methods to tackle terrorism could be mainly defined as 'high' or 'low', even if these are increasingly becoming blurred (Innes and Thiel, 2008). High policing can be referred to 'violent control' with non-uniformed organisations or secret services like MI5 and MI6. Some other specialist groups like SO15, the Special Branch of the Metropolitan Police Service (MET), make up part of this category (Thiel, 2009). Low policing refers to uniformed police forces, and other agencies that deal with the public and communities. Whilst low policing used to be concerned more with the maintaining social order and giving immediate responses to the public, high policing has been more focused on the 'macro' level of crime, gathering intelligence, maintaining secrecy, disruption of terror activities and prosecution (Brodeur, 1983).

High policing is hidden and for this reason can be problematic; police forces and agencies use surveillance through intercepting calls, texts, and data-sharing; the monitoring of money movements from bank accounts; people travelling through borders. All these actions need to be handled discretely and secretly, so that terrorist cells or individuals will not predict what the police forces can do to detect them. However, there are implications for civil rights, policing powers, and accountability. This is because agencies and organisations have powers that may bypass due process (Thiel, 2009). Cole (2016) cites issues with US laws in particular, that sometimes make it legal to kill under circumstances of 'imminent threat'. The problematic issue is that there are no specific grounds to define what is an 'imminent threat'. Accountability too seems difficult to achieve, when a country does not even admit to using drone attacks. And even when these attacks are legal, issues of human rights can arise, particularly in cases of mistaken identities or harmed innocents (Cole, 2016). In the UK too, the special forces' operations involve espionage, infiltration and the usage of informants. The implications of these methods are not unproblematic; informants are subjects of debates, and it is also argued that too much non-transparent and unaccountable power could be used for manipulating knowledge (Thiel, 2009). This is not to say that 'high' policing methods have no merits. In fact, it could be argued that the use of certain powers can be exploited to gather information on terror cells, and morally justified for a greater good which is security, following the same rationale that was part of the public consciousness in the era of the Cold War. However, more recently there seems to be a bigger public request for more transparency and accountability (Thiel, 2009: 37).

'Low' policing, on the other hand, reflects the role of the police that work more on street-level, and tackles a 'micro' dimension of crimes (Brodeur, 1983). 'Low' policing and community-based policing mechanisms entail work on the ground, that is mostly interested in deterrence (Thiel, 2009).

In the past, 'low' policing was not considered apt or suitable to respond to terrorism, but more recently it is making its way into the counterterrorism grounds. It could even be argued that 'high' and 'low' policing are not mutually exclusive; the boundaries between these two approaches are becoming more and more blurred (Innes and Thiel, 2009), especially after the 9/11 events and more recent threats by Islamic State (IS) or Al Qaeda

(Innes and Levi, 2017). Whilst there are still debates as to whether community policing and intelligence high policing methods could be conflicting (Randol, 2011), there seems to be value in a mixed approach. Community policing seems to contribute significantly, but it has been found, as Randol (2011) explains, that more funding is vital to maintain the law enforcement agencies in full force, able to deliver the necessary support to counterterrorism methods.

This shift towards a more community-oriented policing is less common in the USA where militarisation of police forces and hard responses are more commonly promoted by agencies, armed forces, and policy makers, and where a great amount of focus remains nonetheless on covert high policing methodologies (Keen, 2006). The undesirable effects, implications or possible problems of 'high' policing have been discussed. Keen (2006) warns, in regards to militarisation, that even this could be highly counterproductive. Violent responses such as the American ones after 9/11 foster more and more fear in communities; not only because more heavily-armed police are visible in social contexts where they were previously absent (malls, town centres, landmarks of cities, public transport stations and so on), but also because this 'war on terror' gets politicised and risks the over-criminalisation of Muslim communities. Violence (on the part of police forces and governments) not only fosters and generates more violence (on the parts of terrorists), but also fosters panic and fear among society, creating 'folk devils' (Cole, 2006). This, in turn, has a deeper effect on marginalised communities such as Muslim ones, that get overcriminalised and overpoliced. Political narratives depict Muslims in particular, and Muslim countries, as 'evil' and 'uncivilised' (terms that the Bush administration previously used). This becomes a means of justifying more armed responses and militarisation both locally and abroad, on top of being a politically used argument to drive societal support in favour of one party or another (Keen, 2006).

In Britain too, when militarisation of police forces was used after the IRA threats, this resulted in being counterproductive. Thiel (2009) concludes in his report that the methods of harsh stop and searches, detention without due process, and other aggression techniques, created a growing support for the Republican cause. It may seem a paradox, but the rise of militarisation is happening at the same time as community policing approaches (Kraska, 2007). More and more 'low' policing bodies are getting armed, and in certain circumstances even 'simple' street patrolling becomes armed. In many European countries (e.g. Italy), it is not unlikely to see the military on the streets and in public spaces, trying to keep an eye on the public and deter any criminal event. Because of police being militarised, the impact of militarisation and overcriminalisation on Muslims can be found within places where community-based policing and militarised police forces collaborate. British Muslims seem to distrust law enforcement (Keen, 2006), and many avoid collaborating with them for fear that they would be accused the moment they reported someone else in the community (Kappeler and Kappeler, 2004). Muslims in the UK are still heavily targeted in stop and searches (Thiel, 2009). With the Police And Criminal Evidence Act (PACE, 1984), stop and search procedures were regulated, but there are still government policies that increase police grounds to conduct stop and searches, no matter what, in cases of suspicion of terrorism activity or liaison (Thiel, 2009). Because of the fundamentalist religious-based motive of the most recent and most prominent terrorist acts, the targeted group is the Muslim one; but criminalisation often impacts ordinary people (Sentas, 2014). Like the previous argument that was contextualised to the USA, even in the British context there is the possible creation of 'folk devils'. What can come to mind when recognising this targeting on the part of the authorities, is somewhat similar to a positivist mindset: communities are profiled based on ethnicity, culture and religion, in a

mechanism of classification and differentiation (Carrabine et al, 2014); the terrorist is a specific kind of person (part of an ethnic group), that differs from the others (for his or her Islamic faith). These aspects and consequences of militarised police forces however, are just a part of the picture. It has been argued that militarised approaches are more and more intertwined with dynamics of community-based police methodologies. I will move on to discuss these in more detail.

Thiel (2009) analyses the aims of the shift to community-based policing methods that include: avoiding facilitating the conditions of support and involvement with fundamental Islamic groups, generating and gathering intelligence about people in communities at risk of radicalisation, and controlling and pushing away suspects from involvement with fundamentalist cells. In order for this methodology to be successful, a direct link with Muslim representatives and communities has to be made by agencies and police forces. One of these initiatives is the communication of government and police forces with the Muslim Safety Forum. Through the MSF, the concerns of communities can be heard: their worries about crime, social control, extremism, and Islamophobia. The weakness of this process is that sometimes the ones who come forward as representatives of communities do not always really represent them (Thiel, 2009). This issue, however, can be solved when local actions are taken to specifically go and talk to, and establish communication with, individuals in the community who are hard to reach. Some of the actors involved in the process work through the Borough's Independent Advisory Groups. In these organisations, senior officers strive to strengthen community relations with other than just 'the usual suspects' (Thiel, 2009). This seems to suggest that there is a shift away from over-criminalisation, which could be a significant change for Muslims in the local area, if they are now able to discuss and resolve tensions before or after raids and other investigations and actions of the police (Theil, 2009). Even SO15 have communicated with the Muslim Contact Centre. Such cooperation is aimed at a specific form of de-radicalisation of individuals; these 'suspects' hold radical views but do not act in a violent manner. It is considered an overt practice of 'low' policing (Thiel, 2009). Building communication and trust is key to turning the individuals that are part of non-violent but radical groups away from ideas of violence. It has been found that radicals are engaging in these discussions, and would as well take part into opposing resorts to violence and violent groups. Neighbourhood policing is also encouraged in Thiel's (2009) report, entailing to the combatting of deprivation and isolation on a local level; increasing participation in policy-making, having Muslim voices heard, and generally increasing agency. This could also impact upon their feelings of identification with being British (Antichan and Jarvis, 2017). NP is done so that deprivation and isolation will be addressed and will not lead to feelings of alienation, stigma, and consequent radicalisation or violence (Innes and Thiel, 2008). When, in this approach, 'intelligence' is proposed, the meaning of that extends far beyond the usual conceptualisation of gathering information on what happens in a community and keeping check on 'the suspects'. It is meant also to include having knowledge of the demographics of the community, its opinions, its fears. Thiel (2009) acknowledges that there are funding and resource problematics to achieve this. Austerity measures may impact greatly in the future, and in general for any 'low' law enforcement activity (Carrabine et al, 2014). However, it is plausible to argue that in having this local dimension, NP would create greater trust in communities because of accountability, would better tackle the root causes of crime and increase empathy and mutual understanding between agents and civilians (Tilley, 2008). Finally, to implement all of this into NP and community-based policing, Innes and Thiel (2008) propose a few key points for the police to include in their behaviours and attitudes. These are: *attentiveness*, by taking into consideration the concerns of the communities; *reliability*, in regard to police accountability and

predictability; *responsiveness*, so that the public can be reassured; *competence*, so that individuals can trust law enforcement at the best of their abilities; *manners*, so that the treatment of people is not biased; and *fairness*, to act fairly, no matter who is being confronted (Innes and Thiel, 2008). These contributions would work more on a long-term basis, and would add value to the CONTEST strategic aspects of protection and prevention.

In conclusion, the police can adopt various methodologies to respond to and prevent terror threats. The implications of complex definitions of terrorism, and the problems associated with key features of terrorism have been discussed in relation to police work. The blurring of the divisions between high and low policing, and the introduction of militarisation have also been analysed. This text has argued that arming law enforcement could be counterproductive for prevention and security, and for the communities that are targeted as problematic, drawing upon the dynamics that intertwine around the 'war on terror': feelings of fear, responses to panics, criminalisation and ethnic profiling. The essay concludes that more attention and value to community-based and neighbourhood policing on the part of law enforcement can have lasting impact on prevention and protection, avoiding the radicalisation of already marginalised communities. While it may seem like a small step, this could produce benefits in the long run. The very roots of what can cause violent responses and involvement in terror-related activities (deprivation, isolation) would be tackled by the police through communication and collaboration with the public, avoiding some of the issues that high police or militarised policing methodologies have instead presented.

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Explain Marx's notions of 'alienation' and 'species being' and critically assess their relevance for understanding the dynamics of work in the capitalist society of today.

India Frank

In this essay, I will explain and discuss the Marxist concepts of 'alienation' and 'species being' in the context of manual labour, as it was initially intended. Primarily, I will be putting forward the proposition that alienation of the worker still exists, albeit in different forms, and that these concepts are still very much relevant in understanding the dynamics of the modern capitalist work industry. To assess their relevance to the dynamics of modern work, I will refer to some significant theories of labour organisation, such as 'scientific management' (Taylor, 1914), which has become a pivotal method in the organisation of both labour and production in the 20th and 21st century. I will discuss the argument of how this method of labour, and others, can be understood as a modern form of alienation, which results in the increase of automated labour and the reduction of the need for labour workers. To further strengthen this argument, I will suggest that a modern form of alienation can be understood not only in terms of production, but also in terms of consumption - due to the increasing importance placed upon both consumerism and consumer needs, in modern capitalist society.

The concept of alienation is one that can be applicable to many aspects of an individual's existence. However, in this case, it will be examined in the context of labour, as it was described by Marx:

> Under these economic conditions this realization of [labour] appears as *loss of realization* for the workers; objectification as *loss of the object and bondage to it;* appropriation as *estrangement*, as *alienation* (1844/1983:22).

The economic conditions Marx refers to are those of capitalism, in which the proletariat produces commodities that are external to their intrinsic nature, meaning that the commodity no longer belongs to the worker who produces it, but to another. Their activity of labour also becomes a commodity, something which is not derived from their essential being, but from a coercive power. Thus, the process of production, and the outcome of production, becomes something that is completely alien to the worker, because there is nothing of their intrinsic nature in the product. It is this 'intrinsic nature' that is detached under the conditions of capitalism, and it is this which links the concept of *alienation* to *species being*; through being alienated, the worker is estranged from the intrinsic character that belongs to their species. Rather paradoxically, according to Marx, the only way that someone can realise their identity as a 'species being' is through the process of creation which impacts upon the external world; so, presumably they must participate in the labour process. However, for this process of labour to be consistent with their 'species- being' it must be a satisfaction of a need in itself, rather than something which is forced upon them under the control and exploitation of others (Marx, 1844/1983).

The effects of labour under the conditions of capitalism were also discussed extensively by the economist Adam Smith, (1776). Smith was primarily concerned with the economic functions of capitalism, but he also focused upon the specialisation of labour, which he regarded as a destructive force for the human character. Smith describes explicitly the

specialisation of labour by referring to the activity of workers in an 18th century pin factory:

> One man draws out the wire, another straights it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving, the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business, to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some factories, are all performed by distinct hands(1776:3).

Smith recognised that through the specialisation of tasks, workers came to be confined to one simple task that would become repetitive and unchallenging over time, consequently diminishing the character of the individual worker and decreasing their ability to develop mentally, becoming 'as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become(1776:302-3). Marx also acknowledges the repetitive routine of labour as prevention of human development, a process which denies a person the right to develop their ability and thus have a meaningful effect upon their external world (1844/1983). Consequently, the worker becomes 'deskilled' because their skills are essentially sold as a commodity on the market. Although this presents as a form of alienation for the worker, it has become an efficient method of organising workflow in the 20th and 21st century. It is a concept which forms the basis of 'scientific management', the application of which has arguably dominated the organisation of the capitalist work industry up until the present day, and could be an important factor in understanding modern forms of labour alienation.

The theory of 'scientific management,' initiated by Frederick Winslow Taylor (1914), was a series of methods put into place to deal with the various issues surrounding workflow in the capitalist work industry. Its main aim was essentially improving labour productivity, by producing formulas for efficient work methods that can be consistently reproduced amongst the labour force. Scientific management theory has had a great amount of influence on the organisation of labour within institutions run under capitalism, and continues to do so in modern capitalism, despite the alleged implications for the identity of workers (Braverman, 1974). This theory of management follows a set of principles which guides the organisation of workers. Firstly, the skill set of the workers is detached from the workers themselves and passed onto the managers so that they can replicate the work method and reproduce it; this then leads to the separation of physical and mental labour, in which workers no longer carry out the conception of an act, but simply perform it (Winslow Taylor, 1914.). For Braverman (1974), this is the 'dehumanization' of labour, as the worker is reduced to a labour of animal form in which there is a lack of individual conception for the act they perform (Braverman, 1974). Consequently, the worker is alienated from their labour, because it is no longer reflective of their own skills, but is controlled and enforced by the industry management (Braverman, 1974). This form of labour is increasingly prevalent with the rise of consumerism, due to the increase in demand for production, and subsequently an increase in the requirement for workers. This leads to the necessity for work that is both straightforward and simple, which would soon become disenchanting for the worker (Huws, 2014). Secondly, the disposability of workers is still increasing with the development of automated labour; various high-tech machines have now been implemented in many industries, which perform tasks at a quicker pace and in a more efficient manner than humans, thus reducing the need for skilled human laborers (Huws, 2014). Consequently, the demand for skilled and creative workers becomes scarce, and the skills of the proletariat are no longer valued. Marx acknowledged the increase in

automation that resulted from the rise of modern industries; although it was only in its early stages at this time, he recognised the effects it had on the worker's identity:

> …we have seen how this absolute contradiction between the technical necessities of modern industry and the social character inherent in its capitalistic form, dispels all fixity and security in the situation of the labourer; how it constantly threatens, by taking away the instruments of labour, to snatch from his hands his means of subsistence, and, by supressing his detail-function, to make him superfluous (Marx, 1867:486-87).

What Marx highlights here is the precarity of labour, which introduces a new dimension to the process of alienation, a dimension that is independent of the labour process, but still relates to it: the worker is not alienated from the product of their labour in this sense, but from their own identity, which has diminished through the instability of labour under capitalism (Marx, 1867). This can be referred to as 'spiritual alienation'- a form of alienation that occurs both inside and outside the workplace, regarding the identity of the worker, which becomes uncertain under the instability of the capitalist economy (Gay, 1996). Furthermore, this precarity of labour has only increased with the rise of the automated work industry, and an increase of consumerism (Huws, 2014).

Despite the evident links between Marx's conception of alienation and the condition of workers in modern capitalism, there are though counter propositions which should be considered to determine the strength of the Marxist argument. Some of the most significant criticisms of the Marxist concept of alienation derive from the school of 'symbolic interactionism', which generally opposes the objectivist stance of structural sociologists. Interactionists criticise the Marxist conception of alienation for failing to acknowledge the subjectivist position of the worker (Gay,1996). Contrastingly, interactionism focuses upon the essential character-building process that is formed through even the most depreciating of occupations (Becker, 1963). These types of labour, they argue, although repetitive, can provide a purpose for individuals in the form of their interactions with other employees. While much of the criticism of alienation is focused on the absence of subjectivity, it can be argued though that this is not the intention of the Marxist analysis. In fact, the inability of workers to realise their alienated condition, is the nature of the condition itself, and so it is almost impossible to analyse alienation subjectively from this perspective (Elster, 1985 in Gay 1996). Nevertheless, the argument can be made that one can still find purpose within their work, particularly in a consumer society in which there is a sense of purpose in fulfilling the needs of the consumer. However, it will first be necessary to examine the dynamics of production within the consumer culture, to determine if this is accurate.

It is a well-established proposition that consumption is now a prevailing force in modern capitalism, and thus drives the mode of production in today's capitalist society (Bauman, 1987, 2001; Baudrillard, 1998). Accordingly, workers in most roles, whether customer-facing or not, are trained to work in the interests of the consumer (Gay, 1996). As a result, the focus of production is shifted onto that of consumption, and the worker is now reconceptualised as a consumer rather than a producer (Bauman, 1987). Bauman (2001) regards modern consumption as indeed separate from previous forms of consumption, in which the main function was to satisfy a physical need; consumption is now 'its own purpose' (2001:13). However, unlike the gratification of physical needs, capitalist consumption is self-propelling and leads to the further desire of consumption (Bauman, 2001). Furthermore, to ensure consumers continue to engage in the market, there must be a constant promotion of needs on the market, and the marketization of every aspect of an

individual's life, including their culture, sexuality, and even their individual drives (Baudrillard, 1998). The individual's identity, which was previously shaped by their labour, has now become moulded by their identity as a consumer, as argued by Bauman:

> 'All perceptions and expectations, as well as life-rhythm, qualities of memory, attention, motivational and topical relevances are moulded inside the new 'foundational' institution - that of the market' (1987:220).

Since the identity of worker is shaped by their consumption, and their choice of consumption is controlled by the market, it is reasonable to assume that the alienation of labour would have shifted to the alienation of the consumer. Simply put, the alienation that Marx conceived of, in which the worker is detached from the production of their labour, can be applicable to the mode of consumption, in which the consumer is detached from their activity of consumption. The means via which someone consumes does not reflect upon their 'species-being', but is instead driven by the ideologies of consumer capitalism. Although not explicitly stated, the alienation of the consumer is acknowledged by Marxists, as highlighted by Paul Du Gay: 'In the emergent homogeneous mass culture, therefore, all material culture is reduced to the status of 'commodity', while the people are constituted as alienated, 'passive' consumers' (1996:81). This suggests that people become alienated as consumers rather than as producers because they are now defined in terms of their consumption activities. The needs and wants of society become manipulated for profit, which results in the worker becoming obsessed with the pursuit of material goods to achieve a sense of fulfilment (Baudrillard, 1998). However, it is in this pursuit that they essentially estrange themselves from their intrinsic nature; the activities they participate in are not derived from their actual wants and needs, but from a capitalist ideology that manipulates them into engaging in the market system both as a producer and a consumer. As Marx wrote: 'free, conscious activity is man's species-character' (1844:24). Therefore, if the activity of consumption is driven by the consumerist ideology, it cannot belong to the individual's species-character, and so must indicate a form of estrangement from their intrinsic being.

In conclusion, Marx's notions of 'alienation' and 'species being' are still remarkably relevant in understanding the process of labour in modern capitalist society, despite the vast technological and economic changes that have impacted upon the dynamics of the capitalist work industry. For instance, there have been numerous developments in the technological industries, with the increase in the utilisation of automated labour, that have resulted in the increasing precarity of the labour market. The dynamics of work have become increasingly specialised in nature, arguably influenced by the principles of scientific management (Winslow Taylor, 1914). The application of these series of methods in the 20th and 21st century, have created a situation strikingly like that with which Marx was concerned: the worker being denied control and creativity over their labour. In contrast, the symbolic interactionist perspective criticises Marx's notion of alienation for its lack of subjectivity and acknowledgment of the profoundly bonding interactions that exist between workers. More recently, there is the proposition that the focus of capitalist society has shifted from producers to consumers. In analysing this argument, it is evident that consumerism has become a prevailing force in modern capitalist society; one that has significant impact upon the identity of workers/consumers. Thus, it can be argued that the alienation of the worker has shifted onto the alienation of the consumer, because they are estranged from their 'species being', both in their activities of production *and* consumption.

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Are 'the police' changing? Discuss with reference to the culture of policing and the role of women and minorities.

Faridah Kamara

The police were traditionally thought of as protectors of the people and enforcers of the law but over the past decades, they have come under scrutiny over their methods of policing, the recruitment process and the treatment of minority groups, women and Black & Minority Ethnic (BME) individuals especially. This has occurred through a series of books and articles as well as high profile scandals such as the ones related to the Stephen Lawrence case, that all highlighted police maltreatment and failures. A reoccurring theme within these discussions is based around police culture, the certain values within the police that encompasses machismo, racial prejudice and conservatism, among other values, to explain police attitudes (Reiner, 2010). It is these attributes of police culture that can potentially encourage change for the better but also inhibit it.

The start of my discussion on whether the police are changing will focus on the police effectiveness in increasing the amount of BME police officers to promote diversity within the institution. This will naturally link to the next paragraph about the treatment of BME police officers and how the scope of racism has changed in line with the Macpherson report to highlight the strength of racial prejudice within police culture. Next, my focus will shift onto the sexual harassment of women in the police, ending with an analysis of the change in the career progression of female officers, both paragraphs to highlight the sexism and loyalty within the male-dominated police culture. To show the conservatism within police culture, research on the experiences of LGB police officers will be discussed as well as the experiences of LGBT civilians when interacting with the police. Then, I will focus on the policing of domestic abuse against both male and females and I will make a judgment on whether the policing can improve or not, linking this to both sexism and machismo within police culture. Afterwards, a paragraph on PCSOs will be included and I will theorise why aspects of police culture are not tied in to this type of policing. And finally, a look into corruption and how police culture can encourage this.

The police are changing because they are trying to promote diversity in line with recommendations from The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999). This report, born out of the Stephen Lawrence murder investigation, labelled the police as 'institutionally racist', meaning that there was a collective failure of the police organisation to provide adequate treatment for BME individuals. One of the recommendations in the report was to increase the amount of BME police officers across the country to achieve legitimacy in policing and obtain a representative force; consequently, the police have been putting effort in effort to change over the years through a variety of schemes aimed at increasing diversity such as Direct Entry, Police Track and Fast Track programmes (Police, 2016). However, the success of this has been limited because as of 2015, only '5.5% of police officers were from a BME background, compared to 14% of the population' (Home Affairs Committee, 2016: 3). Efforts to create a more diverse police force can only do so much because individual perceptions of the police based on experience are stronger factors in determining whether an individual joins the police. The police are still demonstrating institutional racism and racial stereotyping through abusing stop and search powers against BME individuals which can damage views of the police (Rawlinson et al, 2016). This demonstrates how ingrained racial prejudice is within police culture, so in order for the

police to actually see the effect of their efforts to be more inclusive, they would first need to change the racist structures in place that excessively target and exclude certain groups of people.

For the few BME police officers on duty in the UK, the treatment against them from fellow police officers has not largely changed. In the Macpherson report, it was recommended an introduction of Black Police Associations in constabularies across the country as well as diversity and racism awareness training to help police officers become more racially sensitive and understand that racist views would not be tolerated. A BPA official stated that when they had joined the police before the release of the Macpherson report, they were called "black this, black that" and had added that the police have now moved on and changed (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2007). But it is important to note that just because the racism was no longer overt, does not mean it was no longer present. There is evidence that the racism within the police had just shifted from overt to covert which was exposed by the controversial documentary *The Secret Policeman* (2003). In this documentary, an undercover journalist infiltrated the police and caught footage of white police officers in the canteen and other private settings making racist and other prejudicial comments about the only non-white police officer in the recruitment class, demonstrating the 'canteen culture' within the police (Waddington, 1999).

You could argue that the shame faced by the police after the release of the documentary could have provided an opportunity to tackle the institutional racism against BME officers from within through the implementation of specific policies and disciplinary procedures to deter such behaviour. But to this day, covert racism is something that BME officers still face through lack of career progression within the police, intimidation from colleagues and victimisation if they make a complaint over discriminatory behaviour towards them or others (Pasha-Robinson, 2017). The lack of such progress in the treatment of BME officers despite diversity training and the introduction of the BPA could demonstrate the strength police culture has on upholding the white status quo.

There are signs of unchanging sexism against women within the police force due to aspects of police culture. Female police officers have been subjected to sexual harassment by the hands of male officers and as a result have been faced with either losing their feminine identity by adapting to the macho-male culture of the police or maintaining their female identity at the cost of attracting more negative harassment (Gregory & Lees, 1999 cited Westmarland, 2001). Neither option is great for women as it suggests that women should have to adapt to the police culture to avoid sexual harassment when it should be the case that no female officer faces sexual harassment, regardless of whether they associate more with their feminine identity or the typical identity associated with police culture. This highlights the small impact the increase of female officers over the decades has had because even in recent years, 24% of female police officers have experienced harassment (Brown, 2015). The continuation of this behaviour from male police officers is likely because of machismo within the male-dominated police culture that emphasises male dominance, and harassing women can demonstrate a sense of power that is valued within both the male gender role as well as the police culture.

Moreover, there seems to be some change in the opportunity for female career development within the police with figures suggesting that the proportion of women in chief inspector ranks or above is at 21.4%, and the proportion of women at constable rank is at 30.2% (Home Office, 2015). These percentages do show a marked difference from decades before, possibly because old assumptions have partly been overridden. For

example, there was a widely held assumption that 'female officers would eventually leave the force to get married and start a family' and this could explain why more time and energy would be put into a male police officer's career than a female's (Holdaway & Parker, 1998 cited Cockcroft, 2013: 68). The police organisation has come far in terms of raising the proportion of women in more senior roles, possibly due to loyalty among officers within police culture that can drive a desire to improve the careers of female officers. However, they still have some way to go.

Prejudicial and discriminatory attitudes and beliefs related to LGB police officers, who are a minority group within the police, are changing. Traditionally, intense conservatism is something that is a part of police culture, which can explain why police officers were not very tolerant of fellow gay and lesbian police officers, even decades after the decriminalisation of homosexuality. Burke (1993) collected accounts of gay and lesbian police officers' time in the police and a pattern of prejudice and discrimination was found in the form of intimidation, verbal and physical abuse as well as exclusion. Burke also discusses the way gay men are stereotyped as being effeminate which directly conflicts with the exaggerated masculinity warranted by police culture, another reason why the police may not have been tolerant. But there has been change in the form of initiatives such as the introduction of LGBT Liaison Officers and the expansion of Gay Police Association and Local Gay Staff Networks as a way of changing the prejudicial attitudes towards homosexuality and increase LGBT representation among the police (Jones in Brown, 2014). Consequently, in a survey of 836 LGB police officers, 75% felt that their force does enough for LGB staff and 87% claimed their force was free from discrimination (ibid). This shows police culture may not necessarily be rigid because many officers could demonstrate liberalism on the topic of homosexuality. And this could also suggest that other aspects of police culture like solidarity among officers are more important and stronger than conservative beliefs.

Although relations between heterosexual and homosexual police officers have improved, it may not be possible to say there has also been a change in relations between police officers and members of the LGBT+ community. When members of the community report incidences of hate crimes against them to the police, largely they report that they are not taken seriously and that police officers do little to nothing to help, so this can explain why 4 in 5 LGBT people who have experienced a hate crime did not report it to the police (Bachmann & Gooch, 2017). The fact that officers were evidently not treating LGBT minorities with the same dignity and respect they may give to a heterosexual person can suggest that there is still evidence of conservatism within police culture used to discriminate against LGBT individuals and it is this that can prevent the relations from changing to become positive. But it is also possible that LGBT+ victims may not report issues to the police due to the historical clashes between gay men especially and the police before the legalisation of homosexuality. You could argue the police were at their peak of conservatism within police culture by intensely policing these men for crimes that were seen as to be against morality and aspects of this could have trickled down into today's culture that can create a sense of fear and intimidation of the police within the LGBT+ community.

The police show continued failure in dealing with domestic abuse, possibly due to links to police culture. When a victim of domestic violence contacts the police, that first response is crucial because it determines whether a victim will feel confident enough to seek help from the police again. Some police officers have failed to respond appropriately to reports of violence which has led to many victims feeling that the police were of no help and/or

feeling that they were a nuisance and wasting police time (Bond, 2015a). Sandra Horley, chief executive of charity Refuge, highlights that such inadequate response from police links back to aspects of police culture from decades previous that presented a negative view of women and saw domestic abuse as unimportant, so not much effort was put into policing it (cited Walker, 2016). Even though there is evidence that old beliefs from police culture prevail, inhibiting change, it is possible for the police to attempt to override this through education and change for the better. For example, more police forces could receive 'Domestic Abuse Matters' training through the 'Safe Lives' charity to teach police officers and staff to understand the components of domestic violence, how to identify such behaviour as well as teaching them to respond empathetically and supportively to potential victims (Safe Lives, 2017).

Police culture has shown an unrelenting view of males as hyper-masculine and strong and this can mean that police perceptions of male victims of domestic abuse will struggle to change and remain negative, which can affect the policing of this crime. Nowadays, the stigma against male victims of domestic violence is lessening, and for this reason more victims are willing to report it. This is demonstrated through males now making up 24% of domestic abuse reports, up 5% in 4 years (Mankind, 2016). Although police officers can sympathise with domestic abuse cases where the victim is a woman, in cases where the victim is a male, it can be a different situation. Most males who have reported domestic violence to the police have described their encounters as negative where the police were not interested in helping them or did not believe their claims of abuse (Bond, 2015b). The men were not treated as equal to female victims and this shows that police attitudes towards male victims were negative because men victims directly contradict an important feature of police culture, as well as the general male gender role, by presenting signs of weakness and submissiveness by being a victim of domestic violence. So even if better progress is made with the policing of domestic abuse against females, it will be harder to change the policing of domestic abuse where males are the victim.

The dynamics of the police changed with the introduction of Police Community Support Officers under the Police Reform Act 2002 (BBC, 2012). Although PCSOs lack the powers of traditional police constables, in terms of making arrests for example, and mainly tackle minor crimes and anti-social behaviour, the introduction of them as a way of incorporating a form community policing into the UK has had a positive effect through tackling some downfalls of traditional policing. For instance, because community policing offers a proactive response to incidents and is more focused on the community itself, it allows PCSOs to solve any 'community related problems' with the help of members of the community which allows them to build trust within a community through their increased visibility whilst patrolling the area (Brogden & Nijhar, 2013: 33).

Because community policing is structured differently to traditional policing and has different aims, this could explain why aspects of traditional police culture such as general suspicion, authoritarianism and conservatism may not be able to be applied to the PCSOs. They lack the intimidation and exclusionary processes related to traditional police culture and this could explain why the public find PCSOs more approachable and why a higher percentage of ethnic minorities and women are employed within this scheme (Cooper, 2006 cited Police Foundation, 2009). This may be because they are relatively new compared to traditional policing, so specific norms and values have not yet been ingrained within the structures.

The police's stance on corruption has changed over the decades. Throughout the 1960s and 70s, corruption was endemic and police officers felt free to give fines in the form of sexual favours, change statements for bribes and fabricate evidence in a bid to retain a good murder detection rate among other illicit behaviours (Hayes, 2013). But since then, due to major scandals from that period along with later ones such as the scandal related to the Hillsborough disaster, there has been a change within the police through a widespread recognition that corruption was going on and a condemnation of such corruptive behaviour which has led to the policing of corruption. This began with the introduction of anti-corruption units to investigate whether police officers are abusing their power to commit crimes for personal or financial gain and an introduction of professional standards units where police officers and members of the public could make anonymous complaints about corruption to ensure that ethical standards are upheld (HMIC, 2015).

Although there is now active policing of corruption within police constabularies, there is still a tendency to label corrupt officers as 'bad apples' and no recognition that the corruption is institutional (Newburn, 2015). The reason corruption is institutionalised could be because, from the very creation of the institution, police officers have been given a lot of power and authority and, within police culture, there is an emphasis on the importance of target reaching, loyalty and on demonstrating machismo; for these reasons, you could argue the very nature of policing, along with the culture of policing, can potentially foster an environment of corruption in the police. So even though the police seem to be putting much effort to change this negative culture, it is likely that this will achieve little as long as police culture prevails.

To conclude, the police have changed through the expansion of policing through PCSOs which manages to avoid the negatives of police culture. They have also had some success in changing through the improved treatment of LGB officers and improved, but slow, career progression for female officers, highlighting a sense of loyalty & solidarity in police culture. However, the effect of efforts to change in other areas such as the treatment of female and BME officers, domestic abuse victims and the stance on corruption, have been weak. This could suggest that machismo, related to demonstrating masculinity and sexism as well as racism are stronger attributes of police culture than loyalty and solidarity as they serve to promote prejudice and discrimination even in the face of shame. Because police culture is so ingrained, if it is possible for the police to achieve goals for change, it would be extremely difficult because there is a sharp conflict between bringing about change and the 'normalcy' of police culture.

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What are the main premises of Durkheim's proposition that sociology can be modelled on the natural sciences? Discuss how convincing you find his argument by identifying its main strengths and weaknesses.

Monika Marousova

It is without doubt that Durkheim, being one of the so-called 'founding fathers' of sociology alongside Weber and Marx, has not only been very important for the development of the discipline, but also played a key role in establishing its right to exist as an academic discipline in the first place (Gane, 1988: 12). His proposal that sociologists 'take on the state of mind of the physicists, chemists and biologists' (Durkheim, 1982 [1908]: 246) in their research, by which he means they should adopt the objective method, surely contributed to the legitimation of sociology by positioning it as a science which should therefore be approached as such. Despite its significance, however, this proposition is by no means faultless. It is vital to approach it critically, so that sociology may utilize its strengths and learn from its weaknesses, and this is precisely what this essay sets out to do. First, Durkheim's proposition of modelling sociology on the natural sciences will be described in more detail, followed by a consideration of what is of value about it, namely its emphasis on unbiased, rigorous, and verifiable research and its contribution to the legitimation of sociology. After this, the focus will shift to the flaws in the proposition, addressing issues such as the tension between objectivity and subjectivity, false dichotomies between the researcher and the researched, and oversimplification. The essay will conclude with an evaluation of the proposal in light of all that has been discussed.

To begin with, an outline of the method which Durkheim proposes will be presented. Above all, Durkheim insists that sociology should be objective, with the social phenomena under study 'considered in themselves, detached from the conscious beings who form their own mental representations of them' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 70). As for the social phenomena which sociology ought to concern itself with these he calls 'social facts' and defines them as facts external to the individual whom they control by possessing a coercive power over them (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]b: 52). That social facts are external means they exist independently of individual consciousness; no specific individual came up with them, they precede individuals and are merely adopted by them. Since they are not a matter of individual subjectivity, they have an objective character, Durkheim argues. This argument is corroborated by the claim that, because social facts 'impose themselves' upon individuals, their power is felt whenever one tries to go against them as if they indeed had a material character (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]b.: 50-52). According to Durkheim, this enables them to be approached as 'things' (1982 [1895]a: 60) and therefore studied objectively 'from the outside' (1982 [1895]a: 70), separate from their 'individual manifestations' (1982 [1895]a: 83). In practice, this means considering only that which is demonstrably contained within the phenomena under study, free of any preconceptions one may have. Furthermore, these inherent characteristics must be subsumed under a definition by the researcher so that it is known what exactly is being studied, which is the main precondition for keeping the researcher accountable through verification (1982 [1895]a: 74). If it is possible to check the validity of a definition, we can make sure the research at hand is not founded on subjective impressions and vague ideas, which Durkheim acknowledges sociology is especially vulnerable to, as 'social things . . . are the

product of human activity' (1982 [1895]a: 62). He remains hopeful, however, noting that, although all sciences have once been tainted by individual prejudices, it has been 'rooted out' from most of them, and as such there is reason to believe it will eventually be eradicated in sociology as well, 'leav[ing] the field clear for the scientist' (1982 [1895]a: 74).

Having provided a summary of Durkheim's proposition, the focus will now shift to identifying its strong points. These are not difficult to ascertain; already the main tenet of the argument, the insistence that in order to produce valuable and useful research, sociologists must be objective in their methods, 'embark[ing] upon the study of social facts' as if they are 'in complete ignorance' of their characteristics (Durkheim, 1982 [1908]: 246), is in itself a measure intended to circumvent researcher bias. Since it is widely acknowledged that biased research is not quality research, the value of this rule is apparent.

Moreover, by imploring sociologists to avoid using concepts which 'have not been scientifically worked out' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 66) and emphasizing the importance of clear definitions based on 'external characteristics' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 75) rather than subjective or vague ideas, Durkheim endorses a greater transparency in research. The accuracy of rigorous definitions can be demonstrated and verified (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 76), while loose concepts 'evoke . . . only confused notions, . . . vague impressions, prejudices and passions' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 66). Verification is important; it is the scientific shield against findings arrived at by questionable means, which would, if taken as valid, undermine the scientific project; this part of Durkheim's proposition is therefore also significant.

The belief that it is necessary to define the focus of one's study is apparent in Durkheim's efforts to determine the subject matter of sociology, which, as mentioned above, he sees in the concept he calls social facts. By thusly narrowing down what in his view should be the prime interest of sociology, Durkheim accomplishes two things. Firstly, he defined social facts in a way that specifically emphasizes the objective character he claims they have, thus allowing him to argue they ought to be treated as things. By presenting them as such and insisting they should be sociology's main concern, he asserts sociology has a right to exist as a science, since it does not deal with subjectively coloured, abstract ideas but with matters just as objective as those of other sciences. Secondly, his delineation of the domain of sociology in this manner and his characterisation of social facts as independent of the consciousness of individuals allows a clear line to be drawn between sociology and psychology, disciplines which some may think have too large an overlap to be separate. Through this, he advocates sociology's right to independence. This defence of sociology is perhaps the most indispensable part of Durkheim's proposition, because by 'proclaiming the specificity of its project and its right to exist' he significantly contributed to sociology being widely regarded as a valid area of academic study (Gane, 1988: 12).

Despite the proposition's strengths, however, there is also a lot to be said about its weaker points. This next section aims to outline some of the main ones, starting with the one which is perhaps most important, as many of the others stem from it. This issue is the illusion of objectivity, or more specifically, the naïve belief that humans are capable of achieving it. In formulating the rules he thought sociologists ought to follow in their research of social life, Durkheim's goal was arguably to enable researchers to achieve 'true knowledge of social reality', a project 'extraordinarily ambitious' (Gane, 1988: 20). It is an admirable aim, but ultimately an unrealistic one. Durkheim asserts that in comparison to psychology, whose

subject matter is inherently internal, 'social facts display much more naturally and immediately all the characteristics of a thing', giving the examples that law is 'enshrined' in legal codes, daily life documented in statistics, aesthetic values immortalized in art objects, and so on. Therefore, to treat social facts as external is not to go against their nature, as it is with psychical phenomena (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 71-72). This is, however, not entirely correct. While it is true that social phenomena sometimes assume more 'tangible' forms, perceiving them as purely external things obscures the fact that although they do extend beyond the individual mind, they are nevertheless in all cases mediated by it. As Durkheim himself acknowledges, everyone has their own perception of concepts such as the family, the state, or even society itself, 'for such ideas [are] indispensable to their lives' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 62). These are the preconceptions to be eradicated by the method Durkheim proposes, but although he acknowledges that this approach goes against 'ingrained habits' because sociologists do not, after all, exist outside society (1982 [1908]: 246), the means he puts forward for overcoming this are vague at best and counterproductive at worst. For example, the assertion that researchers should approach the phenomena they study as if they do not know anything about them is not only unrealistic, but such a separation of oneself from what one studies would also make it impossible to address the ways in which a sociologist's subjectivity may influence their research. This is a major fault, since as implied above, 'all knowledge . . . results from the conditions of its production, is contextually located, and . . . bears the marks of its origins in the minds . . . of those . . . who give voice to it' (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 39). As such, it is necessary for researchers to critically analyse and acknowledge their own position in relation to their subject matter, so that their findings are not misinterpreted as an absolute, objective truth, but rather seen for what they are: situated knowledge which, nevertheless, ideally aims to represent things as objectively as possible, though without the illusion that it can ever achieve this aim in its entirety.

The importance of this is apparent in the consequences that result from an ignorance of researcher subjectivity. The 'objective knowledge' arrived at by the means Durkheim proposes, which many sociologists have followed in the past, is perceived to be neutral or impartial, while in actuality it merely 'reflects the . . . knowledge of . . . white, middle-class, heterosexual men' (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 39), this having been the identity of the majority of sociologists in the past. Therefore, a specific viewpoint is exalted to the status of truth, thus leading to a misrepresentation of social phenomena which fails to take into account the viewpoints of other groups, for example women or people of other races. As Milner IV points out, ignoring positionality in the research process generates 'dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen', such as 'misinterpretations, misinformation, and misrepresentations of individuals, communities, institutions, and systems' (2007: 388). This being so, sociologists cannot afford to simply cast aside their identities in pursuit of 'objective truths'.

The problem of misinterpretations has been brought up, which nicely connects to the next problem of Durkheim's proposition to be outlined, that of researcher elitism. Through presenting the rules he put forward as the pathway to true sociological knowledge, Durkheim implicitly states that the rigorous researcher is the only one capable of obtaining such knowledge; everyone else is too caught up in their preconceptions. As discussed above, however, the understandings of researchers are 'temporally, intellectually, politically and emotionally grounded', making them 'as contextually specific as those of "the researched"' (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 23). To construct sociologists' accounts of the world as 'truer' is therefore to create false dichotomies between them and those who they study. In actuality, 'the known are also knowers' (Stanley, 1990: 11), and this is a key

aspect in which the 'objects' of sociological enquiry differ from those of the natural sciences; they produce their own interpretations of their experiences (Stanley, 1990: 8). The view that 'scientific' explanations of social phenomena are somehow automatically better is therefore inherently elitist. While the proponents of this position are clearly aware of researchers' capacity to think critically about social phenomena, they for some reason do not extend this capacity to those studied by these researchers (Prus, 1990: 358), thus indirectly stripping them of their agency. Needless to say, this approach is quite disrespectful. Researchers cannot simply claim they have a 'monopoly over understanding' (Stanley, 1990: 12), for their task is to 'interpret […] the interpreters' (Prus, 1990: 358). To devalue the knowledge their participants so generously share with them as less 'accurate' than theirs is presumptuous, unjustified, and ultimately elitist.

The denial of agency embedded within this elitism is also an aspect of the last weakness this essay will consider, namely oversimplification. The method Durkheim formulated, with its aim for definitions free of subjective preconceptions and relying only on 'external characteristics' (Durkheim, 1982 [1895]a: 75), overlooks particularities in its quest to establish universalities. It strives to arrive at knowledge which is generally applicable by omitting any specifics, which is not only impossible to achieve completely, as discussed above, but also potentially detrimental. Such an approach is forced, by its very nature, to ignore a considerable portion of the wide variety of experiences social life is made up of, so it necessarily both operates with simplified versions of social phenomena and produces simplified accounts of social life. This is because, as Stanley points out, the knowledge one arrives at through their research is inevitably a result of the methods employed in the research (1990: 15). Furthermore, since one can never be completely objective, these simplifications are also at risk of disguising a particular viewpoint as objective, as was shown earlier. The usefulness of the knowledge arrived at through Durkheim's method is therefore questionable. By omitting the specifics, the method treats social phenomena as if they existed in a vacuum; how effectively can the findings resulting from it be practically applied then? It would be quite naïve to believe that knowledge arrived at through considering phenomena in isolation of their practical manifestations can be the sole basis of social policy, for example. In this regard, a more 'contextually specific' theory may be more beneficial than so-called 'grand' theory, as it is better equipped for 'recognis[ing] difference and complexity' (Stanley and Wise, 1990: 31). Durkheim's argument, is, therefore, considerably flawed, but this does not mean it should be discarded completely. Looking back at the strengths outlined above in light of the weaknesses, it may seem as if they are not actually strengths at all; trying to circumvent bias and establishing clear, 'objective' definitions has been revealed to have the potential to do more harm than good. Taken in themselves, however, these are not bad ideas. It is important to encourage rigour in research, and by doing so, Durkheim has undoubtedly contributed to the development of sociology. What he aims at is admirable, it is the means he proposes for achieving these aims that are problematic. Instead of 'avoiding' bias, therefore, we should acknowledge that we can never truly rid ourselves of it, and account for this by, for example, regularly interrogating ourselves during the research process. As for 'general definitions', these are, perhaps, useful for quantitative research, which undeniably has its merits, but it should by no means be the only kind of social research that exists. Qualitative study is just as important, for it allows us to explore the often very important particularities quantitative methods necessarily gloss over. The two approaches ought to exist side by side.

The key point here is that the world is much too complex, and researchers, as people, are much too involved in it to ever be able to discover objective truths. As Prus notes, notions of the possibility of unbiased study have been 'eroded' even in the natural sciences;

therefore, if one is to look for a unifying element between the sciences, instead of the 'misplaced presumption of objectivity', the attention should perhaps be on the fact that all science, physical and social alike, is fundamentally an 'interpretive, interactive enterprise' (1990: 358).

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According to Durkheim, religion functions to separate the sacred from the profane. Identify the main features of his argument and consider its relevance for understanding contemporary culture.

Lucy Pearce

Despite Durkheim having 'abandoned' religion in terms of belief, he aimed to provide a 'scientific explanation' as to how religion functions to separate the sacred and profane elements of life (Pickering, 2002: 29). This paper aims to demonstrate how the demarcation of the sacred and profane has roots in religious practice but has maintained its salience within contemporary culture at a micro and macro level. The emphasis on observable 'social facts' throughout Durkheim's works has defined his methodology as a top-down approach to social life, concerning himself with analysing visible broader external constraints rather than internal causes of social cohesion that are not empirically demonstrated (Hurst, 2000: 13). Religion as an institution can enforce moral values that integrate individuals, overriding and transcending individual differences and creating an 'imagined community' (Anderson, in Edles, 2016: 364). This will be explored further through the analysis of secular and socio-political institutions within society. Furthermore, the concept of sacred and profane symbols and 'symbolic classification' will also be explored in the context of religious and contemporary secular culture, and how this can provide a symbolic order to social life (Edles, 2016: 364).

Though Durkheim's analysis and arguments regarding the function of religion centred on his observations of a primitive Australian tribe, the conceptualization of 'sacred' and 'profane' continues to have relevance in contemporary culture (Durkheim, in Emirbayer, 2003: 87). Durkheim asserted that 'anything can be sacred' providing that a society of individuals have deemed a certain object or thing to have a superior dignity and power to profane or uncharged objects (in Emirbayer, 2003: 87). The 'profane' is distinguished from the sacred by representing everyday life, a 'world apart' from sacred things (Durkheim, in Emirbayer, 2003: 178). The profane is also said to be characteristic of 'low intensity' activities and routines, generating little to no significant passion (Durkheim, in Emirbayer, 2003: 109). This line of argument originated from Australian totemism, whereby figurative representations of a totem such as a bird held significant sacred meaning and provided an identity distinguishable from different clans, whereas profane activities centred around hunting and gathering, necessary for survival. The function of totemism was to 'bind clan members' in a symbolic unity (Thompson, 1982: 129). For Durkheim, in-depth examination and observable characteristics of primitive totemic religion could explain the relations between the sacred and mundane elements of religious life, and why individuals conform to a social order. In doing so, this social organization and dichotomy of life could then be demonstrated in the classification of future 'complex societies' that have greater variation and diverse beliefs (Thompson, 1982: 122). Whilst some are critical of Durkheim for providing what they view to be an out-of-date model of society, it is important to take into account that it may have been almost impossible for a 19th Century sociologist to anticipate 20th Century 'technological advances' (Hamnett, 1984: 212). In contemporary culture, religion has arguably declined significantly in salience within society. Statistics from the British Social Attitudes survey, 2016, demonstrated that 48.5% of the population identified as having 'no religion' compared to 43.8% who defined themselves as being religious in

Britain (Sherwood, 2016). This could be attributed to a rise in individualism and a greater emphasis on education rather than a relationship with a deity (Hurst, 2000: 14). However, the polarization between sacred and profane continues to be reinforced and characteristic of secular life.

Capitalism, Durkheim argued, in many ways uses 'rules of conduct' (in Emirbayer, 2003: 89) to influence consumer habits in contemporary society, similarly to the ways in which religion shaped the behaviour of clan members. These rules can be established through symbols associated with the sacred and profane. The 'power of symbolization' acts as a collective force that binds society together; symbols have 'commanded and received obedience' historically throughout religious and secular societies (Thompson, 1982: 133). By establishing positive and negative symbols within societies, 'beliefs and rites' can be constructed (Durkheim, 1995, in Emirbayer, 2003: 87). It can be argued that modern capitalist societies present commodities to individuals as symbols of supernatural power that transcend the mundane or profane ways of life. For example, Pool (1983) highlighted the awe and ecstatic reaction by society to the invention of the mobile phone that was 'hailed by elites'; a reaction similar it could be argued to the admiration expressed by clans towards a totem (cited in Alexander, 2003: 186). The rite or action that can result from this, lies in the buying of items repeatedly and consistently, such that it becomes a tradition, resembling religious traditions such as celebrating Christmas or attending church every Sunday. Upgrading mobile phone contracts every two years could be likened to a ritual within contemporary consumer culture. Capitalist societies may instil within individuals a 'commodity fetishism', an intense desire to spend money and buy goods that transcends everyday routines such as working and earning money (Goodchild, 2002: 81). The consumption of goods can induce strong feelings of 'effervescence' whereby individuals feel bound into one entity of consumers under capitalism (Durkheim in Emirbayer 2003: 16). However, it could be argued that the Aboriginal clans that Durkheim observed had a strong mechanical solidarity due to the small number of individuals in a clan, whereby society was stratified and restrictions on freedom were in place (Durkheim 1995 in Emirbayer 2003: 92). In contemporary culture, organic solidarity characterised by greater autonomy is far more common, due to expanding populations and variation in beliefs (Dingley, 2008: 92).

Another function of the distinction between sacred and profane is to reaffirm moral values within a group or society. For example, in primitive religions, individuals worship not out of fear but out of 'moral respect', as the being or thing being worshipped represents 'the best of us' (Hamnett, 1984: 204). The media can serve as a driving force behind the indoctrination of individuals, encouraging them to believe that technology holds within it some 'sacred and mysterious' power that individuals from different social standings and belief systems can come together and appreciate (Alexander, 2003: 186). In contemporary culture, technology such as computers may be seen as sacred due to labels such as 'super-brain' (Alexander, 2003: 189). Technology could be regarded as a symbol of knowledge, a value viewed positively in a capitalist society where hard work and education are crucial for prosperity. In this way, the attainment of sacred technological commodities may be internalized within the 'minds and emotions' of consumers and reaffirm a positive identity for individuals, encouraging a continuation of the consumption of goods (Thompson, 1982: 131). The process whereby religious individuals form 'one single moral community called a Church' (Durkheim, in Emirbayer 2003: 90), resonates with consumers forming a moral community based around the consumption of certain brands. For example, the sales of Fairtrade goods rose by 2% between 2016 and 2017 (Butler and Smithers, 2017). Research also demonstrated that although a Fairtrade cappuccino cost around 18% more than an

average cup of coffee in the UK, customers were willing to pay more because they felt 'better about drinking it' (Josephs, 2017). It could be said that consumers go through a process of 'internalization' when they buy Fairtrade products and come to view themselves as ethical beings. This is a contemporary example of how goods can hold a sacred power that is transcendent over everyday profane life: Fairtrade goods may be viewed as sacred symbols, superior to profane goods that are not ethically sourced.

However, the analysis of a consumer culture can be viewed negatively if definitions of sacred and profane are different to a traditional Durkheimian approach. For example, Callois (1959) suggested that the sacred and profane distinction was actually a three-fold process whereby 'sacred' can refer to pure, 'profane' refers to impure, and 'mundane' refers to 'uncharged' everyday life, holding no sacred energy (Callois 1959 in Edles 2016: 364). When considering profane phenomena as being negative, one could apply this to Black Friday. The establishment of this annual event could be likened to a 'ceremony' important for solidarity in society, that has become traditional due to the symbols associated with it (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992 cited in Dingley 2008: 97). Symbols such as low prices and value for money could provide explanations as to why Black Friday has become so significant in contemporary culture. Statistics show that Americans spent around $5 million in just under 24 hours on Black Friday in 2017 (Smith, Wilkinson and Edwards, 2017). This ritual could be likened to a 'corroboree' that Durkheim observed in Aboriginal clans, characterised by 'enthusiasm' and a loss of 'self-control' (in Emirbayer, 2003: 109). These instances can be positive or negative, and Black Friday could be viewed as profane in the negative sense of the term. In 2017, Black Friday resulted in 'one person shot and another stabbed' whilst others were 'thrown into windows', resembling the same lack of control that Durkheim observed in primitive religious ceremonies (Smith, Wilkinson and Edwards, 2017). This instance may result in a diminished feeling of collectivity within a group, when individuals turn against each other due to the competition for must-have commodities.

In contemporary culture, political movements can also demarcate between the sacred and profane. In doing so, societies can uphold a 'natural order of things' and enforce a collective identity (Durkheim, in Emirbayer 2003: 85) through ways other than religion. It could be argued that with the rise of secularisation, individuals were searching for a rational God to replace a 'mystical' one (Dingley, 2008: 78). Durkheim's concepts of sacred and profane can be useful in analysing 'contemporary symbolism' (Pickering, 2002: 35). For example, nationalism and patriotism as an ideology can serve as a 'moral authority' in society embedded in ceremonies and rituals (Dingley, 2008: 87). Political leaders can serve as God-like figures or totems for individuals within different societies, representing safety and order. At the most mundane level, throughrituals such as standing for the national anthem during American baseball games, social order can be upheld and social cohesion reinforced (Edles, 2016: 368). Another micro-level example of dichotomizing society into sacred and profane may be observed in the superiority of right-handedness over left. It could be postulated that the use of a right hand during an oath in court or a handshake is an idiom of 'right is correct', and has been symbolized in these rituals due to a perceived superiority over 'left' (Hertz, 2009 in Edles, 2016: 365).

Regarding nationalism and patriotism, parallels could be drawn with religious ideology, which aims to 'pursue the good and protect ourselves from evil' (Alexander 2003: 4). In some ways, nationalism can use this message to prevent rebellion against the singular political party rule that is characteristic of nationalist societies. Conformity can also be achieved if individuals view 'mandarins', who control and constitute the state in nationalist

societies, similarly to how religious believers view priests (Dingley, 2008: 97). In doing so, a 'conscience collective' can be formed, serving as a way to bind together those who may have individual differences under one common ideology (Dingley, 2008: 98). If other political ideologies, such as capitalism and democracy are vilified or seen as profane, social disorder may be prevented as individuals may see the current way of life as sacred and something to be protected.

Social order can also be seen in the exchanging of gifts, as they can hold a ceremonial and communal function. For example, it has been argued that individuals feel a compulsion to give, to receive and to repay any gifts received (Smith 2001: 365). This, much like religion in primitive societies, establishes a way of life that is 'normative' as well as 'moral' (Mauss in Edles, 2016: 364). Exchange in contemporary culture becomes a ritual and ceremony reminiscent of the 'physical coercion' of getting what we want from God in primitive societies through sacrifice, or throwing stones into a sacred body of water for rainfall (Durkheim in Emirbayer 2003: 88). It can be postulated that gifts convey not only 'wealth but sacred powers, social prestige, and ties of interpersonal dependence' (Goodchild, 2002: 80). Therefore, just as religion can provide an identity and enhance social ties, so too can a consumer culture that regards buying goods as sacred and other aspects of social life to be profane.

The resemblance between religion and contemporary culture has also been identified in the way that societies are constantly 'separating, purifying, demarcating, and punishing transgressions' (Douglas, 1966 in Edles, 2016: 365). At a mundane level, the demarcation of the sacred and profane can be seen in the ritualistic activity of cleaning. The moral value that this enforces and presents to the rest of society is cleanliness, which has been equated with sacred power in the phrase 'cleanliness is Godliness'. Cleaning has arguably become a symbol of 'purity' and messiness a symbol of 'impurity', functioning to 'reaffirm the structured and categorical nature of social reality' (Douglas, in Thompson, 1982: 143). With regards to punishing transgressions, this ritual and tradition has origins in religious practice. Profane symbols and objects have been observed by Durkheim as needing to be kept separate from sacred symbols, which can be achieved through 'prohibition' (Durkheim, in Emirbayer, 2003: 89). A contemporary example of keeping the sacred separate from the profane could be clubbing and the night-time economy. Arguably, clubbing can be viewed as a sacred ritual, marking the end of the mundane or profane working week. The experience of clubbing can be reminiscent of the 'coroboree' (Durkheim , in Emirbayer, 2003: 109). Feelings of 'effervescence' as originally described by Durkheim (in Emirbayer, 2003: 16) may be experienced similarly today by the clubber during a rave. However, this must be kept separate from the mundane routine of going to work, as arriving at work under the influence of alcohol could be seen as a 'taboo' and could result in a dismissal from a job that is negatively perceived within wider society (Thompson, 1982: 131).

To summarise, this paper has demonstrated the main features of Durkheim's argument concerning religion and the functions of demarcating between the sacred and profane in society. To a large extent, the 'ritualization and symbolization' observed within primitive religious societies is still a prominent feature of contemporary culture, despite religiosity declining in salience (Edles, 2016: 364). The institutions that construct and reinforce ideas of the sacred and profane have moved on from solely the church and religion. In contemporary culture, the institutions that distinguish the sacred from the profane are political in nature regarding cases such as nationalism and capitalism. Informal social control in the form of acceptance and the desire for 'oneness' can uphold a social order on a

micro level, perhaps through the exchange of gifts and interaction with others (Thompson, 1982: 122). However, the logic and purpose of the distinction between the two concepts has not changed markedly since primitive religion. It is still evident that sacred and profane symbols must 'reflect an inner morality that assists solidarity' in order for individuals to believe in them and uphold them (Dingley, 2008: 87).

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How can the police respond to terrorism?

Karina Pukinskaite

There have been various attempts, since the 1960's, to define what terrorism means; however, no set definition has been consecutively used due to the complex nature of the act. McLaughlin (2013) defined it as a premeditated act which would cause serious injury to innocent civilians in order to create moral panic and public fear. Terrorism may take place as an attempt to fight against certain policies for political, ideological or religious reason, and can be distinguished in two categories: old terrorism, which includes quite low levels of actual violence and local organisations such as the ETA, and new terrorism, which includes global networks and mostly very high levels of violence, such as al-Qaeda (Carrabine et al., 2014: 441). However, it is important to evaluate the difference between a freedom-fighter and a terrorist. The difference can be noted in the inhumane actions of terrorists such as the visibility of the event and the fear that it causes due to the target being no-one specifically, therefore making the community as a whole live their lives in fear since they are left defenceless (McLaughlin, 2013:461). Terrorism is frequently an act of a group which will leave devastation from the violent attacks; those attacks involve weaponry such as bombs and guns, and terrorists themselves are often 'portrayed as psychologically deranged' (McLaughlin, 2013:461).

Counter-terrorism is built up on two sides: one being the military side which includes a more violent approach to dealing with terrorism, for example using war-like strategies to respond to terrorism, and the other is the criminal justice model which has a focus on dealing with the terrorism as a form of criminal acts and offering a more defensive, rather than offensive, approach (Innes and Theil, 2008: 558). The short history of counter-terrorism policing in the UK includes the establishment of the Metropolitan police in 1829 which showed the appearance of political elements to the police system; this allowed more focus on political violence and the development of high policing and low policing. High policing focuses on the military, security services and criminal investigation department, and low policing focuses on uniformed policing, multi-agency activity and communities as a whole (Innes and Theil, 2008:559). The state also has a 'counter-terrorism strategy known as CONTEST' (Innes and Theil, 2008: 563) which includes the following: Prepare, Prevent, Protect and Persue which includes the preparation process of resiliences, lots of research and intelligence in order to take down the plans of any attack in the first place, protecting the country as a whole from any attacks that may take place (response times being a key aspect to this) and finally to catch the terrorists responsible in order to provide justice for civilians and to protect them from any further damage (Innes and Theil, 2008: 563). I believe this is also key to respond to crime since these steps were built up to ensure there is a barrier of safety which is very hard to get through for the terrorists and any of their organisations, and also show the civilians of a community that there is a clear and set plan to how to counter terrorism and to prevent any further instances as such.

Secrecy is a very important aspect for both sides, terrorism and counter-terrorism. It is important for the terrorism side due to the act being a crime since there is an engagement to horrific violence on a large scale which most of the time is harming innocent civilians, so secrecy is highly important in order to actually be able to take these acts into action (Innes and Theil, 2008). They also have to be extremely careful since the states agencies will be

doing everything in their power to plan and plot in secret in order to stop the acts from taking place. Innes and Theil (2008) discussed how counter-terrorism groups will have to be very information sensitive in order to ensure that they can focus on unsuspected targets while also protecting who is working alongside them and ensuring their methods are swift and lead to a successful prosecution. Another important aspect for the counter-terrorism groups would be to ensure they reveal to the public the information that will act as a fear tactic, or be presented as a factor that can interfere with the work of terrorists; for example Innes and Theil (2008:554) note that the development of a hostile environment for the terrorists, including things such as armed officers in locations such as popular shopping malls and train stations, will help to prevent the crimes from taking place. Some of these examples may also include stadiums such as the Arsenal FC's stadium in London which has a huge 'Arsenal' sign out in the front in order to prevent vehicles from getting through and hitting crowds, especially during big games where crowds of people will gather together; there is also another example of this vehicle mitigation at Westminster in London (Carrabine et al., 2014:456-457). This is an effective way of responding to terrorism since it is attempting to prevent the attack in the first place, as mentioned before with the surveillance and CCTV cameras.

In the modern day, surveillance is all around us; in our everyday tasks, from phone calls to shopping or even walking along a street, our every move is monitored (Ball and Frank, 2003). Some may argue that it is a breach to our privacy however, in the subject of counter-terrorism, it may actually be one of the main factors as to why many of the planned or attempted terrorist acts did not take place and were stopped in time. Surveillance can be argued to take a toll on maintaining an environment in which crime as a whole will be less likely to occur, so when we delve into the secrecy of planning a terror attack, we can see that privacy is important so any type of surveillance will aid in preventing the crime or making it harder to do: this would give police more time in order to stop the attack from happening (Carrabine et al., 2014). This is why it is very important for police response to terrorism to maintain the high amount of surveillance since the public that may argue that it is a breach of privacy may not consider the fact that it may be done to ensure the civilians safety in the first place.

Mass media also play a large role on terrorism and counter terrorism. As previously mentioned, the planning aspect of a terrorist act will include secrecy; yet, the outcome seeks a high amount of attention in publicity on the media (Innes and Theil, 2008). In fact, in order to get that public fear aspect from it, a terrorist attack that happened requires mass media talking about it. Stanley Cohen (2002) discusses the impact of media on representing different groups (with a focus on the Mods and the Rockers) and how they use certain linguistic features to create a sense of panic within the public. Even though Cohen does not focus on terrorism in his writing, it is still a valid point since some news articles employ language which may make the public feel unsafe. Also due to the high broadcast of terror attacks the public will feel a bigger sense of danger when travelling in areas such as central London or in any other cities, and even with travel, for example, taking a train after the 7/7 attacks was seen as very dangerous. Mass media implications were not a very frequent occurrence in most news agencies yet after the 9/11 attacks this took a drastic change, newspapers such as The Guardian would go from having only a few academic articles to, in 2017, covering almost all western country terrorist attacks and providing large amount of information on the events that took place (Carrabine et al., 2014:437). This could be argued to be a benefit to the response of terrorism since it makes the public more aware of the attacks that take place and able to, in some cases, help the police in terms of initiatives such as reporting suspicious packages on public transport and

any other unusual behaviour to officers that are in the area. Mass media also tried to make the public feel a sense of calmness during these attacks. Since the aim of these attacks is to generate public fear and a sense of disruption, some statements from the state will come out and state that they are working with one another to reduce the risks: not claiming they will be completely eliminated but to give the public a sense of freedom and safety since they know the state is doing all they can (Hewitt, 2008:99), for example "doubling of the domestic intelligence service MI5's budget following the '7/7' attacks" (Carrabine et al., 2014:449).

In addition, Vidal and Kirchmaier (2015) have analysed the importance of police response time and how this will help to prevent crimes from happening or from escalating. An example of this within terrorism acts would be the June 2017 London Bridge attack: from the first emergency call which took place at 22:07, to the three attackers being shot dead at 22:16, only 9 minutes passed. This is key and could have prevented more attacks to take place on that night (BBC, 2017). This shows that preparation and readiness on the behalf of counter-terrorism teams is important in order to interfere with the criminals in a case where prosecution before the crime was committed was unsuccessful. This is a key element to police response to terrorism: focusing on what can be done if a terrorist attack does take place and how it is possible to minimise the number of casualties. We could consider that the training of officers is very important since it can make the response time and reaction time much more efficient in helping to stop the attack which may be occurring. Another way of responding to terrorism when there is a group such as Al-Qaeda would include military assets. Looking at a method which would use force, Martin (2003:346) discusses hard-line methods such as suppression campaigns which would include constant strikes on the targets that are associated with terrorists, as well as punitive strikes and pre-emptive strikes which include attacks that aim to punish the targets. These are all methods which would take place prior to attacks, or post-attack which groups that are still plotting and causing moral panic. This is a more forceful way to eradicate terrorism and terrorist groups; however, it may be efficient in case of a recurring group, as it may be the only way to prevent further terrorist attacks from taking place.

Another hard-line approach would be the coercive covert operations which would include sabotaging methods such as assassinations. An example of this could be, as discussed by Wachtel (2005), the assassination of Osama Bin Laden. After the tragedy that took place on September 11th of 2001, the US government and their homeland security had a very firm focus on assassinating Al-Qaeda's leader Osama Bin Laden (de Frías et al. 2012). However, this brings us to a whole other argument: what is the legality behind military and terrorism? McLaughlin discusses how there are very blurred boundaries between military fighters and terrorists and it is problematic to draw the line. If we take an example of a bomb setting off in London, killing and injuring many civilians, this will be viewed and presented as an act of terrorism; however, the government sending out military operations to bomb a whole village in which one of those buildings contain a base for a group of terrorists is presented to be heroic and brings pride to the protection of our country.

This may cause many issues since, yes, this is done to protect civilians, however looking deeper in to it, can it not be considered that from the other side, the military may just be doing the same thing and injuring innocent civilians in the process (McLaughlin, 2013). McLaughlin also mentions the fact that some normally illegal practices such as torture may become acceptable in the case of torturing a captured terrorist in order to receive information which may be vital for preventing more attacks. This may be a convenient method due to the inhumane actions of the attack that has taken place, or has been

prevented but there needs to be a clearer distinction in which cases this can be done (McLaughlin, 2013). Another way to help in response to terrorism would be an allowance to the state to use any needs necessary in order to tackle crime. Carrabine et al. (2014: 449) wrote about the changes that took place in both the US and the UK following the 9/11 attacks which allowed the 'Anti-terrorism, crime and security act' (Carrabine et al., 2014:449) in the UK to be passed only months after the initial attack. This made such acts as the habeas corpus to be passed up in an example of '16 suspects being held indefinitely and without trail' (Carrabine et al., 2014:449). This once again may be seen as an issue but due to the seriousness of endangering many innocent lives, this is very necessary in order to respond to terrorism since it may mean the prevention of mass casualties.

In conclusion, over the following essay I have pointed out how terrorism has been handled by counter-terrorist groups and what has been done over the years in order to help with the response and the prevention of terrorism as a whole. It is very hard for terrorism to be set to have one singular meaning due to the differences in the types of attacks that take place, even despite their similarities since there may be very different reasoning for why they took place and I believe having various definitions will help suit it to more specific attack. I believe that the mass-media have also had good and bad effects on the public as a whole: good in terms of raising awareness for these attacks and allowing the public to do as much as they can to help with counter-terrorism, yet bad in the terms of raising public fear which is the aim of the terrorists in the first place. I also think if more of the public had more awareness of surveillance in the attention of surveil terrorism there would be a larger understanding and a bigger sense of safety overall from civilians. Furthermore, the police have done a great amount of work in order to respond to terrorism in ways working from hard-line methods all the way to response times since all of these factors will affect how terrorism will be prevented in the first place or how a community will recover after an attack. All of the points made have influenced the mass preventions of terrorism as we witness today which is making the whole society feel safer and more united.

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What could be a feminist critique of Freudian Psychoanalysis?

Laura Seager

According to Frosh (2012), it is well documented that Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis failed to acknowledge or understand the role of women, and similarly to support gender equality. Furthermore, it is stated that, whilst Freud himself recognised that his theories did not and were not supposed to describe women, feminist critics propose that he still haphazardly tried to fit his androcentric theories around women as a clumsy afterthought (Frosh 2012). In doing so, it could be argued that Freud's philosophies have played a role in the way women have been, and still are, viewed in society. This essay will discuss psychoanalysis from a critical feminist perspective and examine some of the key elements of Freud's theories, such as the Oedipus complex and penis envy, and how they played a central role in the development and subsequent reproduction of gender roles in society. It will go on to examine how Freudian psychoanalysis has been debated by academics such as Chodorow, Friedan and Millet, in relation to sexism and patriarchy. The ways in which fellow psychoanalysts, such as Horney, revolutionised Freud's theories will be analysed, and lastly, using relevant references, the essay will discuss the ways in which these concepts have shaped how gender and sexuality are viewed. It will ultimately endeavour to demonstrate how, despite fierce countering and claims of sexist ideology, the work of Freud has and continues to have powerful resonance. To begin, and in order to contextualise, a key concept in Freud's psychoanalysis will be briefly described.

Pivotal to psychoanalytical development, Frosh (2012) discusses what Freud termed the Oedipus complex, a name derived from Greek tragedy where Oedipus unwittingly kills his father and marries his mother. Freud analysed the relationships children have with their parents and the impact this has on their development. Much of Freud's theorising was centred around innate biological drives, particularly sexual drives, and the Oedipus complex also follows this theme. Although the theory has been altered over the years, initially, Freud believed that children between the ages of three to five years develop an unconscious emotional 'complex' leading to sexual desires for the parent of the opposite sex. In addition, the child feels threatened by the parent of the same sex and believes they act as an obstacle to their desired object (the other parent) and therefore unconsciously wishes to kill them (Slipp, 1993). Furthermore, Freud proposes that children experience anxiety known as the 'castration complex', whereby boys are fearful of losing their penis and girls see themselves as already castrated, leading to 'penis envy' and feelings of inferiority. It is proposed that in order to resolve their complexes, boys must repress these emotions and accept the authority of the father (Frosh 2012), and a girl must, as Mitchell (2000:367) phrases it, gain 'acceptance of her inferior, feminine place in patriarchal society'. Others such as Lindsey (1994) explain how girls must replace their desires with the wish for their own child and motherhood. The debates considered in this essay are centred around the impact of the Oedipus complex and how Freud's concepts lend themselves to the creation and reproduction of gender differentiations in society.

One of the earliest contributors to challenge Freud's Oedipus complex in the 1920's was Karen Horney. As a trained psychoanalyst, Horney largely supported the psychoanalytic paradigm and therefore did not oppose all of Freud's concepts. However, she contested Freud's explanations of female psychology and femininity. The concept of 'penis envy' was

refuted and replaced with what she entitled 'womb envy'. By this, Horney suggested that, rather than women feeling defective due to lacking a penis, men were in fact resentful of a woman's capability to bear and nurture children (Horney 1993). Furthermore, Horney proposed that women's neuroses were due to jealousy of the social position and recognition men were ascribed in society, and thus the symbolic meaning of the penis, not its physical existence (Slipp 1993). As discussed by Rubins (1978), Horney argued that men actually attempt to compensate for their biological inferiorities by dominating and succeeding in other areas of life such as the workplace. Horney disagreed with Freud's belief that males and females were born with inherent differences in their personality and argued that social and cultural factors play a significant role in shaping character and identity.

It has been argued that Horney's defiance of Freud's prominent ideas began to pave the way for explanations about the prevalence of female subordination and gender inequalities within society. Indeed, Rubins (1978) posits that Horney's work was significant in changing the way psychology viewed gender, and her work has since inspired many gender equality debates. That said, it is still clear in society that there are sexual inequalities almost one hundred years after this analysis. Feminists argue that the oppression of women has and continues to be prominent even in western society and use examples such as the gender pay gap which, despite narrowing over the last ten years is still at 9.1 per cent in the UK (Monaghan 2017). This suggests that the Freudian script and historical ideas about women are still of relevance.

It has been argued that Freud 'perpetuated Victorian bias against women' (Slipp, 1993:13). This has been upheld by the ideas of Friedan who, after analysing excerpts from letters written between the couple, discusses how Freud saw his own wife as of inferior intellect and childlike, despite her being a capable, intelligent woman in her own right (Friedan 1963). Slipp (1993) suggests that Freud's personal experiences and the strong social norms of the Victorian society he was living in shaped his theories, which in turn reinforced gender differences in his model. This is an interesting point linking back to the critic Horney (1993) who advocates that Freud did not pay attention to outside (cultural or social) factors in his own theorising on this topic. Freud's proposition (in Lindsey 1994:26), that 'anatomy is destiny', suggested that he believed gender dictated one's personality traits and women were biologically inferior. Consequently, their fate was one of disadvantage from the outset as women would automatically be considered the 'second sex' (Mitchell 2000).

Second-wave feminists argued that Freud's construction of how a woman develops has played a significant role not only in the way men view women but also in the way women feel about themselves, their self-identity and the roles they should be occupying. Freidan's The Feminine Mystique (1963) describes how the central ideas Freud had about femininity have had a long lasting detrimental effect on future ideas about women. Radical feminist Kate Millett, reiterates these opinions in her controversial book Sexual Politics. Millett (1970) focuses on the damage psychoanalysis can cause to women and argues that Freud's ideas perpetuate gender differences and enhance the notion that females are inherently inferior. These debates again support the idea that the concept of the Oedipus complex is a mechanism for the reproduction of an unfair patriarchal society and the continuation of the same values and expectations regarding women.

British psychoanalyst and feminist writer Juliet Mitchell also emphasises the patriarchal elements of Freudian theory. However, in contrast to feminists who saw Freud as the arch-

patriarch of the time, Mitchell suggests that Freudian psychoanalysis simply exposed the existence of patriarchy in society rather than endorsing it (Mitchell, 2000). Mitchell's book Psychoanalysis and Feminism, originally published in 1974, brushed aside the feminist notion of Freud as a male chauvinist, in order to look from an alternative psychoanalytical perspective into how several elements of could be useful in examining gender inequalities. One example is the ideas around the castration complex and the symbolic importance of this as a concept, whilst another could be Mitchell's explanation of gender as culturally and socially conditioned constructs (Mitchell 2000) echoing Horney's earlier critique.

Furthermore, again linking back to Horney's writings, fellow psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow adapted Freud's theory and was an important figure in developing feminist psychoanalysis (Burack 1994). Writing in 1989, Chodorow looks at motherhood and family structure through a psychoanalytical lens and emphasises the importance of valuing those characteristics attributed to women (Chodorow 1989). This contrasted with Freud who, it is argued, usually underestimated and more often ignored women, and based his theories on only men, from a male (his own) perspective (Lindsey 1994). Whilst the ideas of Chodorow may spark debate with contemporary feminists and demonstrate a gender essentialist attitude, as mentioned earlier regarding Freudian thought, it is important to place them in the context of the time of writing. Strong social norms in society at that time dictated the roles men and women should have and upheld rigid expectations regarding what constituted male or female behaviour. Whereas current society has made steps forward with policies such as shared parental leave, which breaks down some of the boundaries previously assigning the childcare role to women. Overall, Chodorow has demonstrated that applying Freudian psychoanalysis to phenomena such as the family dynamic can be very useful in explaining why women undertake particular roles in society (O'Reilly 2010).

Another consideration which ties in with Chodorow's research into the family, is the 'maternal shift' in psychoanalysis, post World War Two. Melanie Klein and others extended the psychoanalytical ideas of Freud to develop the field of Object Relations Theory (Frosh 2012). This model still recognises the Oedipal stage as central to development as well as suggesting that internal conflicts can cause emotional obstacles throughout a child's development. However, this theory replaces the importance of an unconscious libidinal drive for the object of desire - the opposite sex parent – with the proposal that the object of desire is the relationship itself. It is suggested that, from birth, a child's most formative figure is the mother (or mother figure) and the maternal relationship is the model for any other interpersonal relationship in life (Gomez 1997). These ideas were further developed by Bowlby and Ainsworth (1969) in their model of Attachment Theory. Studies into the effects evacuation had on children who had been separated from their mothers during the war emphasised the damaging consequences of separation both the child and society. In addition, further research found that these consequences lasted well into adulthood (Rusby and Tasker 2008). Feminist critics, however, argue that theories of attachment were a way of reinforcing traditional gender roles and returning to the status quo after men had returned from the war (Brown 2009). This meant that women could be placed back in the domestic sphere so that the ideology of the male breadwinner could resume, which suggests that even developments to Freud's theories can still be considered a way of upholding patriarchal society.

When considering the impact Freudian psychoanalysis has had on the construction of gender in society, it is important to note that there is a distinct lack of contemporary feminist critiques to be found. That said, Joel Whitebook's recent biography argues that

Freud's ideas can ultimately be considered progressive, and provide abundant resources which can be used to advance the patriarchal struggle in society. Whitebook (2017) even goes so far as to say that Freud was an ambivalent critic of patriarchy, which reiterates Mitchell's ideas as discussed previously.

To conclude, this essay has explained how certain psychoanalytical concepts such as penis envy have been fiercely challenged by feminist scholars and activists, and how models such as the Oedipus complex have been critiqued as responsible for perpetuating psychical patriarchal reproduction in society, contributing to the continued oppression of women. Evidently however, psychoanalysis in its entirety was certainly not rejected by feminists. In contrast, it was embraced and advanced in order to fill in the gaps left by Freud, and to analyse the construction of gender and the resulting effects on the lives of women. The works of feminist psychoanalysts such as Horney, Klein and Chodorow have been considered in an attempt to understand key elements that Freud neglected in his framework, such as the role of social and cultural influences on gender. These women used the strong foundations built by Freud, and adapted his core concepts to explain inequalities in society and unite feminism and psychoanalysis.

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SC385 Report: Analysis of data from the European Social Survey Round 6, focusing on depression and the main factors that influence its development.

Denis Andriescu

Introduction

For the purpose of this report, data from the European Social Survey Round 6 will be analysed, focusing on depression and the main factors that influence its development. These factors are religiosity, being foreign born, and age. Apart from the direct effect that these factors have on depression, there are also indirect effects, where a combination of these factors comes into play. All three factors affect depression in a certain way and to a certain degree on their own, but the factors also influence one another. Being foreign-born makes a person more likely to have a higher level of religiosity and thus, these two factors together affect depression in a different way than on their own.

The data

The sample with which this analysis was conducted comprises 4542 cases, with 2303 cases from Estonia and 2239 cases from the United Kingdom. The data and further information can be retrieved from www.europeansocialsurvey.org. In the data set there are 5 items that measure depression and these will be used as the reference for depression. The questions and their coding are as follows:

- Felt depressed, how often past week = fltdpr
- Felt everything did as effort, how often past week = flteeff
- Were Happy, how often past week = wrhpp
- Enjoyed life, how often past week = enjlf
- Felt sad, how often past week = fltsd

All these items are measured on a scale from 1 to 4, 1 being 'None or almost none of the time' and 4 being 'All or almost all of the time'. Because of the nature of the happiness and life enjoyment questions, the items had to be recoded so as to fit with the other questions, with the small values representing small levels of depression and the higher values representing a higher level of depression so as to fit with the other three items. Thus, for these questions, 1 will be 'All or almost all of the time' and 4 will be 'None or almost none of the time'. The new items are coded 'wrhppre' and 'enjlfre'. This was done in order to not have negative values in tables and diagrams and not create confusion.

The other variables, the factors that have an effect on the tendency to feel depressed, are Religiosity, coded as 'rlgdgr', age, coded as 'agea' and being foreign-born, coded as 'brncntr'. Religiosity is measured on a scale from 0 to 10, 0 being '*Not at all religious'* and 10 being '*Very religious'.* For being foreign-born, the question is worded as '*Born in country'* and in the dataset the value of 1 is attributed to the answer *'Yes'* and the value of 2 when the person answers *'No'.* The age of the population in the dataset starts from 15 and goes up to 94, with a mean age of 50.

Methodology

Using a series of Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) and Structural Equation Models (SEM), this report aims to show the direct effects of the aforementioned factors on depression and the indirect effect of being foreign-born through its impact on religiosity. Along with this, the correlation between being foreign-born and age and its impact on depression will be explored. As depression is not a factor that can be directly measured, it will be treated as a latent variable. A latent variable is a variable that, rather than being directly observed, is inferred from other observed variables (Byrne, 2010). CFA uses the observed variables, in this case the items that tap depression, to show the underlying relations between the observed factors and the latent variable, depression. SEM takes the confirmatory approach of the CFA models and adds more complex equations with other factors to the overall model. For the purpose of this report, a CFA model will be fit to the existing 5 items that measure depression in any way. The latent variable of this model will then be considered as the 'depression' variable to which we will fit a SEM in order to see the effect of the other factors. All SEM and CFA models will be fit using AMOS, and other statistics and charts will be obtained through SPSS.

Throughout this report, various statistics regarding the goodness of fit of the models will be presented, which can all be found in a table of fit statistics at the end of the report.

Data Analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis.

In order to get a better estimation for depression, more than one question simply asking 'how depressed are you?' is necessary. Thus, in the dataset we are using we have 5 questions that measure depression in one way or another, with some of them essentially asking the same thing, but with different wording. Putting these questions in a CFA model we should get a satisfactory variable that sums different sides of depression in general. Below we have graphic output of the CFA on the five items, with the standardized estimates of their regression coefficients and R squares (R^2). A regression coefficient represents the rate of change of a variable in concordance with the variable that is determining it (Field, 2013). As an example, in our case, whenever the latent variable 'Depression' goes up by .66 Standard Deviations, the variable 'fltdpr' goes up by 0.66 SD.

The other relevant statistic that we have in the figure below is the R^2. The R^2 shows us what percentage a variable's variance is explained by its predictors (Field, 2013). In our case, for the variable 'fltdpr' with and R^2 of .42 it is estimated that 42% of fltdpr's variance is explained by Depression.

Baseline Model 1.0
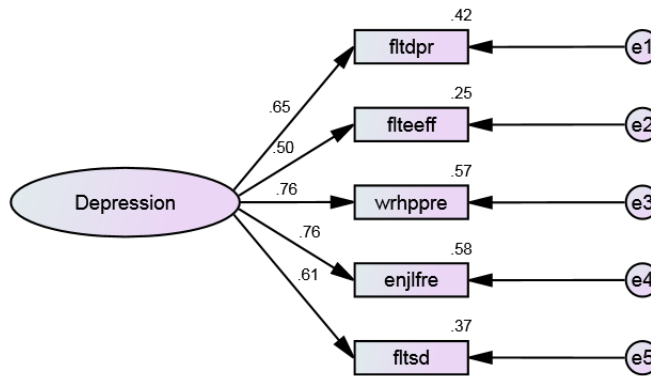
Standardized estimates
chi sq 845.869 df 5 p .000
rmsea .192 cfi .878

Below the graphic representation we have the fit statistics for the model. These statistics show us how well a model fits, taking into account the known pieces of information and the unknown information that needs to be estimated. For a model to be fit we require a just identified or over-identified model where the knowns are equal or larger than the unknowns. A good-fitting model needs to have an insignificant Chi Square, a RMSEA value smaller or equal to .06 and a CFI of over 0.95. As we can see, the model above does not fit to the data. The Chi Sq value is significant, with a p value of .000, the RMSEA is over 0.06 and the CFI is under 0.95.

Another relevant value for the goodness of fit of a model is the Degrees of Freedom (DF). These represent the difference between knowns and unknowns (knowns-unknowns). For a large sample, the DF need to be smaller than 3 to be considered satisfactory. The known information can be the variances, covariance or means of the observed variables, and the unknowns all the other parameters that need to be estimated. In order to get a better-fitting model, we need to first try and get more knowns in the model than unknowns. By looking at our model, we can see that the variable 'flteeff' has the smallest regression coefficient and the smallest R^2. Also, in Table 1 below, we can see that it has the smallest factor score weight of all the variables. The factor score weight shows us how the predicted variable (Depression) changes when the predictors change. In this case, for every unit that 'flteeff' goes up, 'Depression' goes up by 0.066 units.

Table 1: Factor Score Weights (Baseline model 1.0)

	fltsd	enjlfre	wrhppre	flteeff	fltdpr
Depression	.122	.191	.187	.066	.137

With the variable 'flteeff' being the weakest variable in our model, I decided to take it out in order to get a better fitting model. Below we have the CFA model without the 'flteeff' variable.

Baseline Model 2.0
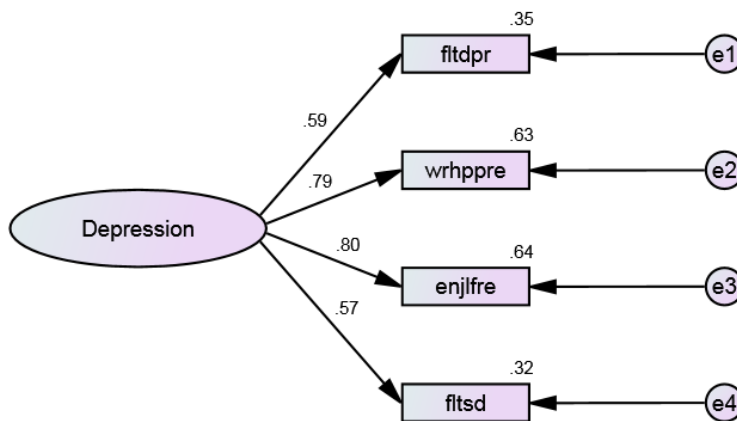
Standardized estimates
chi sq 432.980 df 2 p .000
rmsea .218 cfi .923

Looking at this model, we can see that some values have increased while some have decreased with the removal of 5th variable. We can consider it a better fitting model because of the increase in value of the CFI and a decrease in the DF. Before any further analysis of the data, we need to try and get a good-fitting model, while maintaining the parsimony of the model. Thus we can try to apply more constraints so as to improve the goodness of fit. One way of doing this is fitting a TAU equivalent model, where we set the factor loadings of the variables to be equal.

Tau Equivalent Model
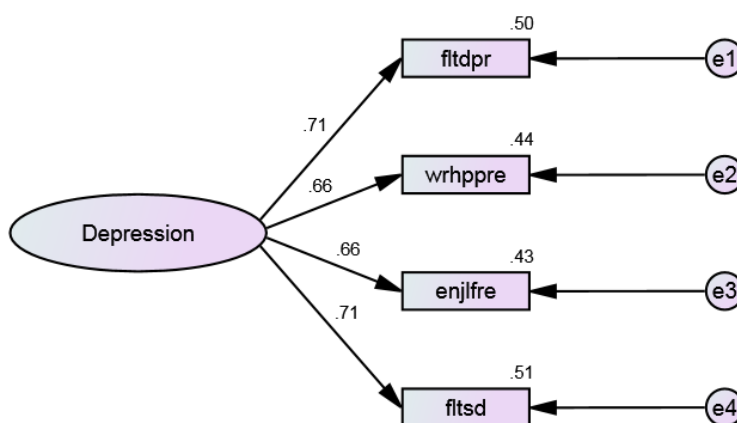
Standardized estimates
chi sq 871.852 df 5 p .000
rmsea .195 cfi .844

With the TAU model offering more DFs, we see an improvement in the RMSEA of the model but a decrease in CFI and a still significant Chi Sq making the model unfit. With the factor loadings being set to 1, we see an increase in the regression coefficient for 'fltdpr' and 'fltsd' but a decrease for 'wrhppre' and 'enjlfre'. This may be due to the fact that the first two variables measure sadness and depression while the other two measure happiness and life enjoyment. The same goes for the R^2s of the variables. Trying to get a well-fitting model we will add more constraints, this time equalling the error variances as well, creating a parallel model.

Parallel Model
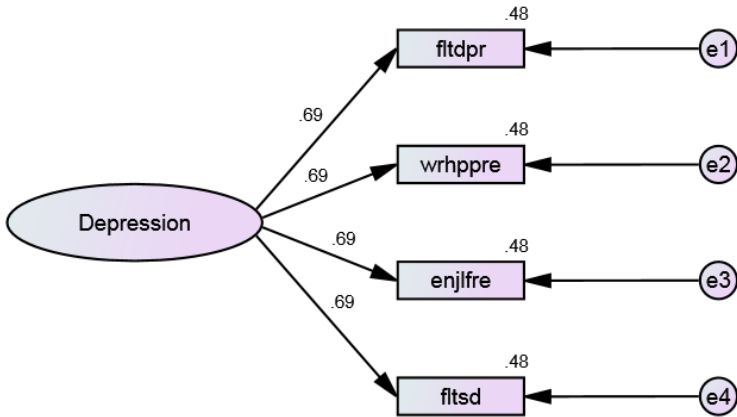
Standardized estimates
chi sq 940.675 df 8 p .000
rmsea .160 cfi .832

By constraining the factor loadings and error variances of our variables to be equal, we now get more DFs and a smaller RMSEA value, but we are still left with an unfit model, thus we need to find another way. In order to do this we need to go back to the Baseline model. There we can see that the variables are essentially split into two categories, with the ones that measure sadness being the weaker ones and the ones measuring happiness being the stronger ones. Below Table 2 shows the covariance and modification indices of the errors of our variables.

Table 2: Covariances: (Baseline Model 2.0)

	M.I.	Par Change
e3 ←> e4	44.511	-.033
e2 ←> e4	31.485	-.028
e2 ←> e3	46.929	.032
e1 ←> e4	388.661	.101
e1 ←> e3	27.301	-.027
e1 ←> e2	41.254	-.032

This table presents the Modification Indices (M.I.) of the covariance between errors. What this essentially shows us is how much our model will change if the covariance between errors is set as a free parameter. This gives us an indication that the two variables measure a similar phenomenon, in this case sadness. Judging by the way in which the questions are worded, it is to be expected that the answers will be similar and thus affect the data in a similar way. With this in mind, we will re-run the Baseline Model, this time correlating the errors of 'fltdpr' and 'fltsd'.

Baseline Model 3.0
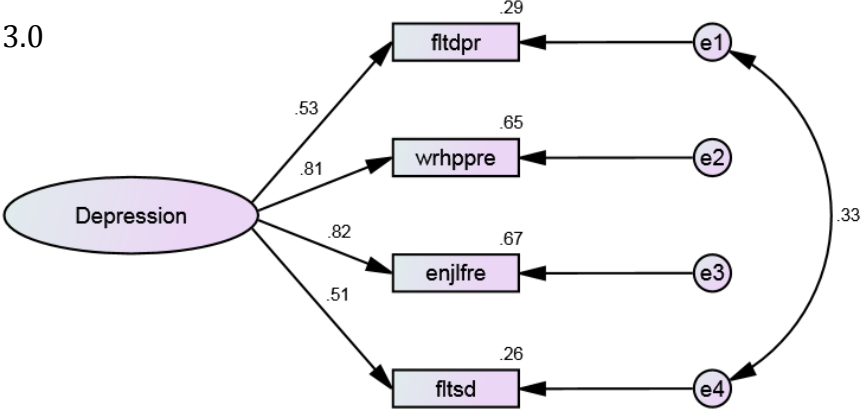
Standardized estimates
chi sq 1.183 df 1 p .277
rmsea .006 cfi 1.000

By correlating the errors of the variables that measure sadness, we get a good-fitting model, with an insignificant Chis Sq, 1 DF, a significant RMSEA value at 0.006 and a CFI of 1.0. Because the model is good-fitting we do not need to run a TAU equivalent or Parallel model. Even though the correlation between the errors is weak (0.33), the correlation between the variables is stronger, as can be seen table 3. With a value of .512 and a p value of .000 we have a significant moderate correlation between the two variables. This indicates that the two variables, and thus their errors, are related.

Table 3: Correlations

		Felt sad, how often past week	Felt depressed, how often past week
Felt sad, how often past week	Pearson Correlation	1	.512**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
Felt depressed, how often past week	Pearson Correlation	.512**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	

With a satisfactory CFA model for depression we can now move on to see how certain factors may affect depression. In order to do this, we will run a series of SEMs with the three factors in the dataset that affect the tendency to report feeling depressed. These factors are religiosity, being foreign-born and age.

What, if any, are the direct effects of being foreign-born, age and religiosity on the tendency to report feeling depressed? Are they statistically significant?
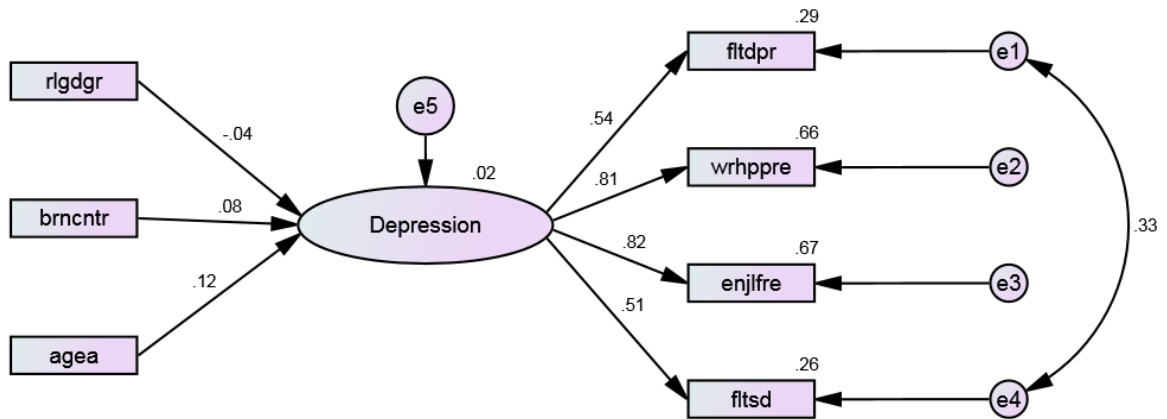
Standardized estimates
chi sq 431.196 df 13 p .000
rmsea .084 cfi .931

SEM Direct Effects

Table 4: Regression Weights (SEM Direct Effects)

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
Depression ⬅- rlgdgr	-.005	.002	-2.292	.022
Depression ⬅- brncntr	.092	.018	5.153	***
Depression ⬅- agea	.002	.000	7.164	***

***- p value lower than .001

Table 5: Standardized Regression Weights (Direct Effects) (SEM)

	Estimate
Depression <--- rlgdgr	-.037
Depression <--- brncntr	.084
Depression <--- agea	.118

The three factors that can impact upon depression have been put into a SEM which revealed their effect on it. Their standardized regression weights (Table 5) reveal how much they affect the tendency to report feeling depressed, these being the direct effects of these factors. The strongest factor here is age, with a regression weight of .118. Considering the fact that the ages of respondents vary between 15 and 94, this regression weight appears to reflect a bigger impact on depression than it would seem at first glance, with older people being more likely to report feeling depressed than younger people. The variable with the smallest value, religiosity, is the only negative value. With the religiosity variable being coded as 0 being '*Not at all religious'* and 10 being '*Very religious',* the variable indicates that more religious people are likely to be less depressed than non-religious people, as when religiosity increases, depression decreases.

Looking at Table 4, we can see the Regression weights of the three factors and their P values. As we can see, all of our factors are statistically significant, with p values lower than .05. The highest p value we got was .022 for religiosity, which is still a significant value, thus making all of our variables statistically significant in our model. Still, in order to be sure of the statistical significance of our estimations, a bootstrap estimation will also be conducted. When doing a bootstrap estimation, a random sample of 200 people from our sample will be selected and the model will be run on it. By making a bootstrapped estimation, we will get new p-values for our three factors that have an effect on religiosity.

Table 6: Standardized Direct Effects - Two Tailed Significance (BC) (SEM Direct Effects)

	brncntr	*agea*	*rlgdgr*
Depression	.008	.012	.006

In table 6 we have the estimated p-values of our variables, obtained by making a bootstrapped estimation on a random sample of 200 cases. The p-value is based on a two-sided bias corrected confidence interval. As we can see, even though the values for age and being foreign-born increased, they are all still statistically significant, further cementing the significance of these values in our model.

What, if any, is the indirect effect of being foreign-born on depression through its effect on religiosity? Is it statistically significant?
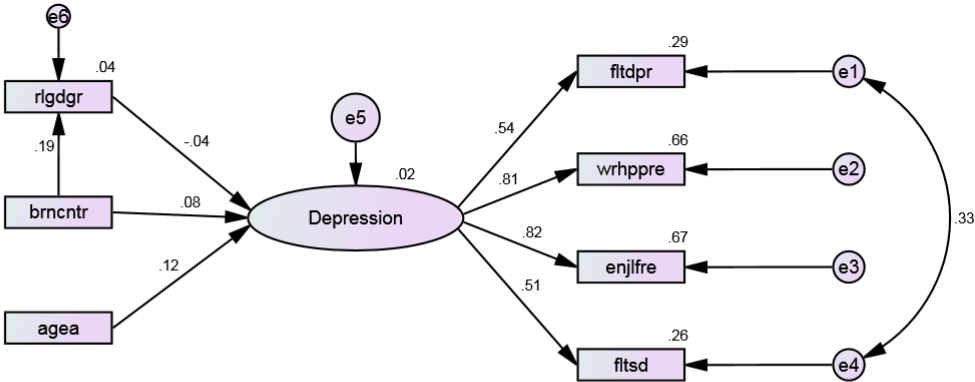
Standardized estimates
chi sq 262.858 df 12 p .000
rmsea .068 cfi .959

70

In order to see the indirect effect of being foreign-born through its effect on religiosiy we need to alter our model by adding a regression path (singe-headed arrow) from the variable 'bnrcntr' to the variable 'rlgdgr'. By doing this we will get the direct effect of being foreign-born to religiosity and an indirect effect of being foreign-born though religiosity on depression. This is called a mediation model, as we mediate the effect of being foreign-born on depression through religiosity. As we can see in Table 7, there are no indirect effects on depression by the three factors, but there are indirect effects on the variables that determine depression, those indirect effects being mediated through the latent variable 'Depression'.

Table 7: Indirect Effects (SEM Direct Effects)

	brncntr	agea	rlgdgr	Depression
Depression	**.000**	**.000**	**.000**	.000
fltsd	.084	.002	-.004	.000
enjlfre	.163	.004	-.008	.000
wrhppre	.158	.004	-.008	.000
fltdpr	.092	.002	-.005	.000

Table 8: Standardized Indirect Effects (SEM Indirect Effects)

	brncntr	agea	rlgdgr	Depression
Depression	**-.007**	.000	.000	.000

After running the mediated model, we can see that none of the direct effect regression coefficients have changed but we mediated the effect of being foreign-born through religiosity, which gave us an indirect effect towards depression, as can be seen in Table 7. By doing this we can see the direct effect of being foreign-born on religiosity, which we can see is a positive one; thus, a person who is foreign-born is more likely to have a higher level of religiosity. As we saw in the previous analysis, the effect of religiosity had a negative regression coefficient thus implying that being foreign-born will also have a negative effect on depression when mediated through religiosity. And this is exactly what happened as we can see in Table 7. Being foreign-born has a negative indirect effect on depression, meaning that a person who is foreign-born has fewer chances to report feeling depressed than a person born in this country. Even with a moderate direct effect on religiosity (.19), the indirect effect on depression is still a weak one, with a value of only -.007.

Table 8: Regression Weights: (SEM Indirect Effects)

			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
rlgdgr	<---	brncntr	1.652	.126	13.096	***
Depression	<---	rlgdgr	-.005	.002	-2.250	.024
Depression	<---	agea	.002	.000	7.163	***
Depression	<---	brncntr	.092	.018	5.060	***

The significance of the direct effects of our variables in this model remained unchanged, apart from religiosity which increased from .022 to .024, remaining significant (Table 8). The new regression in our model, between being-foreign born and religiosity, also presents a significant p-value. Moving on, in order to see if the mediated effect of being foreign-born is statistically significant we need to look at the bootstrapped estimations.

Table 9: Standardized Indirect Effects - Two Tailed Significance (BC)
(SEM Indirect Effects)

	brncntr	agea	rlgdgr	Depression
rlgdgr	...	...	...	...
Depression	.006	...	...	...

As we can see in Table 9, the p value for the indirect effect of 'brncntr' on depression through religiosity is .006, being statistically significant. This indicates that the effect of being foreign born on religiosity yields a significant effect on depression through its effect on religiosity.

The model above is the graphic representation of the theory on which this report is based on. Although this model is the one that fits the theory, there are still other effects that can be explored, thus expanding the starting theory.

What is the correlation between being foreign-born and age? Is it statistically significant?
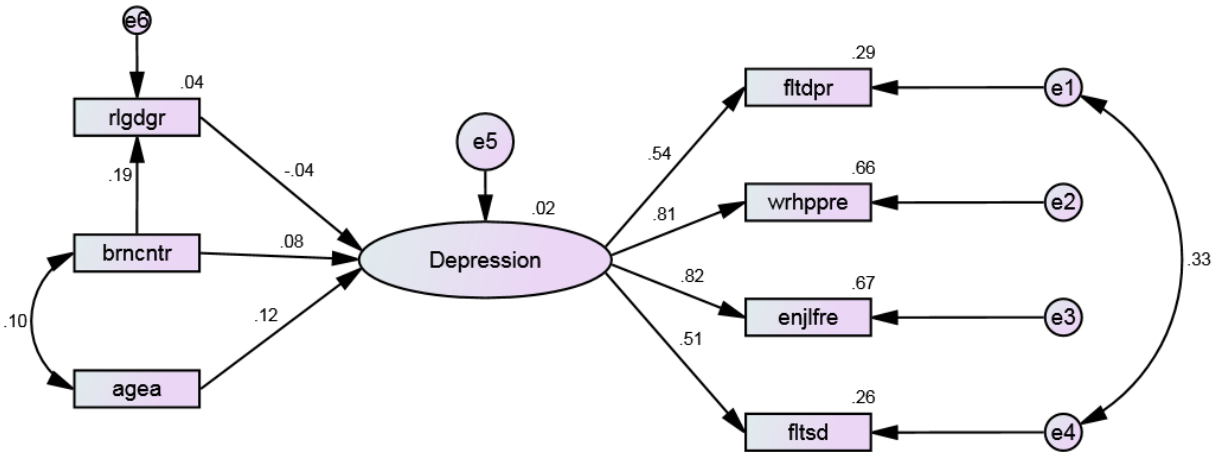
Standardized estimates
chi sq 212.866 df 11 p .000
rmsea .064 cfi .967

SEM Correlation

By correlating the variables for age and being foreign-born from our previous model we get a weak positive correlation of .10 between the two variables (SEM Correlation). What this correlation indicates is that being foreign-born and age have a common factor that can have an effect on them. This correlation, although weak, is a good indicator that older people are more likely to be foreign-born. The reason behind the weak correlation is the fact that the sample population is not equally divided, with only 13.8 percent of people in our sample being foreign-born (Table 10). With this in mind, the correlation becomes more important than it would appear at first glance.

Table 10: Born in country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	3914	86.2	86.2	86.2
	No	628	**13.8**	13.8	100.0
	Total	4542	100.0	100.0	

Table 11: Correlations

		Age of respondent, calculated	Born in country
Age of respondent, calculated	Pearson Correlation	1	.105**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
Born in country	Pearson Correlation	.105**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Furthermore, as we can see in Table 11, although the correlation is a weak one, it is significant for our model, with a p-value of .000. What this correlation adds to our theory and overall model is that age has an impact on whether a person is foreign-born or not, which directly influences religiosity and indirectly influences the tendency of feeling depressed. Moreover, this analysis also implies that there can be an indirect effect of age through its potential effects on the other factors.

Conclusion

By analysing the data from the European Social Survey Round 6 this report aimed to statistically prove the theory that age, religiosity and being foreign-born are risk factors for depression. Throughout this report, the direct and indirect effects of these factors have been analysed and further relations between the variables have been explored. The final statistical model from this report represents an overview of the impact of these factors on depression, with more effects that can be explored in further research. Such effects could be the indirect impact of age through religiosity and being foreign-born, or the correlations between the risk factors and the way in which they shape one another.

Table 12: Model fit statistics

Model description	Chi2	Df	P	Chi2 diff	Df diff	RMSEA	CFI
Baseline Model 1.0	845.869	5	.000			.192	.878
Baseline Model 2.0	432.980	2	.000			.218	.923
TAU Equivalent	871.852	5	.000	438.871	3	.195	.844
Parallel Model	940.675	8	.000	507.695	6	.160	.832
Baseline Model 3.0	1.183	1	.227			.006	1.000
SEM Direct Effect	431.196	13	.000			.084	.931
SEM Indirect Effects	262.858	12	.000			.068	.959
SEM Correlation	212.866	11	.000			.064	.967

Table 12 presents all the model fit statistics for all the models that were fitted throughout this report.

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Is the role of feminism to theorise the experiences of all women?

Rosie Dean

It could be argued that the feminist movement over the last century is the most significant advance in social change in an era. The fight for women's rights and equality to men affects over half of the world's population. Especially in the western world, feminism has greatly advanced the opportunities and rights that women have today. Nevertheless, feminism must continue to progress in order to achieve full gender equality, for all women. It is a relevant and important argument whether the role of feminism can accomplish enough to be able to theorise the experiences of all women, considering how vastly dependant a woman's experiences are on her position in certain socio-cultural categories in society. Race, ethnicity, sexuality and economic class are just a few examples of how a woman's experience will vary to those who do not share this experience from similar socially structured groups.

In sociological discourses, the feminist movement is commonly recognised to have emerged in three consecutive waves in history; this essay will evaluate how successful each wave of feminism has been in the theorised experiences of all women in certain aspects of each. Firstly, this essay will evaluate the suffragette battle to earn women the right to vote in the 20th century and how this affected the experiences of women. Secondly, the strengths and limitations of both Simone de Beauvoir's (1949) and Nancy Heartstock's (1983) work in the second wave of feminism will be analysed by how effective and inclusive each theory was to the experience of all women. Finally, I will present the critique of how both the first and second waves of feminism provided the groundwork to the third wave of feminism, where specific branches of feminism for each varied social grouping of women have been formed in order to represent the experiences for all women in feminism. This essay will analyse contemporary examples of the third wave of feminism with particular reference to the struggles that black feminists and LGBTQ feminists have faced in how their experiences fit in the role of feminist theory.

In the United Kingdom, the "Representation of the people act" (1918) was passed in parliament permitting women over the age of 30 the right to vote. However, this act not only excluded women under thirty, but it also only allowed women who met a property qualification to vote. While this was a significant step, the act only allowed 40% of the female population the vote. Feminists continued to battle and in 1928 the UK parliament passed the Equal Franchise Act, with which women finally achieved equal voting right to men: women and men finally had the same eligibility to vote (Rendall J 1985). The suffragette movement was ultimately successful after years of physical and legal battles to contest with the patriarchal establishment. However, the legal success of women achieving the right to vote was not a shared experience of all women at the time. Women's rights to vote followed a similar rhetoric across the western world but it is the movement in America which remains poignant in highlighting the inequalities of difference women faced due to race and ethnicity within the first wave of feminism.

In America, the 19th Amendment to the US constitution granted women who are citizens of America the right to vote. However, it wasn't until 1960, forty years later, that all women, were granted the equal rights that white women had achieved years previously

(BBC,2000). It is in the first wave of feminism that significant steps forward in the legal emancipation of women were made; however, not all women shared this experience until much later. Thus, the role of feminism in the first wave was not to theorise the experiences of all women, as non-white women in America in particular had their rights ignored for years and therefore did not share the same experiences as white women.

The progressive and pioneering work of Simone de Beauvoir was integral in the ignition of the second wave of feminism (Cochrane K 2013). While the first wave of feminism was centralised on legal inequalities between men and women, de Beauvoir proposed one of the first sociological theories to recognise the social inequalities constructed in society between men and women. De Beauvoir is most famously recognised for her publishing of "The Second Sex" in 1949. The Second Sex distinguished the separate distinctions between biological sex and gender experienced by men and women in society. De Beauvoir argued that women are the "other" of man in the expectations of a woman's role in society. She claimed that gender is entirely socially constructed and thus, so is the oppression of women. In her distinction between sex and gender de Beauvoir accomplishes to establish that it isn't the inevitable biological differences between men and women that result in the subordination of women. This subordination is rather due to the secondary expectations of a woman's gender roles created in a patriarchal society which has constructed a women's role in society to be secondary to men: hence De Beauvoir's concept in defining women as The Second Sex.

De Beauvoir highlighted the unequal role expectations for women in the separate realms of their public and private life in society (Imbert C 2004). She affirmed that men are celebrated for their status and success in employment within the public sphere. In contrast, women are penalised for any form of success in the public sphere as this indicates failure in the private sphere: the home. It is society expectation that women must only be successful as housewife and this was of upmost importance for a woman's gendered aspirations. In the traditional era of 1950's housewives, de Beauvoir argues that men are defined by their success in work in the public realm and women are defined by running a successful household in the private realm.

The recognition of the public and private realms by de Beauvoir challenged common attitudes regarding the private realm remaining private. This created a culture of dismissing any forms of domestic issues as purely domestic and of no business to publically and legally regulate in the home. Physical abuse that happened at home was treated as a private issue between a man and his wife and was seen as not the business of the public to resolve. For example, it has taken years for marital rape to be firstly even recognised as a concept and secondly announced as against the law. Beforehand, there was an assumption in society that a woman's sexual consent was by the declaration of marriage (Oakley A 1981:209-265). It was the work of de Beauvoir that challenged domestic inequalities that contributed to the agreement of a more publicly managed approach to abuse in the home. It was with this that de Beauvoir made advancements to a better legal protection in the experiences of women in the household. However, her theories are limited in the understanding of women's varying degrees of inequality.

De Beauvoir wrote her feminist theories with the ideology that women share the same subordination as a collective representation. While it cannot be argued that all women in western society in this time period suffered significant inequalities in respect to men, de Beauvoir's arguments were limited in the representation of women from a lower economic class or non-white women who suffered discrimination not only for their gender, but also

for their economic and ethnic background. It wasn't that De Beauvoir purposefully disregarded the arguments that certain social groups of women suffer greatly in the oppression of women, but rather that it was the author's privilege as a white, middle class and highly educated women which apprehended her ability to look beyond her own experience as a woman (Evans, M 1998:124). De Beauvoir's pioneering work initiated the second wave of feminism in many aspects, but her limitations in assuming that all women's experiences are the same as her own prohibits her work in the ability to theorise the experiences of all women.

Another key contributor to the second wave of feminism was Nancy Hartsock in 1983, who made a recognition that women's economic resources can significantly affect the experiences of women. She built on Marxist ideologies of class inequalities in society and interpreted the division of labour with the perspective of women's discrimination within it. Hartsock made epistemological arguments in the experience of women being subject to how broad an understanding of the social world is (Ramazanoglu, 2002). For example, she argues that epistemologically, if the considerations and perspectives of an oppressed social group are understood, the foundations of knowledge will be more established than without this broadening of understandings. Hartsock expands to argue that to ignore the experiences of those who are significantly more disadvantaged than others in society will result in an uncomprehensive understanding of the experiences of all women. For a feminist to accurately theorise the experiences of all women, a deep understanding and knowledge of the vastly varied experiences must be acquired.

Hartsock produced arguments that challenge the objectivity in observation experiments and the collection of data. To empirically collect data through observations the achievement of complete objectivity would need to be based on the assumption that an individual would be able to observe and collect data in a completely un-biased manner. Hartsock argued that, during observations, a bias understanding of what is observed is collected as data and thus, the identities of the people partaking in the collection of data affect the data that is collected. She advanced on the work of de Beauvoir in the recognition that not all women share the same experiences. However, this recognition was centralised on how this could further solidify sociological research by adding an epistemological depth in knowledge, rather than with the objective to tackle any of these further disadvantaged women.

In summary of the first and second waves of feminism, each wave achieved landmark advancements in the contributions to women's rights to equality. However, the legal and social advancements made were not equally experienced for all women. Women from lower economic backgrounds and women who experience racial disadvantage have largely been ignored in the first and second waves of feminism. The third wave of feminism is grounded on the critique for the first two waves, in regards to the lack of equal participation from a more diverse group of women. The emergence of third wave feminism in the 1980's onwards challenged the second wave of feminism and introduced different perspectives such as black feminism.

Black feminist thought argues that the roots of mainstream knowledge in society is narrow minded due to the lack of understanding of all socio-cultural backgrounds of thought (Brooke A 2000). Black feminism argues that, if the roots of all knowledge stem from the thoughts of a very small minority of people, then not only does this knowledge not resonate in all members of society, but it also fails to provide a broad understanding of the full social world. A recent debate in black feminism was advanced in the recent engagement of Prince

Harry to Meghan Markle, a divorced and mixed-race American woman. The British Royal Family has a long withstanding of traditional white heritage and the engagement of a non-white women has been celebrated in society (Friedman V 2017). However, more radical feminists have argued that if Meghan Markle had in fact been born with both parents being black, she would not have experienced the same privileges which brought her into the same social withstanding as the British Royal Family. There are ongoing debates within feminism to argue just how progressive Meghan Markle will be for black feminism (Holpuch A 2017). Most of the discussions from whichever viewpoint cannot disagree that Meghan Markle has experienced great success and with that great privilege which is incomparable to the experiences of everyday regular women in society.

In summary of the third wave of feminist theory, women's experience is not universal. A women's race, class, sexual orientation and various other socio-political differences in the diversity of the population of women vastly characterise the separate and different experiences of women. Therefore, feminism in a broad sense would not be able to theorise the experiences of all women under one umbrella of thought. Instead, it should be the role of feminism to include and recognise each inter-dependable section of theory which represents each social grouping's experiences.

In contemporary feminism, the LGBTQ community argue that their experiences are systematically ignored and discriminated against in feminist theory, and that feminist theory fights to improve inequality for heterosexual binary women only. The possibility only for heterosexual women to partake in feminism discriminates in particular against transgender, either the ones identifying as not included in binary gender or men who have transitioned or are in the process of transitioning to become a woman. A recent discussion was sparked when best-selling Nigerian novelist Adichie argued that trans-women are exclusively trans-women and do not share the experiences of women who have been considered women since birth. She is quoted in a BBC news article stating:

> I think if you've lived in the world as a man with the privileges the world accords to men, and then switched gender, it's difficult for me to accept that then we can equate your experience with the experience of a woman who has lived from the beginning in the world as a woman, and who has not been accorded those privileges that men are. (Mohan, 2017).

While these arguments are controversial, feminism has relied on the social constructions of being a woman from birth and have not considered those women who were born biologically as males. As men are immediately at a privileged advantage in the majority of societies, certain feminist can find it difficult to accept the experiences of trans-women who have experienced the prior privilege of being a man.

LGBTQ feminists have adapted the theories of feminism to be respective of non-binary pronouns. This challenges conceptions of the role of feminism in the theorising of experiences for all women in the ever expanding net of whom in society should be considered in feminist arguments. LGBTQ feminists want to move beyond pronouns such as 'he' and 'she' as it is argued that it is with this immediate distinction of a person's gender relating to their biological sex at birth that is discriminatory of social groups who do not associate themselves with the traditional genders of men and women (Chak A 2015). The arguments surrounding the assigned genders assumed at birth and how this affects feminist theories exclusive to heterosexual women has been advanced further in emergence of children who are being raised without a binary gender. Although this is

uncommon, there have been news stories circulating as famous celebrities make the stance to ditch the labels that binary pronouns such as 'he' and 'she' are associated with. This non-conformance of accepting gender demonstrates the ever-changing face of third wave feminism and it has been suggested that such measures to shift away from traditional gender could be considered as a fourth wave of feminism (Louhrey C 2017).

To conclude, the assumptions of first and second wave feminism that the role of feminism is to theorise the experiences of all women has been recognized as naïve. Such limitations of each wave led to the unequal experiences of diverse ranges of women to be ignored and disregarded for years, creating a paradox in inequality within the fight for equality. In the suffragette movement of the early 20th century, inequalities in the experiences of all women were apparent in the rights for non-white women to vote in America being granted forty years later than to those of white women. This was a huge injustice for non-white American women and greatly affected the experiences of these communities opposed to those of white women. Such inequality within the first wave of feminism was not fully recognised in the second wave of feminism, however advancements were made in the understanding of not just legal inequalities experienced by women but also those of social expectations of a woman's role in society. De Beauvoir's distinctions in her arguments of the differences between sex and gender and the public and private realm advanced the feminist movement to understand the social injustices women face in their socially constructed gender roles. De Beauvoir's pioneering theories are still recognised to this day but the theory lacks the understanding that not all women share the same experiences in feminism.; and unify the sentences Her privileged background alludes to these limits.
The third wave of feminism was formed on the acknowledgement of these limits in feminist theory in the understanding of shared experiences of all women. Black feminism and LGBTQ feminism bring key arguments in the construction of our experience being constrained by society's traditional viewpoints and standards of how gender and race should be assigned. The gender fluidity of feminist theory emerging today challenges the entire paradigm of feminist theory which conforms to the ultimate assignment of gender at birth. With a suggested fourth wave of feminism emerging in these arguments, it is imperative now that all feminists have the understanding that not even being a woman can equate to any form of shared experiences in the incredibly diverse experiences of women. The role of feminism now, is to aim to produce inclusive theories with the recognition that experience is subjective to one's own race, class, sexual orientation, gender and economic background.

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How and why have criminologists analysed crime, community assets and collective efficacy at the neighbourhood level? Discuss with reference to your experience of creating your own SC382 ArcGIS

Sydney Hitchcock

Environmental criminology is a positivists theory which believes that crime is influenced and potentially caused by a person's spatial environment. As a result of this theory, environmental criminologists have developed a major geographical tool to analyse and prevent crime, known as crime mapping. Crime mapping is used to overview crime within a community and to set features that can determine the rates of crime within a community such as levels of deprivation, collective efficacy and community assets. My personal crime map, which was focused on the August 2017 crime data record in Bexley Borough of London and Dartford Borough of Kent, will be discussed, heavily, to describe how and why criminologists analyse crime, community assets and collective efficacy at the neighbourhood level.

Brantingham and Brantingham (1991:16) explained that, 'environmental criminology assumes that criminal events must be understood as confluences of offenders, victims or criminal targets and laws in specific settings at particular times and places'. Environmental criminology emphasises the understanding of criminal activity at the local level by developing a knowledge and gaining an understanding of crime rates and trends within a community, thus, interventions can be effectively tailored to prevent the reoccurrence of future crime happening within the community (Clarke, 1997). For the local government (county councils), through understanding the crime prevention measures, community cohesion, community layout and other unique characteristics of the community 'and their problems, efforts can be made to reduce criminal opportunities' (Wager, Sousa and Kelling, 2017: 334). Therefore, it is essential for criminologists to analyse crime within the community so as to have tailored preventative strategies.

Crime analysis as an investigative tool is defined as 'the set of systematic, analytical processes that provide timely, pertinent information about crime patterns and crime-trend correlations' (Emig et al 1980:33). The crime patterns can be represented visually by using graphs, tables and maps; therefore, criminologists and police forces can use online and desktop programmes such as ArcGIS. ArcGIS is a Geographic Information System (GIS), known generally as a crime mapper because it plots the location of a crime recorded by the police over a given period of time on a digital map (see appendix 1). This can be viewed in several ways, for example in appendix 1, data collected from the police website (www.police.uk), shows the rate of crime in a particular location and in a visual format with each coloured plot representing a different crime at its recorded location. Whilst this information may be important to understand the kinds of crimes taking place in a local area, it is hard to understand where the concentrations of crimes are located due to a particular clustered format. Instead, presenting the data as a heatmap, as shown in appendix 2, is helpful to identify crime distribution and crime hotspots that are specific within areas of high levels of crime concentration (Longstaff et al, 2015). Through the comprehension of the heatmap and the identification of the hotspots, local police can tailor

their policing strategies to effectively deploy police officers to the local hotspots to act as a deterrent. For example, Cambridge University research suggests that 'bobbies on the beat' prevent serious crime (Longstaff et al, 2015). Furthermore, as found in police records in the Peterborough area, by allocating two Police Community Support Officer (PCSO's)' to 34 crime hotspots around Peterborough, 'on average per hotspot, there were 39% fewer crime incidents and 20% fewer 999 emergency calls compared with 38% 999 calls in non-patrolled crime areas' (Knapton, 2016: 1). This was irrespective of the time spent at the hotspot, 'as if, each time the police arrived to a hotspot they renew(ed) their deterrent effect on crime' (Ariel, 2016 cited in Knapton, 2016:1). Therefore, due to ArcGIS' hotspot management, policing deployment is gradually becoming intelligence based, and it ensures that areas with high rate of crimes are efficiently patrolled by officers, which as seen in the Cambridge study, decreased recorded crime incidents.

Nonetheless, using ArcGIS or a similar mapping tool, is a precise example of how crime, such as repeated burglary can be extremely beneficial in understanding the offender and their *modus operandi*. Through plotting 'repeatedly victimised houses in relation to housing type may generate further explanations as to why certain properties are repeatedly targeted' (Hirschfield, 2005: 667). For example, Ashburnham road and Gordon Road in Kent are two streets of terrace houses that were experiencing high rates of burglaries as they were connected by an alleyway behind the garden of both house (appendix 5a). If these burglaries have been plotted earlier on ArcGIS, police officers would have been able to understand that the two roads were being targeted due to the hidden access to the gardens and houses through the alleyway. When this was realised, the Kent Police worked to ensure the alleys became harder to access by attaching spiked gates to the houses where an alley was accessible (see appendix 5b & 5c), therefore disrupting the burglars access to the houses. It could be suggested that because of the attachment of gates (to which only the homeowner with the gate attached, and the emergency services have access to) from November 2016 to November 2017, there was no record of burglary in Ashburnham Road and Gordon Road (www.Police.uk). This highlights the importance of analysing crime data at the local level in order to make architectural alterations, to 'design out crime'.

Furthermore, by analysing crime and understanding community crime maps, criminologists can help the community become a safer place to live and socialise. Dartford and Bexley Borough for example had a large amount of violence and sexual offences (see appendix 1; also articulated in appendix 4a and 4b). Having a grasp on the violence and sexual offences in the borough can help create community assets to deter or prevent these kinds of crimes from continuing. For example, both Bexley and Dartford are part of the Neighbourhood Watch scheme, the scheme is best known for reducing, not only property crime, but also sexual and personal crimes too, which usually happen close to, or in the victims' home. However, the aim of the scheme is to make sure that 'people feel less afraid, vulnerable or isolated in the place where they live' (Neighbourhood Watch, 2016:1). Also, the scheme encourages neighbours to report unusual activities as they believe being neighbourly, that is, reporting suspicious people and activities to the police, helps prevent both people and their properties from being victimised. Therefore, through participating in neighbourhood watch, community members are more likely to contact the police if they perceive anything suspicious, violent and/or sexual behaviour was occurring. This could deter an offender from committing a crime, or could aid in the offender being apprehended by police earlier. Equally, by raising awareness of the high levels of sexual and violent crimes, community members can intervene or take the initiative to prevent these kinds of crimes from happening. For example, fitting bolts to doors and locks to windows would make their homes less of a viable targets. Equally, the local government could intervene by

improving surveillance and street lighting to increase the likelihood of an offender being caught; therefore deterring potential offenders from committing such crimes within the community (Hirschfield, 2005: 664).

The relationship between community decline (social disorganisation) and increased crime rates is not a new phenomenon and has been increasingly recorded by environmental criminologists (Siegele, 1995; Shaw and McKay, 1942). Shaw and McKay's Chicago School Theory (1942) concluded that, first, offenders tend to be concentrated in a certain area. Second, the communities in which offenders reside are characterised by high levels of social disorganisation and third, criminogenic attitudes flourish in these communities. To surmise Shaw and McKay's theory, a clear link has been made which denotes that high crime is due to the decline in community. Similarly, Morris (1957) and Baldwin and Bottoms (1976) noted that crime also tends to be located on housing estates situated far away from local amenities. These housing estates are often described as acting like a broken window system (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) where:

> ...minor incivilities, such as vandalism, graffiti, rowdy behaviour, drunkenness and begging – if unchecked and uncontrolled will set in train a series of linked social responses, as a result of which 'decent' and 'nice' neighbourhoods can 'tip' into fearful ghettos of crime.
> (Crawford, 1998: 130)

The examples highlighted earlier shows how a community, if left to become disorganised, could become an example of a broken window community or a magnet for crime. Following the extensive research surrounding disorganised communities and high crime rates, criminologists and local governments are refocusing their attention to communities' assets and their capabilities to improve the community cohesion and crime reduction. Through mapping of communities' assets, such as; places, institutions and people-all of which increase community cohesion- agencies such as Early Prevention and Intervention Teams can engage their service users (disruptive/vulnerable adults/children and problem families) in proactive and community led activities which can 'increase aspiration, enhance motivation, self-worth and learning' (Kent County Council, 2014:7). This keeps individuals out of crime and disorder by boosting their mental abilities and wellbeing in proactive local tasks.

However, one must ask, how do local governments map their community assets? This can be done in two ways, the first involves geographical mapping using ArcGIS (shown in appendix 1). However, as ArcGIS is a computer programme, it could be frustrating, or it could be inaccessible to certain members of the community, therefore, the local government may choose to use a regular annotated map in their council newsletter to pinpoint the location of several community assets to engage members of the community in activities. Whilst it is useful for community members to understand the location of community assets, there is a practical use in mapping and analysing communities' assets. Mapping community's assets such as a school hall (which is usually available to hire), opens new ventures for the community such as; a new religious areas; activities like choir and dance classes; local theatre groups to practice; community cooking; access to classes and electronic equipment. Through the school utilising their assets, community members now have access to a range of opportunities and facilities which may not have been in existence if these assets were not publicised or mapped. However, as a result of effective mapping, which enables participation in new activities 'the community becomes stronger

and more self-reliant each time a local resident, particularly the "stranger" within, are linked with others… to take on a task together' **(**Kretzman and McKnight, 2004; 346).

Moreover, like a religious institution group, individuals who participate in groups held in the community assets, such as the Bexleyheath's Rock Choir (appendix 6a and 6b), they become a well-acquainted group full of individuals with variety of skills and professions such as; carpenters, plumbers, doctors, nurses and business leaders. Each individual's skills/profession within this group can be utilised effectively in the process of community building and they can become self-reliant rather than seeking unknown external professional. In addition to the community becoming self-reliant, individuals can also become self-reliant by using the school's library, gymnasium, electronic equipment and kitchen facilities to increase their academic or personal capabilities; all of these, which may not have been accessible before the mapping of community assets. However, as it is believed that the effects of community assets and collective efficacy on crime rates are pertinent, it would be interesting, in terms of one's personal crime map, to extensively cover the community assets in order to understand whether the levels of crime recorded are lower in areas with high levels of community assets.

Collective efficacy or 'community cohesion' (Chainey, 2004) is 'the linkage of cohesion and mutual trust' (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999: 612). This is a term coined 'to describe the degree to which neighbours know and trust one another and are willing to intervene (together or individually) to protect their neighbourhood from crime related problems' (Longstaff et al, 2015:29). Collective efficacy acts as a 'protective factor in neighbourhoods that might otherwise experience high crime' (Sampson and Raudenbausch, 1999: 625). For example, if residents in a community are likely or willing to contact the police if they see a stranger acting suspicious around their neighbours' property, or are of the believe that other neighbours would do so, the community would be considered as having high levels of collective efficacy. Research conducted by Bottoms (2012) suggests that if offenders or potential offenders are aware of the willingness of a neighbour to intervene, this would deter the offender from committing the intended crime. Bottoms (2012) and Weisburd (2012) equally suggested that collective efficacy can also work to prevent crime on a micro-location basis. As an example, they suggested that a street with high levels of collective efficacy in a community with high rate crime, it may still be an unappealing to commit an offence in such places. This suggests that strong community efficacy in areas where residential characteristics such as; high population density, length of residency, social organisation and mutual trust, may be considered to be beneficial to enable a once crime ridden community to become far more self-reliant and observant community.

However, it is incredibly difficult to measure collective efficacy, as it is essentially a feeling, and this feeling cannot be quantified. Although, through surveys and census, the government can assess how well neighbours know each other, how likely they are to rely on each other and whether neighbours will intervene and protect their community from crime. Nonetheless, through the collation of information, policy makers, community officers and the police together can attempt to improve collective efficacy by introducing community watch programmes, community guardians and regular community meetings to ensure that community members feel some sense of cohesion within the area.

The US has contributed the idea of 'situational policing'. This idea divides communities 'into four types depending on their levels of crime and collective efficacy and allocates different policing strategies to each community' (Longstaff et al, 2015; 29). These communities are those where:

1. Residents rely on the police for protection as long as the police do what is asked of them.
2. View the police as primarily responsible for their protection but understand that the police cannot fix all the issues surrounding the community.
3. Are frustrated with each other (rather than with police) as they try to work together to improve the neighbourhood.
4. Trust one another and work with the police when the police is needed
   (Nolan et al, 2004)

Situational policing could therefore be used in the UK where police resources are continuing to decline as communities are pressured to take more responsibility in addressing their own crime and disorder issues through programmes such as the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme or 'increasing the flow of community information and intelligence to the police. This level of community policing is done through meetings, officers 'walking the beat' and engaging with resident… and disseminating crime information to the public through the internet, crime maps and newsletters' (Boba Santos 2013, cited in Longstaff et al, 2015:1). Through these methods, communities will become more self-reliant in preventing crimes, but will also become safer since neighbours have the shared interest to protect their community.

Similarly, in relation to Bexley borough where the borough is enrolled in the government's Community Safety Partnership. This is a partnership between local public and voluntary sectors known as 'responsible authorities' work in partnership to reduce crime and disorder, combat drug misuse and reduce re-offending. The responsible authorities act on these views and feelings of community members who are captured in the annual 'big Bexley crime survey' to help improve community efficacy and reduce the rate of crimes. The findings from the survey will be paired with police data to shape partnerships responsibilities for the following year (Bexley Borough Council, 2014; Bexley Community Safer Partnership, nd)

To conclude, the evidence presented in the essay suggest that criminologists are interested in crime analysis, community assets and collective efficacy at a neighbourhood level to enable local communities and police units have more power and autonomy on how communities tackle crime. As explained earlier, using situational policing, the Big Bexley Crime Survey, Community Safety Partnerships' and the Neighbourhood Watch Scheme, communities are able to have higher levels of control over their own area as opposed to enforcing a non-tailored, ineffective government initiatives. This could reduce the pressure on police resources and potentially reduce crime due to their tailored response of police deployment, local policy readjustment, situational crime prevention and defensible architecture. Therefore, through mapping and through crime analyses, community assets and collect efficacy at a local level enables a community to be self-reliant and act as a collective group to reduce crime within their community.

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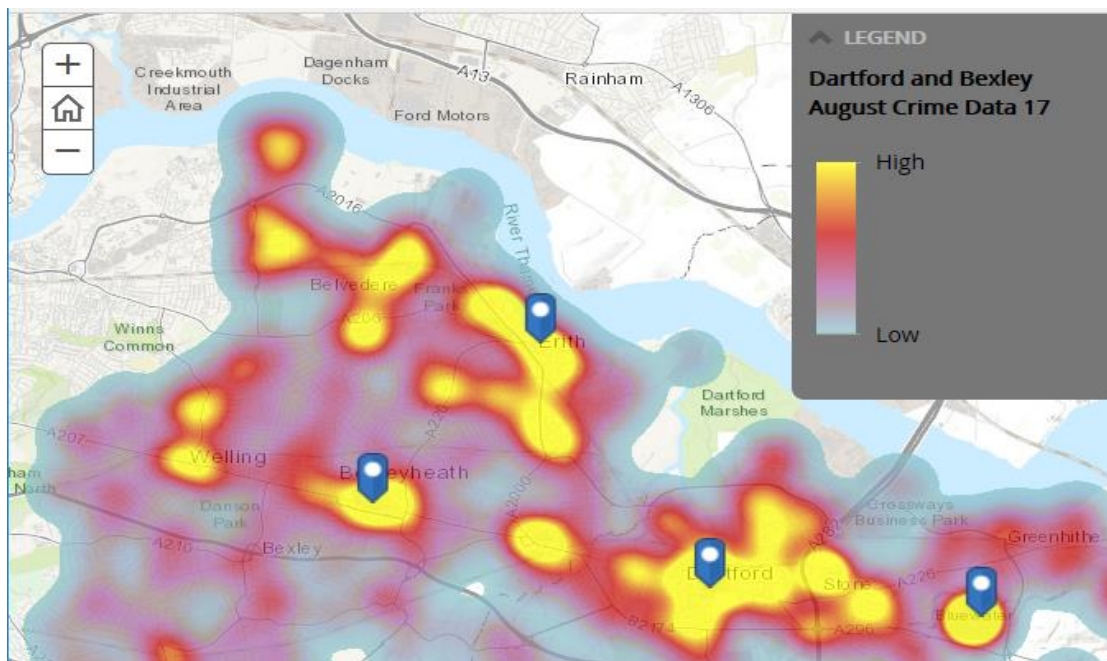
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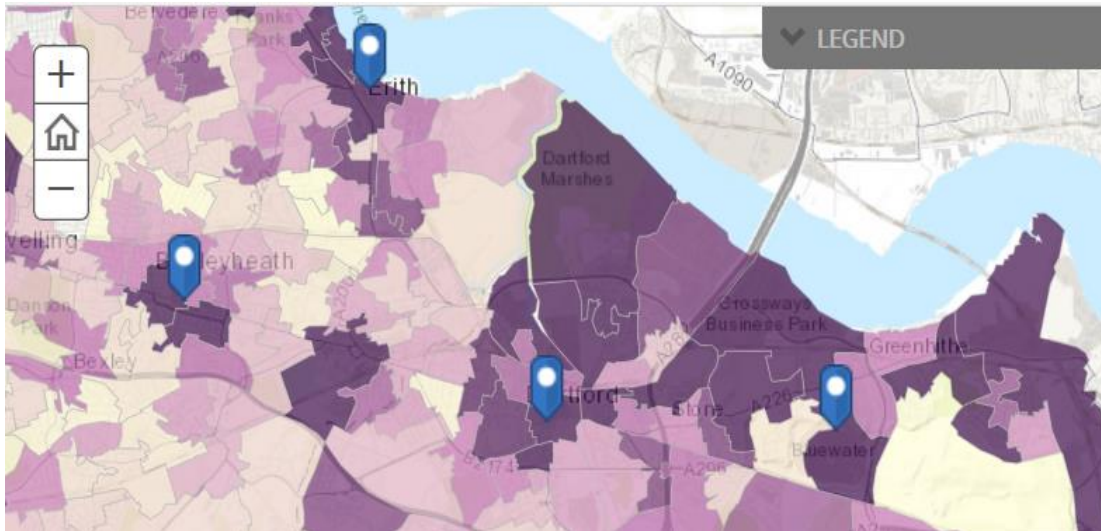
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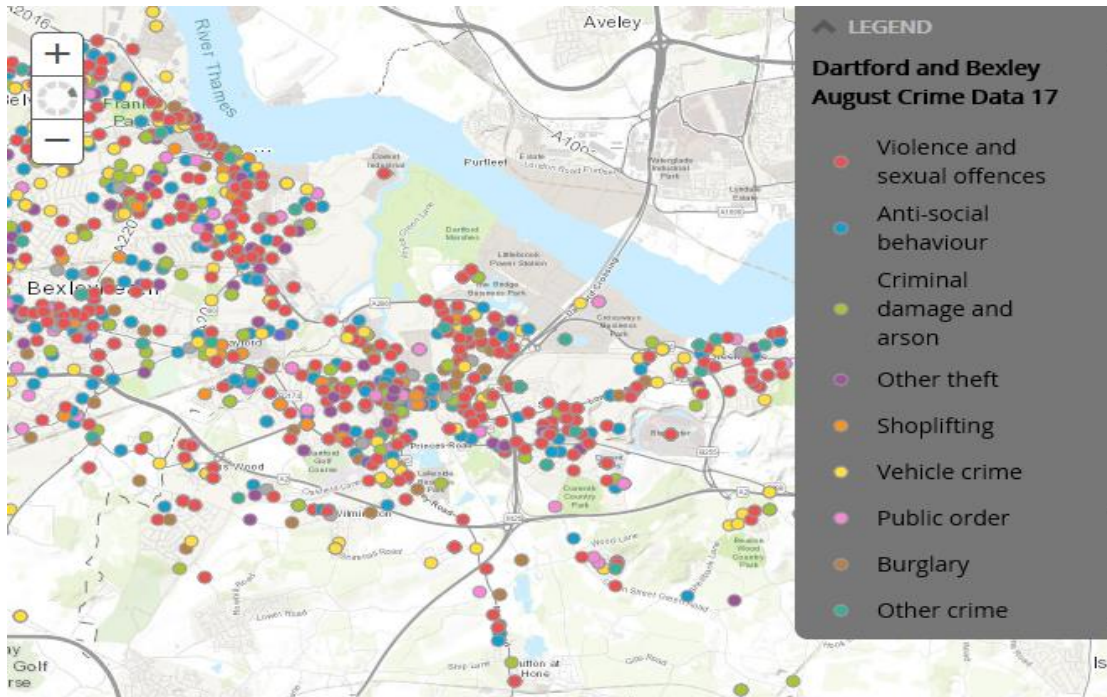
Recorded Police data in August 2017 across Bexley and Dartford Borough: A view of the different types of crime. Source: http://arcg.is/0L5m5b

Appendix 2

A heat map showing the hotspots (high levels of concentrated crime) in yellow. The blue pinpoints show the local shopping centres, where the hotspots appear prominent (Source: http://arcg.is/0L5m5b)

Appendix 3

Highlighting the higher levels of deprivation in the darker shade which is situated in and around the pointed shopping centres and the lower levels of deprivation in the lighter shade, which tends to move further away from the Thames (with an area of Erith as the exception). Source: http://arcg.is/0L5m5b
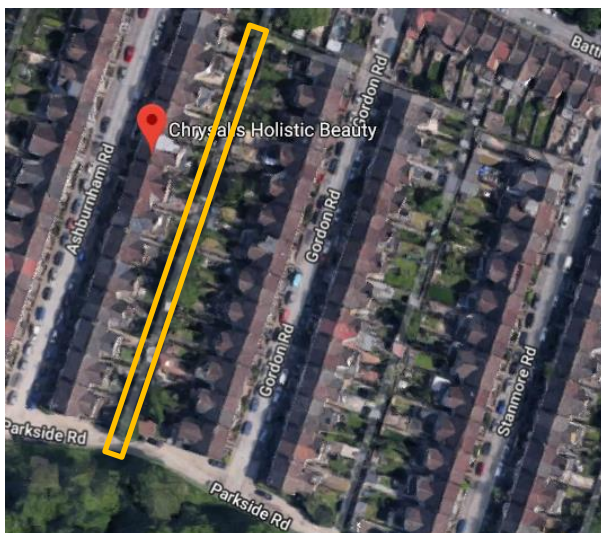
Appendix 4a
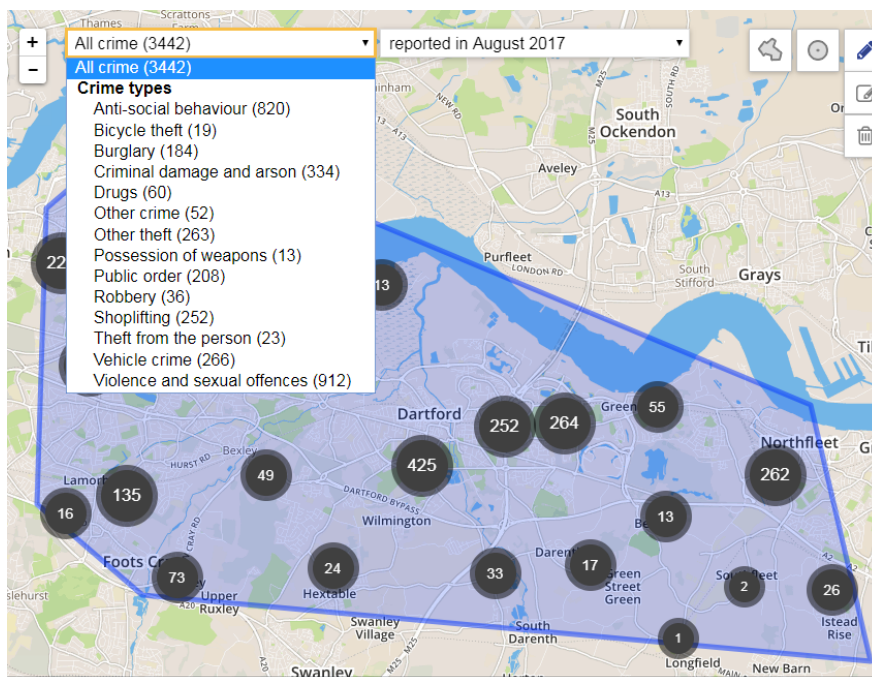
A rough map of Dartford and Bexley Borough's recorded crime in August 2017 (source www.police.uk). The total crimes split into crime types. Violence and Sexual offences is the highest recorded crime, with Bicycle theft and Theft from the Person being the lowest recorded crime. Source: http://arcg.is/0L5m5b
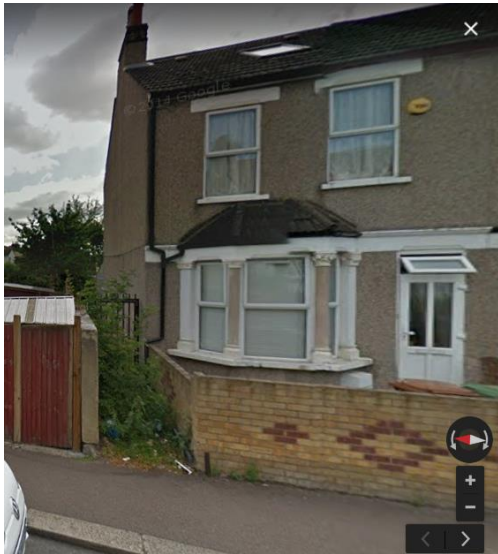
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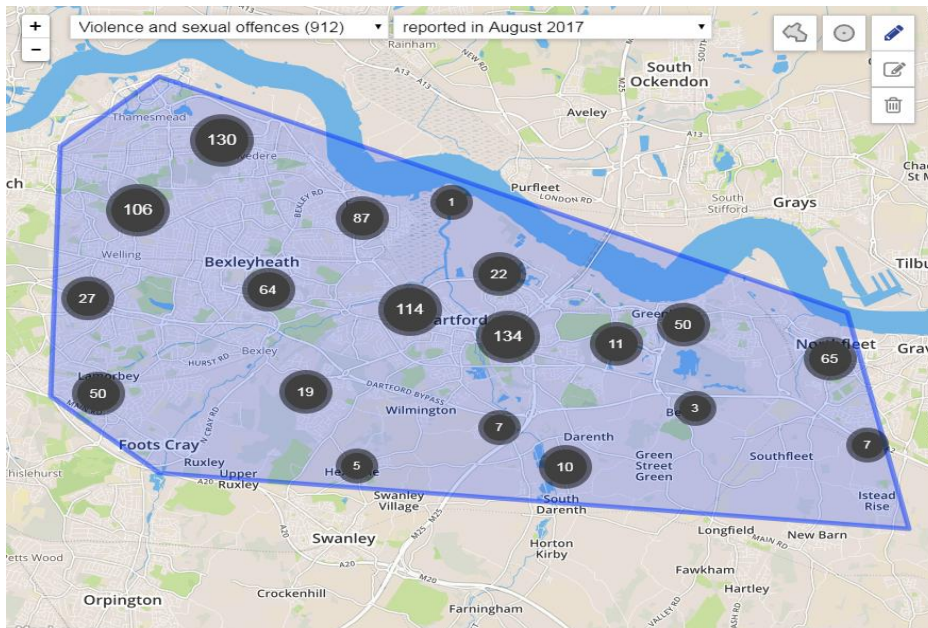
Data from www.police.uk showing a rough map of the total violence and sexual offences recorded by police in Dartford and Bexley Borough in August 2017 – here the total number of violence and sexual offences is 912. The larger numbers of recorded violence and sexual offences also correlate with the hotspots in appendix 2 and higher deprivation levels in appendix 3. Source: http://arcg.is/0L5m5b

Appendix 5a

The alleyway connecting the gardens of Ashburnham and Gordon Road, Belvedere, highlighted between the orange box. Source Google Maps

Appendix 5b

The 'alleyhouse' on Ashburnham Road which has the preventative measure of a gate attached. This stops, or prevents burglars from accessing the alley and houses gardens. Source Google Maps
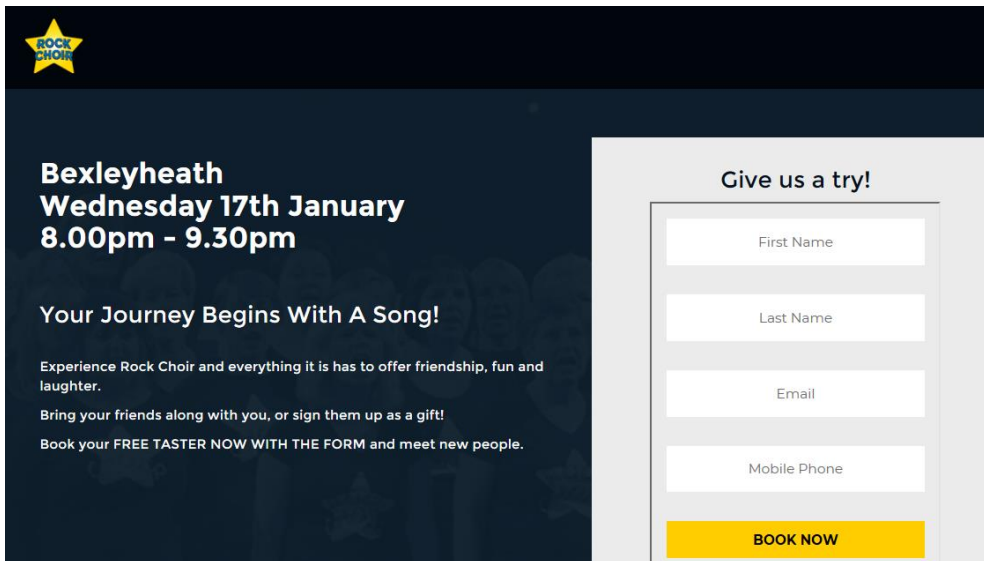
Appendix 5c

The gate attached to Gordon Road, this prevents people accessing the alleyway from Gordon Road and Ashburnham Road. Source: Google Maps

Appendix 6a

Bexleyheath Rock Choir singing at Danson Park, Bexleyheath. Source: Google Images

Appendix 6b

Bexleyheath's rock choir page, for local community members to join, where they can experience friendship, fun and laughter. Source: www.rockchoir.com

How useful is Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' for understanding inequality in contemporary society?

Chloe Jones

When looking at the question posed, we must first consider what Bourdieu means by 'habitus'. Bourdieu claims habitus is:

> ...a system of classificatory models is objectively referred, via the social conditionings which produced it, to a social condition: agents classify themselves, expose themselves to classification, by choosing, in conformity with their tastes, different attributes, clothes, types of food, drinks, sports, friends, which go well together...and which they find suitable for their position. More exactly, they classify themselves by choosing, in the space of available goods (Bourdieu, 1990: 132).

By this, Bourdieu outlines habitus as subconscious thought, a way in which individuals act in certain situations, and although habitus does not prove to be entirely unchangeable, it becomes embodied within us. The concept then works on the idea that our habitus helps us to know how we should behave; even more so, Bourdieu suggests that it could prevent social mobility among individuals and help us to understand inequalities within society. I propose to look at this in terms of education and gender, to examine how habitus can produce inequalities in those aspects of an individual's life. However, I am unsure that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is entirely useful in explaining inequalities in societies, as I feel the theory alone cannot help those interested in understanding why inequalities persist. Therefore, I shall attempt to show how different forms of capital are as important in understanding inequalities in terms of social and cultural capital, and how these aspects reproduce inequalities in education and gender. Furthermore, I explain how economic capital is an important aspect to understand inequality, perhaps if not certainly more so than habitus.

Firstly, I begin by examining education within contemporary society. Within the United Kingdom, inequalities in education prevail, especially among lower-class students, 'with those on free school meals and receiving pupil premium 27% less likely to achieve five or more GCSEs at grades A*-C including English and maths' (Ferguson, 2017). Sociologists aim to discover why inequalities in education occur; as we can see from the quote above, working-class and lower-class students suffer the most from educational inequality within schooling and education, what most theorist try to answer is the reason why this happens.

I will begin to explore how habitus helps us to understand these inequalities but I will also show how cultural capital is crucial in clarifying as well, and how these two concepts coincide. It has been argued that 'Success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of cultural capital and of higher class habitus' (Sullivan,2002:144). Not only does this show how the two intertwine, but it also shows that lower- class students do not possess these qualities and thus according to this idea, cannot be as successful. Starting with looking at habitus, I found Bourdieu's notion of the concept difficult in explaining educational inequalities; however, a few examples of habitus gave some understanding. The first idea noticed is the awareness that habitus can be learnt from your family and this can be a restraining factor as, if 'a person's habitus is acquired, at least in a significant part, through the family, and this, for example, structures their educational experiences' (Thomas,2002;430) it can mean that a child in education remains close to what they and their family know, for example a working class student may opt out of going to university, as no one within their family unit has attended before, and thus their habitus does not cover the experience of university life. From this, we can determine that "a student from a non-traditional background may therefore feel like `a fish out of water' and thus return to their familiar habitus" (Thomas, 2002:431) for fear of being excluded or facing symbolic violence, as they are unaware of how to behave in this circumstance. The notion of habitus here undoubtedly explains inequality because, if

only upper and upper-middle class students possess the correct habitus to attend university education, all students therefore do not have equal opportunities. In relation to this, within the conception of Bourdieu's habitus in education, there is a belief that 'in society certain classes and groups are dominant and so control access to educational and career opportunities' (Thomas, 2002:430). The groups of those who possess a more upper-class habitus are dominant, and thus they create what is known as a traditional habitus within education. Therefore 'a traditional institutional habitus tends to reinforce initial inequalities, and these expectations are internalized by students so they expect to do less well than their middle-class peers' (Thomas, 2002:433). This proves why inequalities do exist, as the institutional habitus implies that the education system 'treats all students as if they possessed it' (Thomas, 2002:433) and those who do not, fail or suffer in terms of the education they receive as a result.

Secondly, in terms of education we must look at cultural capital, which is best defined simply in three forms:

> ...in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.) ... and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications (Bourdieu 1986:17)

For the purpose of this idea, we shall be looking at the embodied part and examining how habitus does not successfully explain inequality in education without cultural capital. When discussing cultural capital and how the term relates to habitus and education, we look again at Bourdieu's input. In 1973 Bourdieu 'argued that one's habitus develops in relation to how much cultural capital one has' (Dumais, 2002:47). This implies that students from working class backgrounds may realise they have less cultural capital and thus they know that, based on parents/grandparent's success in life, their chances of succeeding are low and they embody a belief about themselves that they should stay within the boundaries of their habitus and what they know and follow conventional norms of their class and low cultural capital. This indisputably puts these children at a disadvantage, as they will not attempt higher educational attainment. Furthermore, children from upper class backgrounds obtain cultural capital through the home environment when they are young, and this benefits them in an important way. Primarily, for upper class students 'cultural capital is inculcated in the higher-class home, and enables higher-class students to gain higher educational credentials than lower-class' (Sullivan, 2002:145-146) but, what are the reasons behind this? It has been suggested that 'children have more cultural capital (having been exposed to it from birth in their upper middle- and upper-class families) feel more comfortable in school, communicate easily with teachers, and are therefore more likely to do well in school' (Dumais, 2002:46). Therefore, this proves that upper-class students obtain embodied and institutionalised cultural capital, and they are generally as a group more successful than those working-class students. By looking at how cultural capital and habitus together explain inequalities within education, we have a much broader understanding of what restraints are placed on some students, much more than if we just looked at habitus alone.

Following on from education, I now examine habitus' role within gender. When discussing gender, I will be discussing women and how a female gendered habitus can illuminate gender inequalities. In term of gender, inequalities persist in contemporary society, for example 'The ONS report said: "While the gap has certainly decreased over time, it is still much higher than the gap for younger women 20 years ago' (Rudgard, 2017). Consequently, from this we know inequality is happening but, how can habitus explain why women are facing inequality, yet men are not? Anne Oakley presents an argument of habitus through socialisation, in which she stated that when women are 'incorporated into the labour market, tended to favour careers which serve as an extension of their 'traditional' role as carers, such as nursing, teaching' (Ashall, 2004:27) and so on. The reason for this lies within thin habitus and socialisation: in fact, from a young age girls are taught to be caring and maternal, roles that are considered a women's job and feminine. This ingrained idea of feminism puts an individual at a disadvantage as:

An infant who learns to be a woman will find that her femininity is both a constraint and an enabler; her habitus is gendered…By learning to be a woman, she unwittingly reproduces the system that subordinates the feminine' (Ashall, 2004:32).

Women are socialised and learn their habitus from a young age to believe that the correct behaviour is to be one that resembles their stereotypical job as a mother, but, these jobs can also be unstable and low-paid. Furthermore, this prevents women from seeking an occupation or career that does not involve caring aspects, jobs that are stereotypically and historically more suited to men. The reason for this is simple, jobs like this involve certain traits that a woman's personality and habitus does not always have, such as competitiveness and assertiveness. The woman is aware that these "characteristics may meet disapproval from other women as well as from men who consider her 'sexless' or 'unfeminine'" (Ashall, 2004:27) and thus, the fear of being seen in this way and not following their habitus, prevents many women from striving to not only apply for jobs but for promotions too, and one of the 'main reasons why occupational equality shows as yet no signs of being achieved' (Ashall, 2004:27). From this we can see how habitus can play a part in explaining gender inequalities, and how the inequalities within society can be internalised and embodied into our habitus, meaning the inequalities continue throughout time.

However, habitus cannot explain gender inequalities alone, there are reasons why women are inferior to men in some situations that can be accurately explained by social capital. Social capital relates to:

> …the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

We understand this network to include relationships, friendships and (obtaining) group membership. These relations benefit certain individuals, one most crucial way for this is economically. But, even though social capital explains class inequalities, it also helps us to understand gender. Women suffer due to social capital as one of the most common types of social capital is known as the old-boy network, that the Cambridge Business English Dictionary (2011) defines this phrase as 'the informal system in which men who went to the same school or university help each other to find good jobs or get other social advantages' (the old-boy network, 2011:583). Notice that this definition only relates to men and thus not women; due to this, we can assume that:

> …social capital provides fewer opportunities for women to mobilize their social resources, contacts and networks to obtain employment and promote their careers creating a loss for women'. (Timberlake, 2005:43)

These inequalities occur due to men having more social capital, they meet more influential people and obtain more benefiting relations from their single sex public schooling. An example of this would be politicians David Cameron and Boris Johnson, who both attended Eton, Oxford University and then were two of the most well-known members of the Conservative Party. While it does not seem impossible for women to create these networks, it is less likely and thus means that women are at a disadvantage to men and this can explain why some gender inequalities still exist.

Furthermore, women's lack of social capital means that they often can advance in their workplaces only if other women hold similar positions; this is demonstrated by this quote by Ashall:

> Social capital is also heavily influenced by gender, the implications of which include the fact that women are more likely to be promoted to levels where women are already present. … it may be that what is thought of as a glass ceiling is actually a glass door, which can only be opened by women if other women have opened it previously (Ashall, 2004:26).

This conveys the view that social capital among women only works if there are existing women in managerial and higher positions within the establishment. From this idea, we can tell that habitus

cannot fully describe gender inequalities. While we must accept that there is possibility within Bourdieu's habitus notion to explain inequalities in society to some degree, habitus cannot explain gender inequalities completely without capital; especially social capital, which holds an important role in understanding why inequalities persist.

Finally, I argue that economical capital may be a better method of understanding inequalities within contemporary society. Economic capital refers predominantly to money/ income and assets such as property. Bourdieu defines it as 'immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights' (Bourdieu 1986: 16). Within contemporary society there is a vast amount of economic inequality with:

> ...the top one or five percent of income earners have more or less doubled their share of total income since the early 1980s and we have now almost returned to pre-1914 levels of income inequality (Savage and Williams, 2008:1).

This means that while the richest individuals may be getting wealthier, the distribution of wealth within the UK has returned now to reflect inequalities levels that were seen one hundred years prior to current day. Therefore, as we can tell that 'the amount of economic capital at their disposal, gives a person certain advantages or disadvantages that structure their possible occupation and income' (Ashall, 2004:23) we can begin to establish that economic capital is important when studying inequalities. One may question why this is more accommodating in understanding inequalities, I would argue that there are three reasons for this. Firstly, 'economic capital can be directly inherited by children' (Shilling, 1991:668) therefore it could be argued that this is more influential to inequalities because, while other forms of capital and habitus are determined to experience and what takes place in socialisation, you are born into a determined economic capital and class and that could be an advantage or disadvantage. Secondly, economic capital can have a physical impact: people who have a less economic capital are more likely to face more health problems, as it has been noted that 'having little economic capital can cause more stress and feelings of powerlessness, thus adversely influencing health' (Pinxten and Lievens, 2014:1098). However, this was not the case for those with a higher economic capital, a study by Pixten and Lievens (2014) found that the:

> ...results suggest there is a positive association between economic capital and measures of health. This positive association is probably related to the increased availability of both better material and psychosocial resources to people with more economic capital (Pinxten and Lievens, 2014:1106).

From this we can determine that because economic can give a physical disadvantage on individuals, this could have more influence in explaining inequalities than habitus. Thirdly, we discuss the idea that economic capital can be made from and transferred into other types of capital. For example, cultural capital can often be turned into economic capital; it has been suggested that 'cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications Bourdieu, 1986:16)'. Thus, this concept works in a cycle, parents possess economic capital in which they can afford to send children to an honourable school, in which they gain cultural and social capital such as the old boy-network which allows them to obtain a high level of qualifications and so fore acquire a respectable occupation and more economic capital which can be passed on through generations. The cycle described is something people born into low economic capital do not experience. From the points above we can see how economic capital influences inequality within society, some would argue perhaps more so than habitus.

In conclusion, while Bourdieu's notion of habitus provides us with a good insight and understanding of inequalities within factors such as gender and education within contemporary society, this concept alone cannot adequately explain this phenomenon. Without the influence of capital, referring to cultural, social and economic habitus fails to provide an explanation. I believe that the best way to accurately explain and understand different types of inequality is if these

factors are incorporated together. The forms of capital and habitus together provide a more widespread view of the reasons inequalities exist and therefore we must consider these, and not just habitus alone, when discussing inequality.

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To what extent is street crime in the UK a result of global forces?

Ciara Mole

This essay will illustrate that although street crime may appear local in its manifestations, its dynamics have shifted due to global forces, and it will discuss what global forces set these unique dynamics into motion. The relationship between street crime in the United Kingdom (UK) and global forces will be analysed in detail throughout this essay. In order to demonstrate this relationship, the examples used will include drug trade and crime in the night time economy (NTE). The global forces analysed in this essay refer to the impacts of the globalisation process and the pervasiveness of neoliberal ideology in economic and political discourse throughout the globe that thus affects the dynamics of street crime in the UK. This essay will begin with a brief explanation of the global forces that will be referred to throughout; these global forces will then be examined to illustrate the ways in which they have impacted crime at a street level in the UK. Finally, this essay will discuss the impact global forces have had on the discourse and governance of street crime.

The first global force is globalisation. Globalisation is a term used to describe the profound economic and structural changes occurring during the twentieth century to nations across the globe, particularly Western ones. The globalisation process was characterised by a 'growing interconnectedness of states and societies and the progressive enmeshment of human communities with each other' (Held, 2000 cited in Aas, 2013: 4), enhancing the rapid movement of people, goods and services, and decreasing the difficulty of transport, imports, exports and communication between nations, creating a time-space compression (Harvey, 1990) of the globe and its population. As will be explained further below, whilst globalisation has provided ample new opportunities for the expansion of legitimate business and communication, it has too created new avenues for criminal enterprises and cross-border illegality.

The second global force that will be referred to in this essay is neoliberalism. The pervasiveness of the neoliberal political ideology has dominated Western economies since the 1970s and has since spread globally. In the UK, neoliberalism was facilitated by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and in the United States by President Ronald Reagan. The neoliberal political economy advocates economic liberalisation, the 'transfer of economic power and control from governments to private markets' (Centeno and Cohen, 2012: 318), the deregulation and free rein of market forces, and the encouragement of individual responsibility. The neoliberal globalisation has encouraged 'the exchange of goods and services across national borders…and the development of international organisations' (George, 1999, cited in Smith, 2012). The two global forces are interdependent, and this essay will now illustrate the extent to which street crime in the UK is a result of the global forces explained above.

The illicit drugs trade in the UK is not a new phenomenon. However, the history of drugs and their criminalisation is the first starting point for the demonstration of the impact of global forces on street crime. The use of drugs such as opiates, cocaine and cannabis has not always been illegal in the UK. Before the First World War these were used for approved medical purposes. After the turn of the twentieth century, in an era characterised by 'new methods of control and concerns about respectability' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 264-265), legislations were introduced in order to manipulate and control the use of drugs. From the

1908 Poisons and Pharmacy Act, to The Misuse of Drugs Act (Lee and South, 2008), the last 100 years have seen a criminalisation of drugs in the UK, and much of the 'war on drugs' discourse has been adopted from the US. A zero-tolerance rhetoric and policing approach to street level drugs imported from the US, which will be explained further, has led to the rise in drug offense arrests in the UK. In the years 1998/99, the number of drug offences rose from 136,000 to 232,000 in 2010/11 (Chaplin et al, 2011 cited in Carrabine et al, 2014: 277). The change in legislation has thus impacted street crime in the UK by criminalising acts that were once not illegal or sanctioned.

As globalisation has enhanced the opportunities for the legal market and the production and movement of legal products, it has also created further opportunities for illegal markets, products and exploitation. As noted by Drake et al (2010), 'if transnational policing is a response to the needs and demands of increasingly integrated world economics (licit and illicit trade), the opportunities for criminal activities…will also increase and continually change and develop' (2010: 188). Policies that aim to eradicate and/or reduce the production, importation, selling and marketing of illegal drugs in the UK have thus attempted to adjust tactics in conjunction with the ever-changing drug market. However, the following paragraphs will demonstrate that global forces have exacerbated the drug trade in the UK, both in terms of criminal opportunity and criminal justice approaches to this issue – such as the zero-tolerance approach explained above.

In its first year of operation (2013), the National Crime Agency (NCA) seized approximately seventy tonnes of cocaine and five tonnes of heroin (NCA, 2017). Per annum, it is estimated that the illicit drugs trade has a value of over £4 billion in the UK. These figures do not include the cost to the community and the health and social services. It could be argued that the illicit drug market's changing dynamics and expansion has occurred as a result of the global forces of globalisation and the pervasiveness of the global, neoliberal political economy. As argued by Castells (2004) and Naim (2006), 'the growth of illegal and illicit opportunities has been, according to several observers, an essential part of globalization and the deregulation of national economies' (cited in Aas, 2013: 17). Globalisation has increased the efficiency of the illicit drug market at street level in the UK. The relaxation and increased opportunity of cross-border trade as a result of neoliberal policy has changed the dynamics of drug crime at a street level. The decrease in the cost of the transportation of illicit drugs, communication of information and the increase in opportunity of hiding these illicit materials have all exacerbated the efficiency of the illicit drug market (Storti and De Grauwe, 2008). The ample opportunity for the smuggling of drugs decreases the risk of seizure. For example, between 1990 and 2014 the amount of containers passing through Rotterdam 'increased threefold, when in 2014 they had a net weight of 127.6 million tonnes'. It is not surprising that seizures of heroin and cocaine destined for areas across Europe from containers in Rotterdam increase year on year (EU Drugs Market Report, 2016), yet they still do not have a detrimental effect on the dealers or the market. The innumerable avenues of transport for the smuggling of illicit drugs reduce chances of seizure and continuously stretch the resources of supply containment policies nationally and internationally.

Furthermore, technological advances in the era of globalisation have also impacted drugs and street crime in the UK. Whilst globalisation and neoliberal market policies have allowed for the almost free-flowing movement of illicit drugs on the ground, the market has also expanded to the online sphere. By hiding their IP addresses, dealers can anonymously sell illicit drugs to users without being traced. The Global Drug Survey (2017) maintains that in the last year alone, the proportion of drug users who have used the dark web

'increased from 18.3 per cent to 25.3 per cent of users' (Kentish, *The Independent*, 2017). Cyberspace is now being used as an alternative to and in conjunction with the on-street drug market in an environment that provides a multitude of opportunities for the commission of crime (Gibson, 1984).

A second example of the extent that street crime in the UK is a result of global forces is crime in the night time economy (NTE). The NTE is underpinned by a change in the economy which has been driven by the global political economy of neoliberalism and globalisation, thus global forces. In the 1970s, cities such as Manchester, which were once known for their manufacturing, production and exporting of goods, were left with derelict factories and warehouses due to industrial decline. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the 1970s sold and outsourced the majority of mines and factories that once characterised the cities of production and employed the citizens of those parts of the UK. Following this, the regeneration of cities as a result of neoliberal policies of deregulation and free markets saw the establishment of 'night-time leisure economies' (Lovatt and O'Connor, 1995), the replacement for the financial capital once made from the production of goods. The post-industrial era saw a shift from the 'managerial functions of local service provision, toward an entrepreneurial stance primarily focused on the facilitation of economic growth' (Hobbs et al, 2000: 701), from a society of producers to a society of consumers (Bauman, 1998).

As previously noted, neoliberalism advocates the deregulation of the economy; giving free rein to market forces (Aas, 2007). The global infiltration of the neoliberal economic mentality encouraged the competitiveness of UK cities in regards to the night time entertainment they provide to their consumers. The neoliberal government helped to develop the market by offering tax breaks to businesses that move to certain areas, and relaxed planning and licensing laws. The rapid growth of the NTE is evident. In 2000, the Home Office reported that 145% more liquor licenses were granted in the 1990s than in the 1980s (2000). Characterised by binge-drinking and short-run hedonism, it is not surprising that ninety percent of facial injuries that took place in bars and forty-five percentage that took place on the street were associated with alcohol consumption (Hutchinson et al, 1998). However, one must question the extent to which street crime in the NTE can be blamed on purely reckless binge-drinking youths and city workers. Wider structural contexts must be considered when analysing street crime in the NTE. The mass restructuring of the urban environment, as well as the regeneration of industrial cities have an integral part to play in the explanation of such crimes (Winlow and Hall, 2006).

As the dynamics of street crime are continuously modified by the global forces examined throughout this essay, the discourse and policing strategies deployed to tackle these crimes have also had to change. As noted by Aas (2013), 'contemporary societies…are developing new methods, new rationalities and solidarities in responding to these issues' (2013: 2). It must be remembered that street crime has always existed in the UK. Global forces, such as those evaluated above, have provided new avenues for the commission and exacerbation of street crime, such as drugs and crime in the NTE. As explained, time-space compression in neoliberal UK has made communication across thousands of miles possible in seconds, increasing our awareness of national and international issues without having to move from our computer screens or sofas (Harvey, 1990). Our ability to access information from across the globe has increased our global consciousness (Beck, 1992), allowing us to learn about issues without cross-border boundaries. Globalisation has pulled local issues into being; the local becomes the global (Robertson, 1995) and with that 'the merging of global threats and local fears seem to have become a daily occurrence' (Aas, 2013: 2). We are now living in a hyper-mediated world. Our global town/city is presented as an arena of

continual images of crime and disorder, characterised by intensified insecurities of global threats, and thus new forms of policing have emerged in response to the fears of the public. The policing and governance of crime following these global forces has focused on the reduction of risk, 'a series of features of neo-liberal governance were responsible for bringing it to the forefront' (O'Malley, 2010: 20). Globalisation and the pervasiveness of neoliberal policy in a global context have also changed the ways in which we govern street level crime in the UK.

The global impact on drugs in the UK has, thus, altered strategies of policing this issue. As argued by Lee and South (2008), 'the policing of drugs reflects wider politics, social change and perceptions of threats to social order and everyday life' (Lee and South, 2008: 497). Firstly, neoliberal ideologies of risk management have encouraged the use of zero-tolerance policing in the UK. As previously explained, strategies of policing are often adopted from the US, with "the New York 'success story' [being] one of the most significant elements in the development of the idea of zero tolerance in Britain" (Bowling, 1999: 532). Further, as argued by Green and Grewcock (2002), "the Americanisation of drug control policy has been instrumental in establishing 'the current framework of border control and surveillance'" (cited in Lee, 2011: 108).

Secondly, since the 1970s, much of what is categorised as 'serious' or 'organised' crime has been related to the drug trade. The illegal drug market is a global phenomenon, and with the ever-growing opportunities for its transport and 'quantum leaps in information and communications technology that feed an image of globalisation in both illicit as well as licit enterprise' (Edwards and Gill, 2002: 254), international efforts have been made in an attempt to produce more efficient forms of policing drugs. There has been an expansion of police co-operation in response to the growth in cross-border crime which aims to co-ordinate the most effective response to transnational organised crime; from legislative concerns, the training of experts, strategic considerations of how to best apply laws and legislation, to the structure of the policing and punishment of those classed as transnational organised criminals. Police organisations, such as Interpol were created in order to facilitate communication between international police forces. Regional equivalents have also been established, such as the 'quasi-federal police agency' (Lee, 2011: 134) Europol, established in 1992, that aims to coordinate police information between EU Member States in an era of an increasingly globalised world that exacerbates the commission of cross-border crime. Europol aims to combat and prevent all classifications of serious international organised crime by improving the co-operation and communication of Member States (Brady, 2008).

In relation to crime in the NTE, neoliberal policies which advocate the privatisation of services have changed the dynamics of the sources of governance of the city centre. With the influx of binge-drinking students, young adults and city workers, these groups must be controlled in different ways. Local police do not have the resources to deal with such disorder due to austerity, thus, as highly favoured by neoliberal ideologies, private security in the form of bouncers evolves rapidly in order to 'control' these drinking zones. Today, approximately half a million people are employed in security roles in the private security sector, which contributes an estimate of £6 billion to the UK economy (Skills for Security, 2017). Characterised by the art of intimidation and 'muscle power', the bouncers of the NTE pose many questions of accountability and responsibility. One could argue that the extent of street crime, for example interpersonal violence, in the NTE is unknown because of the environment in which it occurs. The 'drunk and disorderly' lack agency and

credibility, and any form of violence perpetrated by the bouncers is unlikely to be reported and, thus, the true extent of crime in the NTE is obscure.

In conclusion, this essay has examined in detail the ways in which global forces have shifted the dynamics of crime in the UK at a street level. Whilst crimes, such as drugs and crime in the NTE, may seem rather local/national issues, this essay has demonstrated that the globalisation process, in partnership with the pervasiveness of the global neoliberal political economy, has proliferated opportunities for the commission of crime and has caused structural and economic changes to towns and cities across the UK. From neoliberal policies that have increased the competition of cities in the NTE, to the globalisation process increasing routes of the transport of illicit goods, global forces have impacted crime in the UK on a local level. Furthermore, the policing and governance of street crime in the UK has been discussed, including the ways in which strategies have had to change in order to keep up with the changing dynamics of street crime in the ever-globalising world. International and regional police organisations have been created in order to tackle transnational organised crime, as well as the necessity for increased governance of the NTE which is characterised by drunken violence and unpredictable environments.

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Outline and assess how and why Barthes' treated popular culture as ideological

Iona Stratton

In the postmodern world, the 'nature' of knowledge has significantly shifted (Nicholson, 2013: 50). We now live in an information society in which popular culture has seeped into daily life. The global village has led to the interconnection of communities and the emergence of popular culture (McLuhan, 2011). Popular culture refers to the everyday products of mass culture which are consumed by the majority of society, such as TV soaps and 'red top' tabloid newspapers (Browne, 2014: 179). Today, popular culture substantially provides for the masses, in turn, it has a significant impact on the 'nations culture' (Anderson and Taylor, 2012: 46). It is argued that popular culture in contemporary society is associated with simple and passive consumption, and Postmodernists argue that producers of popular culture no longer 'reflect reality' (Browne, 2014: 185) but play an active role in crafting it. Therefore, Structuralist Barthes argues that through the semiotic analysis of popular cultures, deeper ideological meanings can be discovered. However, is Barthes analysis relevant to the rapidly globalised world?

Influenced by Marx and Structuralism, Barthes thoroughly explored the semiology of French culture, illustrated in *Mythologies* (1957). For Barthes, popular culture consistently presents 'ideological objects and values' (Allen, 2004: 34) as natural and indisputable. Focusing on 1950's French society, he found that popular culture contains hidden signs and codes, which are culturally and historically specific systems of meanings (Strinati, 2004: 96). Heavily influenced by Saussure's first order system of signs and linguist Hjelmslev, Barthes understanding of semiology involves orders of representation; first and second order systems of signs. In the first order system, any sign is constituted in two parts: the signifier and the signified. This is the denotative level, and is essentially the signs primary meaning. The signifier acts as the material object or image, whereas the signified is the mental concept or meaning which individuals attach to the sign. The signified helps individuals 'infer symbolic meaning' (Barchi Panek, 2012: 19) by using connotations within the second order system of signs. For instance, when analysing flowers, at the second layer of signification, the sign 'flowers' becomes a signifier for the consumption of them on special occasions. Not being given them illustrates a connotation of an absence of romance. Here, the myth is the romance, which is commodified, and essentially is transported away from the innocent meaning of true love. Therefore, the signified myth is not arbitrary, but determined.

These connotations are determined by codes which the individual has access to, and cultural codes act as a foundation for interpretation. As a result, particular connotations are commonly recognised within cultures. Barthes, therefore, states that 'the first system becomes the plane of expression, or signifier, of the second system' (Barthes 1977: 28). Essentially, the sign is the 'associative total' (Storey, 2006: 295) of the signifier and signified, or the concept and the image, which is a 'concrete entity' (Storey, 2006: 295). Building upon Saussure's first order meanings, Barthes states that there is a dualistic process whereby the first order system of signs serves second order meanings. This transformation is through mythology. Mythology is essentially when dominant cultural and historical values have become completely natural, and are true reflections of society. Linking to contemporary culture, Barthes explained that French society had a mythic

nature and that the denotations of signs are subject to the second order and its connotative meaning, which is illustrated by its mythology.

These mythologies help 'shape understanding' (Huppatz, 2011: 85) of how material objects function in popular consumer culture. The concept of the myth produces meaning and transforms the sign into a universal value (Barchi Panek, 2012: 19). For instance, fish and chips have historically become a symbol of collective British identity. Fundamentally, Barthes concludes that this system 'confirms, reproduces and transmits pre-existing information generated by hegemonic social and cultural discourses' (Monticelli, 2016: 444).

In this sense, ideology is the process where historically and culturally specific objects are presented as 'timeless, universal and thus natural' (Allen, 2004: 34), which galvanises them as shared beliefs and fundamental elements of society (Browne, 2014). Often these mythologies and ideologies carry historical and cultural stereotypes, and Barthes states these stereotypes are diseases of 'thinking in essences' (Duncan and Duncan, 1998: 48). Recently, stereotypes of immigrants have been increasingly negative. Both shaping and enhancing societal view, portrayals in the mass media have seen immigrants as "pollutants" (Premji et al., 138). The signified negative connotations of immigrants are shared historically and culturally in contemporary Britain, particularly illustrated through the Brexit result. It seems that the Brexit result represented a 'natural' view that too many immigrants have been crossing British borders. Therefore, linking back to Barthes, the seemingly collective stereotype of immigration held by the British public can be seen as a result of thinking in essences (Duncan and Duncan, 1998: 48). Barthes ideology can, therefore, be summarised as 'the naturalization of culturally specific phenomena' (Allen, 2004: 35). This infers that popular culture, in this case, media representations of immigrants as 'Unwanted invaders' (Parker, 2015: 6), therefore contains deep ideological meanings, which can be analysed through Barthes Semiology.

In contemporary society, Barthes analysis of popular culture as ideological can be best understood through mass media. The mass media has undoubtedly saturated the postmodern world, arguably containing hidden ideological messages. Historically, this can be seen as true. Hitler and the Nazis were behind the most infamous propaganda campaign in contemporary history (Herzstein, 1978). This involved the Nazis efforts in governing the film industry and nationwide radio stations, which essentially transmitted and 'inculculated the official ideology of the fascist state' (Strinati, 2004: 4). Here it is clear that the Nazis manipulated popular culture to diffuse their fascist ideology on a mass scale. For the head of 'Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda', Goebbels, the Nazi's primary aim was to use the industry as 'an instrument of Nazi ideology' (Levine, 2011). Many German citizens internalized the Nazi propaganda and incorporated their thinking into daily life. The sign of Jewish people carried the mythology that as a religion they were responsible for Germany's hyperinflation and much more. This suggests that culturally and historically specific material can have ideological messages embedded in them, with an intent to uphold particular stereotypes.

Linking to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, it could be inferred that this ideological propaganda which was being fed to German citizens, led to these being set as norms (Browne, 2014: 192). It can be suggested that the popular culture which was mass consumed, encouraged conformity to Nazi ideology, as a metanarrative was galvanised through myths and connotations. However, whilst Barthes appear to theorise that

individuals internalise the signs universally, it cannot be concluded that society passively internalizes these messages. This will be explored later.

Further suggesting that mass media within popular culture promotes ideological views, news sources pick and choose what stories to publish. Thussu (2007) argues that globalisation has led to news sources to compete in explaining and informing the public, becoming more 'tabloidized' than ever. It cannot be ignored that there is particular emphasis on celebrity culture, rather than gritty tales of wars in faraway countries. In today's climate of regular 'terrorist' attacks, it seems that many news stories get swept under the rug, in favour of promoting a false global 'feel-good factor', with manipulated news stories. For instance, many UK media outlets chose to ignore the recent Egypt terror attacks, in favour of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's royal engagement. This promotion of the 'divine right of royalty' (Leak, 1994: 29) is a very old myth, which has been upheld for centuries through ideological means. The royal family at Christmas time can be seen to be drawing parallels with the 'Holy Family'. This 'familial ideology' is especially illustrated by the Queens Christmas day message (Whiteley, 2008: 99)**.** Synchronising with the promotion of the Christian ideal, these messages often contain biblical stories which resonate with contemporary events. Whilst acknowledging 'moments of darkness' (BBC, 2015) she intertwines biblical stories with her own familial values, focusing on spreading 'love to others' (BBC, 2015). As a semiological sign, it could be interpreted that the royals Christmas message centres the ideological discourse. The Royals are therefore meant to signify a sense of harmony and coming together in times of crisis. The Christmas message sends positive connotations of the royal family as a figurehead which galvanises British spirit. Therefore, popular culture can be seen to have a variety of ideological messages behind them, particularly the promotion of a stable figurehead (The Royal Family) to bring together the nation.

Relating back to Barthes therefore, it seems that sources of popular culture in the form of media outlets have vested interests in producing material with some ideological sway behind them. Whilst some newspapers tend to place value on conservative and right thinking (*The Telegraph* and *The Times*), left swaying media outlets also exist, such as *The Guardian*. Media Mogul Rupert Murdoch, has close affiliations with members of the Conservative party, and his newspapers such as The Tele tend to uphold and promote the ideology of the right. For instance, *The Telegraph* tends to have guest columns dedicated to those involved with the conservative party, such as Boris Johnson. Herman and Chomsky (2002) adopt Marxist thinking, in that popular culture is shaped by those who own the industry behind it. Their propaganda model explains that owners behind popular culture and 'major funding sources', who gain profits from advertising, have the 'power to define' popular culture and manipulate what it means, in a historical and cultural context (Herman and Chomsky, 2010: xi). It is entirely possible that these elite interests dominate the messages that are embedded in popular culture. However, are we really consuming an 'opiate for the masses' (Cawelti, 2014: 25)?

Barthes analysis of pop culture as ideological clearly has a Marxist element to it. It seems that products of popular culture, according to Barthes, are internalized passively through the signs myth. According to Marxist interpretation, the bourgeoisie uses various societal tools as opiates of the masses to secure a false class consciousness. Althusser states that this ideology 'interpellates individuals as subjects' (Wenner, 1989: 76). Whereas the discussed examples suggest that much of the signs are internalised, it cannot be ignored that individuals choose what to consume as legitimate metanarratives. Moreover, it should be acknowledged that due to new social media, through globalisation, has led to access to

alternative viewpoints of culture which in turn, undermines the power of manipulated popular culture (Browne, 2014: 199). Therefore, pluralists claim that one type of ideology can no longer dominate the world, due to globalization causing the blossoming of cultural diversity. This suggests that Barthes is wrong in assuming that there is only one possible way that signs are read and internalised. Has this new movement therefore, caused Barthes view that popular culture causes the 'disease of thinking in essences' to become outdated (Duncan and Duncan, 1998: 48)?

It is no lie that media outlets which distribute popular culture can 'dominate and distort' how individuals perceive society (Browne, 2014: 185). Upholding Barthes' view that popular culture is ideological in nature, Strinati emphasises the sheer power that media outlets have in shaping consumer buying habits. Ideological signs illustrated in newspapers and advertising magnify 'desires and pressures to consume' (Browne, 2014: 185). With each arrival of the next IPhone model comes connotations of 'must have' buys, which in turn, led to mass consumption. At the denotative level the sign is simply a phone, but clearly, in todays technological world, the connotations associated with new products serve the interests of companies' profit taking. In the globalised world in which mass culture is at the forefront, cultural images produced no longer simply represent a particular ideology, but now 'reconstruct' ideologies (Hall, 2006). This can be seen to uphold the view that popular culture as ideological, benefits the interests of the bourgeoisie and those who own significant economic capital. However, it must once again be raised that individuals have the power to reject and ignore the messages where luxurious lifestyles are heavily promoted throughout popular culture.

It cannot be ignored that Barthes' explanation of popular culture as ideological, assumes that individuals are autonomous beings who simply digest these connotations and myths as metanarratives. As discussed, it is clear that individuals do not just 'passively internalize media images' (Andersen and Taylor, 2012: 49). In postmodern society, there simply isn't just one culture and one ideology that can be dispersed through it. Stuart Hall offers a semiotic paradigm, where each stage of encoding and decoding has hermeneutical and technological processes which allow for meaning and ideology to intertwine (Bødker, 2016: 409). Essentially, Hall maintains that there are now infinite 'conditions for the production and circulation of meaning' (Langlois, 2014: 12), due to new sources of information. This suggests that Barthes' belief that there is a universal connotation behind signs is irrelevant to the rapidly globalising world because of 'new constellations of technology' (Bødker, 2016: 410). These "new sign-vehicles" act as gateways for ideological meaning (Bødker, 2016: 411). However, whereas there are 'deep-structured' (Hall, 1973: 7) cultural codes, culture is not singular so hegemonic effects can be undermined (Hall, 2006).

Moreover, the masses have the capacity to challenge these assumptions and 'associative meanings' through inversion (Hall, 2006). An inversion mechanism comes about when there is an opportunity for connotations of a sign to change. For instance, linking back to the Nazi regime, there was a turning point where Nazis had connotations of strong leaders which changed to connotations of fascist monsters. This therefore suggests a conflict between ideology and signification. This means that there is no fixed connotative meaning and Barthes' explanation of a second denotative level can be criticised.
Whilst it is fair to maintain that certain popular culture materials have hegemonic ideology embedded in them, Barthes fails to explain that interpretations lead to a breadth of connotations which are historically and culturally specific. It is impossible for everyone to associate something with one ideological meaning because an individual's personal

experiences allow for distinct encoding of these hidden myths. In reality, metanarratives are forever changing and myths are personal individuals and not the masses. Whilst it cannot be ignored that many mechanisms which control popular culture certainly have manipulated societal mythologies, individuals can reject this almost hegemonic culture and challenge these assumptions. Therefore, Barthes' semiological analysis of ideological popular culture paved the way for deeper analysis, which can be better applied to todays contemporary world.

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To what extent is street crime in the UK a result of global forces?

Charlotte Wilkins

This essay will examine the extent to which the development of the night-time economy, a result of neoliberalism, has affected street crime within the United Kingdom. Firstly, the characteristics and historical emergence of a neoliberal economy will be explained with reference to academic sources. Following this, the neoliberal features of consumerism and materialism will be discussed in relation to the increased experiences of marginalisation and social exclusion. Explanations of crime commission will then be used in an attempt to understand why street crimes occur. The nationwide advancement of the night-time economy in relation to the street crimes of violence and drug dealing will then be addressed in connection with neoliberal methods of crime control, such as the use of private security and actuarial justice. The issues discussed will then be compared with New York as both the UK and USA share similar criminal policies and justice procedures as a result of sharing the same economic system. Lastly, alternative explanations will also be considered, as street crime can be seen to have occurred before the arrival of neoliberalism, therefore suggesting street crime is not entirely a result of global forces.

Operationalising the concept of neoliberalism is often problematic: the term has become popular to rely upon when symbolising and clarifying a whole host of things, as it is often viewed as both a body of economic theory and a policy stance. In general, the term broadly refers to a range of economic policies that have been adopted by western capitalist nations since the 1970s. Conservative political leaders, such as US President Ronald Regan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, can be seen to have articulated the core ideological claims of neoliberalism in the 1980s and converted them into policies without publicly embracing the ambiguous term of neoliberalism. These policies include advocating for the reduction of direct government participation in the economy; the privatisation of the supply of goods and services; the encouragement of a free marketplace and the focus upon individualism. These neoliberal policies can therefore be viewed as global, in the sense that they have transformed into an economic and political system that characterises a large number of societies throughout the world (Ritzer, 2010: 114), including The United Kingdom and The United States. This reaffirms Passas's claim that neoliberalism is a motor of economic globalization (2000: 21).

The spread of neoliberal doctrine around the world is inevitable, according to von Werlhof (2008: 94), due to the increasing progression of globalization. As a result, the prevalent neoliberal claim that a free market economy embodies the ideal of free individual choice, whilst also achieving optimum economic performance, is expanding worldwide. However, due to the status and well-being of citizens being 'heavily dependent on how well they can succeed in the free marketplace of the economy' (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006: 440-442), income differentials continue to widen, meaning material inequality frequently results in the social exclusion of those who find themselves marginalised by the labour and housing markets in which they cannot afford to operate. To illustrate, the average income of the richest fifth of households before taxes and benefits was twelve times greater than that of the poorest fifth (ONS, 2016). This therefore confirms that the free marketplace results in extremely marked income differentials and reproduces inequality.

Regardless of these notable income differentials, many lower-class citizens now strive to obtain what the upper class have, meaning levels of relative deprivation are increasing. This desire for immediate gratification can be viewed as a result of neoliberal features, such as individualism, which can be seen to have caused a materialistic, consumer-oriented society. Hayward explains that the expression of one's identity is no longer created through traditional modes of self-expression but instead through the display and celebration of consumer goods (2004: 144) and specific brands. Status differentials are now less based on one's role in the productive sphere, as Charles Murray's term of the 'underclass' connotes, but instead on one's ability to consume. In an attempt to gain status, lower-class citizens try to excessively participate in these forms of market-oriented consumption and purchase items from the same brands as the upper-class, such as Nike, Gucci, Burberry, Adidas and Reebok (Hayward and Yar, 2006). Arguably, these high-end brands are then viewed as aesthetically impoverished because they become too accessible by "chavs" and prone to counterfeiting.

As a result, the upper-classes then migrate to more expensive consumer goods, causing the lower-classes to be left with what they had managed to obtain in a previous attempt to gain social status. For example, the upper classes often have enough disposable income to buy the latest iPhone, whilst the lower-classes are often left with the older models that they had previously struggled to purchase. This example therefore suggests that the lower classes are situated in a vicious cycle of social exclusion and marginalisation because they do not have the adequate economic capital to continue competing with the current trends. Socialisation into the consumption logic of free market capitalism, alongside believing that success in life is achieved through owning the right to things, can therefore be viewed as one of the global causes of street crimes.

To illustrate, the lower classes may experience feelings of strain and frustration when levels of relative deprivation are high. In order to combat this feeling, many turn to street crime in an attempt to obtain what the upper classes have. For example, some may engage in violent acts as a means of stealing the victim's desirable items and money, whilst others may turn to drug dealing as a way of making money that can then be used to purchase the latest products. Merton's strain theory (Merton, 1968) can therefore be used to explain this path into crime commission, as the focal point of his study was the American Dream. For those who find the institutionalised means to achieving material and monetary success blocked, the attraction to turn to illegitimate means increases and therefore results in a growth of street crimes that offer a monetary reward. The encouragement of meritocracy by the neoliberal economy can also be seen as a contributor of street crime. The notion that 'status is achieved through ability and effort (merit)' (Scott, 2014: 466) is presented throughout society, yet many socially excluded groups do not experience meritocracy due to structural conditions. Jock Young explained in *The Exclusive Society* (Young, 1999) that those who do not encounter the meritocratic system are experiencing 'social bulimia', as they are being led to believe that, if they work hard, they will succeed, when in fact their characteristics are preventing them from succeeding. Crime as a result of the meritocratic system can therefore be seen as a response of resentment from socially excluded groups to the feeling of marginalisation. This explanation therefore expands to include crimes that do not offer a monetary reward, since vindictive crimes can be seen as a response to frequently being blamed by society.

Young applies his reasoning to the riots of Birmingham and Bradford in 2001, frequently known as the 'race riots', because they occurred in poor areas with high levels of secondary migrants. Despite the government's attempts to explain these riots as a product of a lack of

integration, Young believed that they were in fact a result of over-integration; while migrants expected to be treated as equal to and achieve the same as British citizens, this did not happen and therefore they rebelled in anger. The secondary migrants could therefore be seen to have been unconsciously excluded from experiencing meritocracy and united together to show their anger through rioting. These explanations of crime commission by Merton and Young therefore illustrate how street crime is a result of global forces, as neoliberalism can be seen to have encouraged consumerism and meritocracy, which in turn result in the exclusion and marginalisation of certain groups.

In addition, street crimes also frequently occur within the night-time economy, another powerful manifestation of neoliberalism. The night-time economy (NTE), both materially and culturally, can be seen to have emerged as a result of neoliberalism and its encouragement of the 'commodification of everyday life' (Baudrillard, 1984). The NTE refers to the 'economic activity which occurs between the hours of 6pm to 6am and involves the sale of alcohol for consumption on-trade' (Wickham, 2012). This definition directly refers to bars, pubs and restaurants but also extends to include shops, fast-food chains, taxi companies and the drug economy. The expansion of these night-time establishments can be viewed as a result of many factors, including the changing city scape, the increasing consumption of leisure and a new generation of consumers of psychoactive substances. The global force of consumerism can therefore be seen to encourage the development of the NTE, as the music and the clothes are globally marketed and consumed, but the crowds are local, segregated and subject to distinctions dependent on the smallest of cultural minutiae (Thornton, 1996: 99). This therefore suggests that the designs of the bars should remain centred around local consumers tastes in order to attract business. The eccentric bars found within Camden and SoHo support this proposition.

In relation to crime, there appears to be a correlation between the NTE, alcohol and drugs. For example, the Institute of Alcohol Studies (2015) estimates that up to 80% of weekend arrests are alcohol-related, with many being in a form of violent crime. One of the main reasons that the NTE leads to crime is that 'ritualized inversions of the social order are tolerated' (Hobbs et al, 2000: 713). This temporary respite from the conventional social order can therefore lead to more violent crime as the rules, codes and protocols of the NTE often justify rowdy and drunken behaviour. This behaviour then becomes thought of as the norm because the ratio of clubbers to police and security is disproportionate, meaning minor assaults, such as the use of foul language and minimal physical contact, are often missed by bouncers. This climate encourages more serious violent offences, which are considered to be acceptable, especially as alcohol can be used as a technique of neutralisation.

Furthermore, the entrenched illegal drug markets that prosper throughout the NTE substantially contribute to levels of street crime. Many believe 'illegal drug markets can offer a route to easy money' (Smith, 2013: 145), since the trafficking of drugs has become easier due to the increased interconnectedness of the world. For example, the use of the internet and access to the dark web allows drug dealers to purchase drugs effortlessly, thanks to improved global logistics. The dealers then advertise their wares through text message to previous consumers, allowing them to converse during a night out where demand for drugs is high. This use of technology can therefore be seen to increase street crime, as it is hard for social control agencies to detect and moderate it, resulting in a more efficient way of drug dealing – one in which the profit made is spent, in an attempt to increase social status, by purchasing premium branded goods, as encouraged by the culture of consumption.

Policing drug dealing and violence within the NTE can be seen to have changed relative to the neoliberal economy, as the spheres of public and private have become progressively less distinct. The privatisation of goods and services, as favoured by neoliberalism, can be seen to have occurred within the NTE, now that private security firms are employed to police the streets with bouncers and door staff as opposed to the police force. These private security firms can be seen to employ methods of actuarial justice by appearing to conduct random searches of clubbers, when in fact they are categorising groups of people based on levels of risk. For example, door staff are more likely to search young males and ethnic minority groups more thoroughly than females. This progression of policing can therefore be seen to reinforce stereotypes as a consequence of the global force of neoliberalism.

Despite evidence suggesting that crime and inequality thrives within the streets, the NTE can be seen as a primary facilitator of economic growth and its development is therefore sought-after. To illustrate, the nationwide introduction of twenty-four-hour licensing legislation in 2005 can be seen to have encouraged the growth of 'Chameleon bars' which 'function as pubs during the day and nightclubs by night' (Hobbs et al, 2000: 709). These bars therefore cater to those who would like a drink during the day, whilst later catering to the younger crowd, inevitably maximising their profit potential and fuelling capitalism further. These new establishments therefore confirm that consumerism is expressed and embodied by the critical mass of change from what has been dubbed the 'Fordist' society to the post-Fordist, post-industrial and post-modern society (Lovatt, 1996), proving that the night-time economy and its methods of policing can be seen as a reflection of a changing society and the current neoliberal economy.

In 2014, the NTE was worth a total of £66 billion, accounting for nearly 6% of the UK's GDP, attracting 34.8 million visitors and suppling 1.3 million people with employment opportunities (Furedi, 2014). These figures therefore confirm that the NTE is a significant contributor to society's economic performance, suggesting the economy is benefitting from its expansion despite spaces of the night culture in the British context being understood as a social problem and a site for deviant behaviour since the eighteenth century (Talbot, 2007: 2). Due to these notable financial advantages of an expanding NTE, there is evidence to suggest that society is attempting to encourage the growth of the NTE, in spite of its relationship with street crime. For example, the recent reopening of the nightclub 'Fabric', which temporarily had its licensing removed after two drug-related deaths, can be seen as an attempt to increase London's nightlife, despite being aware that the club is labelled as having a culture of drug use. Likewise, the recent introduction of the night tube, which extends the hours of operation of the London underground on Friday and Saturday nights, can be viewed as a new method to encourage more citizens to engage in the NTE. Transport for London have predicted that the night tube will add £360m to the economy over 30 years (Café, 2016), once again reaffirming that the primary goal of stimulating a thriving NTE is society's financial benefit. Some may view this introduction of the night tube in London as an attempt to mirror the 24/7 subway service of New York - the city that never sleeps.

As London and New York share the same political economy, both global cities inadvertently encourage the culture of consumption and therefore experience similar street crimes. To illustrate, the crack cocaine epidemic in New York during the 1990s created a disorganised street-level drug market that resulted in violent street scenes and frequent robbing of drug dealers' money and drugs (Bowling, 1999: 538). This representative case in New York can therefore be applied to street crimes within the UK, as the culture of consumption apparent

within the NTE encourages clubbers of all social classes to purchase and consume drugs, meaning a drug user is 1.9 times more likely to be involved in a violent incident (Miller et al, 2015: 274). The USA and the UK can also be seen to share the same criminal justice procedures and criminal policies as a result of sharing the same political economy. A neoliberal economy is viewed as one of the most punitive as its focus on individualism highlights the importance of responsibility, believing that 'crime does not result from social factors; it is based on individual choice' (Jones, 2016: 262). As a result, retribution is advocated through the use of imprisonment and zero tolerance. However, high levels of recidivism suggest that penal severity may not be the most effective response to crime and a shift of focus from retribution to rehabilitation may help combat drug dealing in the future. Although this 'tough on crime' principle is implemented in both global cities upon street crimes throughout the day, violence and drug taking within the NTE is arguably viewed as the norm and frequently goes unreported, therefore suggesting that policing and crime prevention measures need to be improved throughout the night.

In spite of the arguments that suggest street crime is a result of global forces, there are many other reasons that explain why street crime occurs. For example, Messerschmidt (1993) proposed that crime is a consequence of hegemonic masculinity, implying that men engage in street crime in an attempt to prove their masculinity and gain social status. Likewise, Katz (1988) argued that people gain pleasure and thrill when committing street crimes and are therefore not influenced by any external or global forces. Furthermore, biological positivism also proposed that human behaviour can be scientifically explained by biological forces, that criminals are physically different to non-criminals and are not influenced by societal factors. However, biological positivism has arguably been disproven in relation to crime commission, meaning it should no longer be viewed as an explanation of street crime. Instead, the arguments discussed within this essay suggest that global forces should be considered as a contributing factor of street crime.

To conclude, street crime within the UK can be regarded as a result of global forces to a certain extent. The global force of a neoliberal economy and its encouragement of individualism and consumerism can be seen to affect levels of street crime, as the socially-excluded and marginalised turn to crime with a monetary gain in response to feelings of strain and social bulimia, in order to gain social and economic status. The development of the NTE as a consequence of neoliberalism has arguably resulted in violence and drug-dealing becoming normalised due to their acceptance within that context, especially when alcohol is used as a technique of neutralisation. The similarity of the criminal justice procedures and policies of the UK and the USA confirm that neoliberalism is a global force that can be used to explain the commission and policing of street crimes across different countries, whilst also helping to understand street crime locally. However, it should be considered that arguments suggesting street crime is solely a result of global forces is not applicable to all criminal cases. Instead, a variety of factors such as biology, masculinity and neoliberalism should all be used in conjunction with one another when providing an adequate explanation of the causes of street crime.

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The United States claims to be a democratic republic. Was the settlement of the English colonies and the Westward expansion done in keeping with the principles of democracy?

Joseph Young

In the modern age, we often hear the United States and the President of the United States referred to as the leader of the free world, but it can be argued that the foundations, the United States was not built with the principles of democracy. This essay will discuss whether or not the settlement of the English colonies and the Westward Expansion were done in keeping with the principles of democracy. The early English colonisation of the United States in the 17ᵗʰ century had a lasting effect on the culture of the United States. The Oxford English Dictionary defines colonisation as "the action or process of settling among and establishing control over the indigenous people of an area" (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). This is something that the English did in the United States. The origins of the English colonies of America can be dated approximately having been established between 1607 and 1776. The English used various methods to colonise the indigenous people of the United States and of these methods included, royal charters and patents, treaties, military conquest, sale and trade, and in some cases collecting and settling in lands without the approval of the indigenous people.

Military conquest method of colonisation is an example of how the settlement of English Colonies did not keep to the principles democracy. This method was employed during King Phillip's War, or the First Indian War, which was between the English colonists and the indigenous people of Massachusetts. Before the war, the English Colonists were able to coexist with the Wampanoag people, however, tensions rose when Metacom, brother of the chief of the Wampanoag people, succeeded his brother as chief. The colonists forced him to sign a peace treaty which meant that he and the Wampanoags had to surrender their guns. In combination of Metacom and his people surrendering their guns, the colonist hanged three Wampanoags, this led to Metacom and his people to launch an assault on the colonies. Despite initially gaining the upper hand, the Wampanoag's and her allies, the Narragansett, were almost completely wiped out by the end of the conflict. Lepore (1998) described King Phillip's war as 'the most deadly and merciless war in all of American history". Lepore explained that large numbers of Native Americans were killed in such short amounts of time, and prisoners were sold as slaves. This event helps show that the settlement of English colonies was not done in keeping with the principles of democracy, and that the war was an evidence that English settlers knew no bounds when it came to colonizing the indigenous Americans and taking their lands. Nonetheless, when King Philip's war is compared to the German invasion of Poland in 1939, the situation differs as the allied forces retaliated against the Germans for unlawfully invading a foreign territory; this is no different from the actions of the English Settlers in America.

Lepore also mentioned that 'the idea that Indians were not, in fact, truly human, or were of such a vastly different race as to be considered essentially, and biologically, inferior to Europeans" (Lepore 1998: 167). This was the beliefs of the English settlers, and an action that allows us to concluded that the English colonist did not keep to the principles of democracy during their settlement, thus, opposing the notion is that all men are equal. For example, Nazi German attitudes towards Jewish people one can argue did not keep with the

principles of democracy. The Nazi notion was that Jewish people were not to be considered full human beings and they were biologically inferior to German people; this no different from the attitude that the English colonists had towards Native Americans (Lepore, 1998). Thus, English colonisation of United States was not done in keeping to the principles of democracy.

Another way that the United States was colonised by English settlers was through the conversion of the Native People from their beliefs into Christianity. Henry Bowden (1981) highlighted this when he wrote that:

> In actual practice the Puritans made little use of the compatibilities that existed between the native religion and their own. They did not emphasize common ideas or encourage Indians to use them as bridges for crossing over into Christianity. They chose rather to heighten the contrast between Indian religiosity and their own by denouncing all pre-contact activity as devil worship...They shared the Englishman's general sense of cultural superiority, but they added moral indignation to it. (Bowden, 1981:122)

Although this was a different method employed by the English Settlers, it is still one that does not keep to the principles of democracy. Equally, missionaries manipulated indigenous people into thinking that their own beliefs were equal to, *'devil worship'*. As Samson and Gigoux highlighted:

> The objective of most missionaries was to convert indigenous peoples, regulate activities with them and act as intermediaries to colonial authorities. (Samson & Gigoux, 2016:39).

This is an interesting method of colonialisation and one that is rather more difficult to conclude as whether or not it was done in keeping to the principles of democracy. Whilst this method was not a violent method of colonisation, it had, of course, not kept to the principles of democracy. The idea that indigenous people need to abandon their native religious and spiritual beliefs and adopt the beliefs of settlers does not keep to the principles of democracy, as in a democratic society, one is entitled to have, own, and believe in anything. This example helps to show that the colonisation of the United States was not done in keeping with the principles of democracy, and that even though the settlers attempted to use different methods to colonise, these methods were not democratic and thus, undermines the idea that the United States is a leading democratic republic.

Axtell (1981) believes that it was, at times, the desire of the colonists to commit genocide in the United States. Axtell explained that:

> The urge was the product not only of the frustrating encounter with Indian warfare but of the extreme ethnocentrism and racism of a people laboring under the illusion that they were chosen by God to wash America white with the Blood of the Lamb. (Axtell, 1981:313)

It goes without saying that this urge of 'washing America white with the Blood of the Lamb' does not adhere to the principles of democracy, but what is important to highlight here is that this urge came about because the colonists were frustrated with the Natives in their effort to colonise them. Alarming was that, the settlers had imposed themselves on these

people's lives, yet still felt the divine right to feel frustrated with the existence of the American Natives; this was obviously anti-democratic. A point to note is that the American colonisation occurred before the 'age of enlightenment' the period where early sociologists began to argue against the notion of divine law, something that the colonists of the United States bought into. Had the English attempted to settle in the 18th century, their interactions with the Native Americans may have been different. However, this was not the case, and it is very possible for us to argue that the colonisation of the United States, now a leading democratic power, did not occur in keeping to the principles of democracy.

Nonetheless, there were elements of the settlement of English colonies in the United states that were conducted within the principles of democracy than the previous examples given. Of these, was the 'Two Row Wampum':

> The Two Row Wampum is an example of an early treaty in which both parties viewed each other as sovereign, independent nations. The Two Row Wampum was signed between the Iroquois and the Dutch, and later by the British. In this treaty, the Europeans kept their "ship"—an expression meaning that they kept their own laws, government, religious beliefs, and customs. Likewise, the Iroquois kept their "great canoe"—meaning that they would keep their Great Law (similar to our constitution) and their system of democracy. The Europeans expected to travel down the river of life in their "ship" alongside the Iroquois in their "great canoe." They would share in the bounty of the land and waters, but they agreed not to interfere with each other's ways. (UXL, 2003)

This is an example of the American Natives and the English settlers using negotiations and treaties in order to coexist and is something that modern day countries still attempt. This means that this particular method of colonisation kept with the principles of democracy. Having discussed the settlement of English colonies in the United States and to what extent it was not done in keeping with the principles of democracy, this essay will now look at the Westward Expansion and whether this was done in keeping with the principles of democracy.

In 1803 Thomas Jefferson, President of the United Sates, purchased the territory of Louisiana for $15 million, a purchase that became known as The Louisiana Purchase. Following the purchase, Lewis and Clarke undertook their famous expedition the next year, which began the idea of Westward Expansion of the United States. White Americans encountered more Native Americans on a large scale and this expansion had a long lasting impact on Native Americans. Hagan (1998) explained that:

> In a remarkably brief period – the thirty-eight years from 1848 to 1886 – the Indians of the west, half of what is today the United States, lost their fight against the White invaders and had most of their land taken from them (Hagan, 1998:156)

This highlights the severe impact that white Americans had on Native Americans. This was further explained by Edmunds (1998), who cited that the reason why the Native Americans lost so much of their land in those thirty-eight years was because:

> …many frontiersmen were economic opportunists, eager to better their lot, and they had no qualms about seizing every advantage that furthered their aspirations. If some of those advantages came at the expense of the Indian people, so be it; it was of little concern to the frontier entrepreneurs willing to ride roughshod over any group

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denying them access to riches...At worst, Indians were a threat; at best, they were a nuisance. (Edmunds, 1998:141)

This is a prime example of how Westward Expansion happened whilst not keeping to the principles of democracy. White Americans during the Westward Expansion were fueled by greed whilst oblivious of the impact their actions had on the Native Americans.

The 'Trail of Tears' that occurred during Westward Expansion was another example of how the principles of democracy were not kept during the Europeanisation of America. The 'Trail of Tears' was the forced removal of Native Americans from their ancestral homelands in the Southeast area of the United States to other parts of the country, this led to the death of many Native Americans during the journey. Writing about crossing Southern Illinois, Martin Davis, the commissary agent for Moses Daniel wrote that,

> There is the coldest weather in Illinois I ever experienced anywhere. The streams are all frozen over something like 8 or 12 inches thick. We are compelled to cut through the ice to get water for ourselves and animals. It snows here every two or three days at the farthest. We are now camped in Mississippi River swamp 4 miles from the river, and there is no possible chance of crossing the river for the numerous quantity of ice that comes floating down the river every day. We have only travelled 65 miles on the last month, including the time spent at this place, which has been about three weeks. It is unknown when we shall cross the river.... (Adams, 1973)

This adds to the argument that the Westward Expansion did not keep to the principles of democracy. The fact that white Americans were able to subject Native Americans to these living conditions is something that would not happen in a modern day democratic country.

The Navajo's 'Long Walk' was another infamous event that occurred during the Westward expansion. 'The long walk', which was similar to the 'Trail of Tears' was implemented by Major General James H. Carleton, it was the forced removal of Native Americans from their ancestral land:

> The march was one that was very difficult and pushed many Navajos to their breaking point, including death. The distance itself was cruel, but the fact that they did not receive any aid from the soldiers was devastating. Not every single person was in prime condition to trek 300 miles, many began the walk exhausted and malnourished, others were not properly clothed and were not in the least prepared for such a long journey. Neither sympathy nor remorse were given to the Navajos. They were never informed as to where they were going, why they were being relocated, and how long it would take to get there. (Iverson, 2002)

The fact that the Natives Americans were forced from their native homelands is enough to state that this did not keep with the principles of democracy, but, as Iverson stated, it was the cruel conditions that the Navajo were subjected to that makes this event even further away from keeping to the principles of democracy. Again, this is an example of how the White American settlers in the nineteenth century were fueled by greed and oblivious to the idea of keeping to the simplest principles of democracy, thus, subjecting the Navajos to these conditions.

Another example of White Americans' failure to keep to the principle of democracy was their treatment of the Natives in relation to the Plains Bison or the North American Buffalo,

which was a symbol of Native American sovereignty. American Indians living on the Great Plains were able to keep their sovereignty as they had a symbolic relationship with the Bison. The Indians living on the plains could not be driven away easily because they were used to living off the Bison and the land. However, following the US Civil War, white Americans still wanted to expand Westward and the US army, having found that they were struggling to displace the Natives of the Plains devised a plan to get rid of the Buffalo, which forced the Natives to leave the Plains. The US army would have never have been able to kill millions of Bison, as 'estimates put the bison population, during the mid-1800s, near 60 million, but based on the 'carrying capacity' of the Great Plains, Temple University history professor, Andrew Isenberg, believes the number was closer to 30 million' (Jawort, 2017).

As mentioned earlier, there were treaties in place which ensured that the settlement of American colonists kept to the principles of democracy, but, the US army made no effort in enforcing those treaties. The situation was one where the Natives were banned from white hunting on their land, but white Americans were allowed. Jawort explained that white Americans would usually kill a Bison for sport but when a Native killed a Bison to feed their family they were severely punished. (Jawort, 2017) This tactic reaped the desired reward for the US army, by 1883 there were less than 400 Bison left and Natives of the Plains were systematically removed from the plains. Again, just as the previous examples of Westward Expansion showed, this method of displacing the Natives was not done in keeping with the principles of democracy, as, in no democratic society would these actions be acceptable.

To conclude, although the modern United States claims to be a democratic republic, both the settlement of English colonies and the Westward Expansion were carried out with disregard to the general principles of democracy. Examples such as; King Phillip's war, the notion of the colonists that the Indians were inferior human beings and the attempt to convert indigenous people to Christianity by considering the native beliefs as tantamount to worshiping the devil, all of which were highlighted in this essay, supports the argument that English colonisation of the USA did not keep with the principles of democracy. These actions were not done in keeping to the principles of democracy. Although, some of the colonies attempted to barter with the Natives, creating treaties in order to get what they wanted and co-exist peacefully with the natives, but in all ramifications the actions of the English settlers were far removed from keeping to the democratic principles stipulated.

Furthermore, the actions taken by white Americans during the Westward Expansion were also not done in keeping with the principles of democracy. The slaughter of the Bison, the Navajo's long walk and the Trail of Tears are examples of this disconformity to democratic principles, which would not be acceptable in the present days, hence, one can say, beyond reasonable doubt, that the Westward Expansion and English colonialisation of the United States was not done in keeping with the principles of democracy.

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