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Introduction

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

This edition presents work across a wide range of topics, among them for example: masculinity, domestic violence and gender difference, left and right realism, victims and victimology, happiness, the history of policing, combating terrorism, Freud on hysteria, Bourdieu on social class, the gendering of ethnic identity.

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 2-3 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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Research Proposal: Why are men less likely to report acts of domestic violence compared to women in the UK?

Ruby Townsend

Until recently, domestic violence has been a crime in society that has gone heavily unreported and overall ignored within statistics and studies, as it has not been considered a criminal offence. Law has only recently been passed for an individual to report an act of domestic violence with Section 76 of the serious crimes act reporting:

> Criminal patterns of coercive or controlling behaviour where they are perpetrated against an intimate partner or family member and a number of other criminal offences can apply to domestic violence (House of Commons, 2016: 3).

Although criminal law covers most type of violent behaviour in the act, statistics show that women are more likely to be victimised from domestic violence to men as in 2014/2015, 8.2% of women and 4% of men are likely to report domestic violence which amounts to 1.3 million women and 600,000 men (House of Commons, 2016: 5). The statistics mainly describe how women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence compared to men, there could be a significant amount of under-reporting of men suffering domestic violence from their female partners which needs to be addressed and to find out why this happens. My research will be finding out why men are less likely or less willing to report domestic violence and to identify whether there is a 'stigma' attached to men reporting violence from their female partner. In my study I will be looking for the different social factors that cause men to not report domestic violence, including police response, fear of reporting domestic violence and lack of support if victimised. I predict that these social factors have a dominating influence as to why men do not report domestic violence. If my hypothesis identifies that these social factors are the reason men do not report domestic violence then this could have an impact on further studies conducted, and this may give men the confidence to report domestic violence in the future which will show on the official statistics. Although there is research done in this area, I have found that where research has been done in general with the term 'domestic violence' the research has only been focusing on female victimisation, ignoring male victimisation.

Literature review

Police response to domestic violence

A potential reason why men are less likely to report a form of domestic violence is the fear of the response from the police force. George and Yarwood (2004) conducted a survey by male victims of the police response to reports of domestic violence, by males from their female counterparts. They found that out of 47% of men had been victimised only 3% of women were arrested when reported, with 35% of males being ignored by the police or not taken seriously enough, and the remainder of women given a warning (George and Yarwood,, 2008). These findings suggest that males may not want to speak out in fear of being ignored by the police or even humiliated by the police force, creating a stigma attached to the type of crimes that go on behind closed doors. Du Plat-Jones (2006) further investigated the types of violence that males were experiencing from females, that also coincided with the police response. After conducting a survey of male victims, he found the most common types of violence among respondents being "[s]tabbed, having teeth knocked

out, damage to genitals and verbal, emotional and psychological cruelty" (Du Plat- Jones, 2006: 14). Du Plat- Jones' study argues that similar acts of domestic violence occur if women were the victims instead of the male, however official statistics suggest that the report in men suffering domestic violence is significantly lower. This suggests another issue, that the police response is not taking a serious enough approach to stop and prevent further violence.

Fear of reporting domestic violence, Social prejudices

Other factors that could contribute to the lack of reporting domestic violence may include the fear of reporting, the fear of continuous violence if the perpetrator is not convicted, and the fear of breaking up the family life. In 1998, Channel 4 program '*Dispatches*' carried out a detailed survey of 100 men to find out why they would not report domestic violence, finding that the most common reasons were that they "didn't want to walk out on their children and some were frightened as they had nowhere else to go", (Yarwood, 2004:3). This survey was based on an original study by Stitt and Macklin in 1994, a survey based on 20 males who had been victims of domestic violence in Merseyside to why they did not report the domestic abuse, with the participants giving similar answers.

These surveys do suggest that men are living in fear of their violent partners and are less likely to break the family structure, especially if there are children involved. The sample however used in both studies is very small compared to the number of men who could be affected, as in Stitt and Macklin's study, they only took a sample from one area of the country which reduces the chance that the sample could be generalised to the whole country, thus lacking in external validity. The survey was carried out at one time, making it a case study and therefore did not consider the long-term impact of men suffering from domestic violence and how this affected their physical and mental health, which could have given a bigger impact on the research.

Lack of support if victimised

Men may also be less likely to report domestic violence due to fear that there may be a lack of support for them after reporting the incident, from lack of support charities to lack of compassion and sympathy from healthcare professionals. Lawrence collected data from male victims of domestic abuse who had gone to health care professionals to get medical advice and argues that "health professionals are not sensitive enough to dealing with male victims. They need to show humility, compassion and sensitivity to encourage them to discuss their situation" (Lawrence, 2003: 40).

This suggests that if people in care are not taking patients seriously then men are less likely to report violence due to a fear of not being believed or taken seriously enough, or of being humiliated. Since this and other research has been taken, the government has tried to address this issue, with the Department of Health releasing a handbook to advise professionals in their response to domestic violence by suggesting that nurses especially should, "provide appropriate information and referral, offer support and reassurance and be non-judgemental" (Department of Health,2005: 35). This handbook providing advice especially for men was published in 2005 and yet 10 years later official statistics show that women are more likely to be victims of domestic violence compared to men.

Research design and research method

The research design I will choose to use would be a cross sectional design , in which I collect research from a number of males who have been victims of domestic violence from all over the country at a single point in time, in order to detect an association as to why males are less likely to report domestic violence. I will only collect data from males who have reported domestic violence to the police, so that I know who to contact. By using this research design, I can attempt to identify a theme to why this is occurring and be able to generalize my findings to the whole of the UK. By using a cross sectional design, I will collect qualitative data and the method I suggest using will be an open ended, self-completion questionnaire to the participants. I would include questions asking what type of domestic abuse they have been victims of, and how they were treated by the criminal justice system, especially asking if they had any faith in the system. I would finally ask, based on their experience, why they personally think they would not report domestic violence again or why they did not in the first place, and why they think other males may not report abuse. The type of questions I would put on the questionnaire would be open ended, allowing the participants to not feel restricted when answering. Using a cross sectional design can also give variation in the answers received, as Bryman suggests "[v]ariation can be established only when more than one case is being examined and they can make finer distinctions between cases" (Bryman, 2012: 53).

In my research, I will also collect information from women who have been victims of domestic violence by using the same research method. I will be doing this so that I can later analyse the results I receive to distinguish any similarities or differences between the answers. This can therefore give me a better indication to the methodology and reasoning whether my hypothesis is correct and understand that if so, then why men do not report domestic violence. I will also have a control group of men who have not been subject to domestic violence to make a comparison within the gender.

Sampling

When collecting my participants, I plan to collect them from all parts of the country however I would desire an even number of participants from each part therefore I would use both stratified random sampling and simple random sampling. I would first access those who had been subject to domestic violence and would be willing to give their permission to participate in the study, and then I would separate the participants to select strata to the different counties they live in. After placing the participants into strata I would then assign them a number and use a random number generator to select the numbers and the participant assigned to that number I would send a questionnaire. A sample size of 5 participants from each county of men who had experienced domestic violence, those who had not, as well as women who had experienced domestic violence would be a good sample size to collect enough data to analyse.

Strengths and limitations

Strengths

- Cost and time- Using questionnaires as a research method is an easy method to use as it is simple to create an open-ended questionnaire and has little cost. Time is also saved as it is easy to send out the questionnaires compared to other research

methods such as interviews where the researcher has to physically travel to the location.

- High external validity- The participants will be randomly selected within the different counties and with the use of the cross-sectional design it will be easier to generalise the results to the existing population and those who were not selected.
- High ecological validity- Using open ended questionnaires, the findings will apply to the everyday lives of those studied, as Cicourel asks, "[d]oes our instruments capture the daily life conditions, opinions and knowledge base of those study as expressed in their natural habitat?" (Cicourel, 1982:15).
- Use of method- By using a self-completion questionnaire this automatically eliminates any bias that could affect the results from the researcher, and as the questionnaires are open ended the participants can express their feelings and opinions easier.
- Use of a control group- By asking males who have not experienced domestic violence this will create a better analysis of why males may not report domestic violence.

Limitations

- Access to participants- It may be difficult to access necessary data about those who have suffered and haven't suffered from domestic abuse, as the police may not disclose the details of who has reported domestic abuse.
- Ethical considerations- Those who have suffered may not give their permission to complete the questionnaire, which may affect the number of samples given from each county, thus affecting the external validity.
- Non completion of questionnaires- When sending out the questionnaires to be completed there is a high chance that I will not receive all of the data back or I may receive them not fully completed.
- Low in internal validity- Cross sectional designs provide associations that may cause something rather than establishing a cause and relationship between two variables, consequently this could be low.

Conclusion

Although there are some limitations to my research design and method I believe that if all the correct initial information is accessible then my research can provide reasoning as to why there is a lack of information about males not reporting domestic violence. The method I intend to use would be very easy to generalise which can reflect the reasoning of men in wider society which can prove critical to men who choose not to report this and suffer in silence. Conducting this research could have a real impact on how further research is done in the future, which can affect official statistics provided by the government, which can lead to more men speaking out.

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Critical Review

Scott Carey

The aim of this critical review is to critically assess the ideas presented within the session on right and left realist criminology. The material within this session comments on the theoretical framework of these perspectives. The two perspectives emerged in the 1970s aiming to provide a pragmatic solution to the problem of crime. Previously crime was only looked at in an abstract, theoretical way; there was a need to look at crime realistically, as a proper tangible problem. It was believed that current theories were not working and crime rates were not falling, different approaches to crime were greatly needed (Matthews, 2014). Realist perspectives aimed to provide a realistic response and approach to crime as previous responses were failing.

The two perspectives emerged in the 1970s aiming to provide real, pragmatic solutions to the problem of crime. Despite observing the same problems, the two came to opposing conclusions of how to deal with the causes of crime and how to punish crime (Matthews, 2014). Influenced by classical criminological thinking right realists believed that crime is the result of an offender's rational choice and that it is inevitable. Right realism believed that it was 'fruitless to search for the causes of crime and that sole attention [should] be returned to designing effective measures of crime control' (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2012:236), such as through designing out crime in urban centres. Right realists ignore causes of crime such as 'poverty and inequality' (Matthews, 2014:15), this means left realists criticise them for ignoring something they see essential to dealing with the problem of crime. Left realists believe right realists to be ideologically wrong, they argue that their way of thinking reinforces class separation and makes the situation worse. Left realists claim, 'crime is a function of poverty and deprivation' (Matthews, 2014:18) and that due to power imbalances in society there is a need for reform, this reform involves changing the structural conditions of society. In placing crime blame within structural reasons, right realists criticise left realists for removing individual responsibility from the act of crime.

As mentioned right realists have 'no demands for changes in the structural conditions in society', there is no need to address problems like poverty and inequality, it is 'incivilities that interfere most with the enjoyment of life for many' (Hopkins Burke 2001: 51). This way of thinking is reflected in broken windows theory, which was created, by James Q Wilson and George Kelling (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). In the reading, Matthews describes them as the 'most powerful neo-conservative thinkers' (Matthews, 2014:15) this is because 'broken windows theory had a major impact in relation to policing strategies' (Matthews, 2014: 17). Broken windows theory involves the police enforcing law enforcement by acting upon visible incivilities such as prostitution, graffiti, drunkenness, begging etc. The atmosphere of order and lawfulness prevents bigger crimes from happening in theory. Wilson and Kelling's (1992) broken windows theory had profound policy implications. In the 1990's following the principles of broken windows theory William Bratton applied the theory into practice using zero tolerance policing techniques in New York (Geoghegan, 2011). Police acted on indicators of social decline as a preventive mechanism to maintain social order. However, broken windows theory is easily criticized from the leftist perspective as it can be argued instead of fixing crime it only superficially fixes the problem, the root causes of crime like the inequality found within capitalist society remains (Burke, 2013).

Left realists on the other hand attempt to consider peoples experience of problems and seek to address the causes of crime and not just crime and control. To understand the real and lived experiences of crime, social surveys can be used. Young (1992) explains that,

> The social survey is a democratic instrument: it provides a reasonably accurate appraisal of people's fears and of their experience of victimisation […] social surveys, therefore, allow us to give voice to the experience of people, and they enable us to differentiate the safety needs of different sectors of the community (Young: 1992: 50).

Social surveys should be used locally to reflect the specificity of crime and victimization in each area. By using social surveys they allow for appropriate policies to be implemented (Young, 1992) such as protection for vulnerable groups in society.

Conservative thinkers in the 1970s thought that society had become soft, permissive, immoral and deviant (Matthews, 2014). They believed that it was time to revert back to Victorian rules; they said there should be a stronger and stricter family who teaches self-control and self-constraint, the family is a pillar of core values and without that people may commit crime (Heywood, 2003). It was time to intervene and get tough on crime. Underpinning this approach is the idea that criminals are offending against society and that they should be punished not rehabilitated, a focus on the use of the prison system. Charles Murray's claim that 'prison works', 'deeply influenced penal policy in the United Kingdom in the 1990s' (Matthews, 2014: 16). Conservative thinkers like Murray believe those who commit more serious crime should suffer very severe punishment (Matthews, 2014). For example, through the use of the three strikes and you are out policy. The aim of right realist criminology is to make the cons of crime outweigh the pros, such as by making punishments harsh, so people do not commit crime. However left realists criticise this view and argue the prison system does not help offenders.

On the other hand, 'liberals argued for decarceration and greater use of community-based sanctions'. (Matthews, 2014: 18). Left realists argue conservative politics and strong law order approaches are detrimental and very narrow in scope. Jock Young devised the idea of the square of crime (Young, 1991). The square of crime idea means to tackle crime you need to consider four dimensions, the criminal justice system, criminal offender, general public and victim of crime (Young, 1991). Right realism only focuses on the criminal offender. Young argues that to tackle crime, you need to look at all the elements, not just one in isolation like right realists do (Young, 1991). The leftist view has major policy implications such as the increased use of alternatives to prison like restorative justice methods.

In summary, the differences between the right and left realist perspectives are vast and significant; right realism stresses the importance of the prison system, whereas left realism favours the importance of other punitive forms like rehabilitation. Left realism provides a less pragmatic but more comprehensive understanding of crime. However in terms of policy implications right realism has had far more success. Right realism has provided the theoretical framework for zero tolerance policing (McKee, 2013) methods that have been employed in the UK and the US, as well as the comprehensive use of prisons in the western penal system. Critically, however, both perspectives fall under the same problem of not really doing something about crime despite claiming to be.

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Critical Review of Left and Right Realism

Jemimah Daniel

This essay will focus on the topic of realist criminology, and will critically review the modern approaches to the causes of crime through the analysis of the two opposing theories. The departmental lecture has addressed these two theories as left and right realism, and drew upon key authors and points to establish the effects they have on deterring crime. The key reading also drew upon supporting case studies and other theories developed by key academic authors that have influenced the shaping of realist criminology. Through analysing the key theories, it is possible to give a critical review towards the strengths and weaknesses of their approach to reducing crime within society. Realist criminology was developed around the 1970's and is defined as 'the associations with the rejection of utopian solutions to crime' (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 366). This further developed into two opposing categories. The core ideas of right realism, also known as conservative criminology, is the focus on the formal control methods of deterring crime in society. It sees crime as the breakdown of social control and cohesion, leading to individuals finding illegitimate means of success. Right realists believe it is important to 'go back to basics on criminal justice policy' and focus more on crime reduction than social engineering (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 7). Left realism, which can also be known as liberal criminology, suggests that crime stems from social issues such as poverty and inequality. They see crime as 'an endemic product of the class and patriarchal industrial society' that forms from the institutions and values within our society (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 251). They further believe that rehabilitation and opportunities will deter individuals from committing criminal acts (Matthews, 2014: 19).

The key reading has provided a right realist approach towards deterring crime, known as 'The Broken Windows' theory, published by key authors, James Q. Wilson and George Kelling. The theory discusses how minor offences such as drunkenness, vandalism and graffiti, can lead to increased serious crimes and neighbourhood decline, if uncontrolled (Harcourt 2001:2). Essentially, it is the idea that a broken window, if left unrepaired will lead to a cycle of crime, thus, becoming a 'magnet' for crime (Bratton et al., 1997: 46). One of the strengths of this approach is that it deters minor offences, before they begin to turn into serious crimes; it 'fixes' the windows of neighbourhoods and clears away the potential 'hotspots' for drug dealers, adolescents and other groups who notice the absence of police control (Bratton et al., 1997: 46). However, a weakness of this approach is that it creates 'fear of crime' within specific areas, thus, leading to residents withdrawing from public spaces, resulting in control deficit (Innes, 2003: 102). A study by Hope and Hough (1988) states that 'rates of perceived incivilities are more strongly related to levels of fear of crime and neighbourhood satisfaction than the level of victimisation itself' (Matthews and Young, 1992: 25); therefore, the assumption that incivilities 'attract' crime into a neighbourhood is lacking sufficient evidence.

In contrast to 'broken windows', the emergence of the 'zero tolerance' policy, became a prominent conservative approach towards the deterrence of crime. It states that crime, however minor, will not be tolerated, and the offence committed will be reported if witnessed by a police officer, further leading to the offender being apprehended and given severe punishments (Marshall, 1999: 2). It provides positive outcomes through means of 'being tough on crime' (Marshall, 1999: 2) and imposing 'aggressive law enforcement'

(Bratton et al., 1997:57). This approach shows strength towards punishing minor offences, which in turn should deter people away from deviating. However, zero tolerance also places more attention towards short-term fixes rather than focusing on long-term improvements for the offender. It also neglects the core factors resulting in criminal behaviour (Marshall 1999: 80).

Left Realism began to emerge in the 1980s and focused more on social reactions and the use of community-based sanctions to rehabilitate offenders (Matthews, 2014: 18). The key reading has categorised left realism into three aspects known as radical, humanism and pessimism. Radical liberalism focuses largely on inequality and believes that policymakers are 'governing through crime' and that current crime control policies are 'ineffective and poorly implemented' (Matthews, 2014: 21). They further believe that individuals commit crime due to 'strain' and limited means of legitimate opportunities. Robert Merton, key criminologist, developed 'The Strain Theory', and believed that 'crime stems from the frustration/anger that results from goal blockage' (Agnew and Passas, 1997: 27). This quote strongly suggests that the underlying factors of crime should not be ignored and informal methods of control should be implemented to assist offenders in their rehabilitation to becoming law-abiding citizens again.

Liberal humanism aims to focus specifically on the individual whilst maintaining a humane approach without exerting law-enforcement (Matthews, 2014: 22). A policing approach that supports this claim can be seen in John Braithwaite's 'reintegrative shaming', defined as a form of disapproval based on respect that could cause the offender to become 'identifiable outcasts' (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 410). Braithwaite states that informal sanctions imposed by relatives, friends or a community member have more of a potential impact in reducing crime than formal methods of sanctions imposed by a member of law-enforcement (Carrabine et al., 2014: 82). The key reading also links restorative justice to liberal humanism, which is a process that allows the victim and offender to resolve the implications of the offence and to restore the victim, offender and surrounding community (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2013: 384).

Lastly, Liberal Pessimism, which states that the criminal justice system is 'inefficient, bureaucratic and discriminatory' (Matthews, 2014: 24), believes that interventions are continually being formulated due to the failure of the criminal justice system, such as the failure of imprisonment which ineffectively attempts to reduce crime within society or deter people from a criminal lifestyle. It also leads to a 'heavy stream of recidivists' (Matthews, 2014: 24). Statistics has also shown that 59 per cent of individuals re-offend after serving a jail sentence of less than twelve months, whilst 36 per cent will re-offend after a four-year sentence (Open Justice, 2016). These statistics indicate that tough law enforcement does not necessarily detain crime and that the lack of informal social control can, in fact, lead to high levels of crime (Foster, 1995).

To conclude, these theories have provided strengths and weaknesses towards the deterrence of crime in society, however, I do not agree that either left or right realism can solely deter crime away on its own. Whilst informal methods of control 'restores' the individual back into society, I believe that it is more inclined to reducing minor offences; however, law enforcement approaches must be sustained for extreme measures of crime. The approaches to crime reduction have the potential to become stronger through developing a 'critical, theoretically coherent and policy relevant criminological approach to reducing crime in society' (Matthews, 2014: 26).

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Masculinity: a critical review

Rosie Dean

This critical review will explain the concept of masculinity in sociology by examining a life history study that researched how failing to accomplish hegemonic masculinity could possibly lead on to committing crime. The study can then be linked on to partially disprove Freud's psychoanalysis theory but further reinstate the arguments of feminism.
The sociology of gender can be a crucial aspect in explaining crime and the criminal profile (Carrabine, E et. al. 2014:16). Sex differences between a man and a woman are entirely biologically reliant; the concept of gender is separate from a biological sex distinction. Gender examines the sociological variations that men and women experience in society and the gender specific roles that are implemented and socialised within each society (Sterling, A 2012:3).

Masculinity as a gender role is socially constructed based on the biological features of being a cis male. The attributes and behaviours that are expected in order to accomplish the masculine gender role include being powerful, mentally and physically, and to assert dominance over both other men and women. Dominance and power must be achieved through any means. Stereotypically within the gender identity of being masculine, primal acts of aggression are expected in order to dominate all others (McLaughlin, E 2013:265). Hegemonic masculinity is the perfect representation of norms that are expected in the masculine gender role. It leads on to the ideology that society not only legitimises the traits associated in the masculine role, but also justifies the patriarchy and perpetuates this in a repetitive cycle in the socialisation of men and women (Connel, R 2005:831).

The key-reading is a thought-provoking analogy of two life history studies. The life history method allows the researcher to examine extensively the life experiences of the participant, and to make connections with offending. The two case studies in the literature are two adolescent males and convicted child sex offenders. The criteria when selecting the two boys were as such: 'both are white, working-class, teenage males who sexually victimized females they personally knew and both displayed serious problems interacting with peers' (Messerschmidt, 2000: 288). The two boys, referred to using the pseudonyms of Sam and John, differ in their experiences at home. Sam grew up in a loving and physically non-violent home. John grew up as a victim of sexual assault, rape and violent assaults committed by his step-father. One of the researcher's objectives was to explore how parental relationships and the home environment could have influenced the crimes committed by both Sam and John. The similarity for both Sam and John was that, despite their different family experiences, both boys were severely bullied at school.

A defining factor presented by the researcher was that both of the boys grew up experiencing a strong awareness of their own masculine inadequacy. Both boys were socialised in the ideal masculine figure at home through the normality of physical violence. The researcher evaluated that the bullying at school was a result of the boys being typically non-masculine. They were smaller, weaker, less intelligent, and lacked the ability to dominate others. This feeling of inadequacy was exacerbated by the fact that they were unable to fight back against the bullying. The researcher explores at length how the failure to perform the gender role of masculinity shaped Sam and John's choices throughout their adolescent years and can even explain the choice to commit the sexual offences. In the

conclusion, the researcher heavily links and implies that the sexual offences committed by Sam and John were due to the overwhelming social requirement to control and dominate others, and in their eyes to perform hegemonic masculinity.

Although John did experience physical and sexual violence at home, and then in-turn reproduced this violence into his own life, Sam did not. Yet, they both committed child sex offences. This partially rejects the renowned psychological theory of Sigmund Freud. Freud, as a developmental psychologist, produced the psychoanalytical theory and theorises that the childhood experiences that we have shape our unconscious mind and thus our entire life (Storr, A 1989:21). While the bullying did occur to Sam and John in their childhood, Freud gave particular emphasis on primary socialisation at home in his theory, and how healthy and fulfilling the child's relationship with the parents is (Stones, R 1998:69). So, to follow Freud's theory, John would be a perfect example of how the negative implications of abuse from the parent in early years can have. Sam on the other hand, would disprove this because of his positive and nurturing relationship with his parents. These studies do not completely reject Freud's theories on childhood, but rather move on to emphasise more importance on secondary socialisation when shaping a child's psyche.

The study was not representative of a population and lacked generalisability. The sample size was vastly too small to accurately make any assumptions on how the gender role of masculinity can affect the criminal population. Sam and John were selected due to being white and working class. The gender role expectations within masculinity are socially and culturally constructed. Therefore, the roles, norms and expectations of masculinity can vary depending on an individual's race, class, sexual preferences, and so on. The sample in this study excludes any cultural variations, and again, leaves it insufficient in terms of sampling, to be able to be generalised onto any larger population (Bryman, A 2012:198). If the researcher was to increase the sample size and ensure that the selection was done at random, it would further legitimise the study's findings. However, the life history method of researching would become potentially problematic with how in-depth a study could be if the sample size was far greater than a few individual cases. The life history method provided an excellent insight into Sam and John's life, and any future studies along these lines would require this method to be as valid as this study; thus, any increase in sample size would have to balance the requirements of carrying out the life history method of researching.

To conclude, this study highlights how damaging the masculine role expectations were for Sam and John. The feminist movement contests stereotypical gender roles. However, the connotations feminism has, is that it is purely in the interest of the feminine role. This may be truer in the extent that vastly more women are involved with the feminist movement, but actually, the ideal of complete gender equality would be equally beneficial for men, and the battle against the equally damaging masculine role expectations. If more men supported feminism, it could break the gender roles and norms being perpetuated through the socialisation of children.

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Critical Review 3: Victims, Victimisation and Victimology

Sam Drury

In this critical review, I will be focusing on the module session 'Victims, Victimisation and Victimology'. This topic in the module discusses the idea of a 'victim', understanding how the term developed through history, who most likely fits the description and how criminology has responded to these developments. Throughout this critical review, I will be assessing how this is made clear to us, and discussing my thoughts on this issue.

Which characteristics one would need to have in order to be labelled a 'victim' has greatly changed throughout history. But presently, the official definition from The Code of Practice for Victims of Crime states that 'a natural person who has suffered harm, including physical, mental or emotional harm or economic loss which was directly caused by a criminal offence [would be considered a victim]' (2015). This means that anyone directly affected in any way from a criminal offence would be considered a victim. However, what I find interesting about this definition is that it further continues to distinguish who can be victims by including in the definition 'a close relative of a person whose death was directly caused by a criminal offence'. What this is essentially saying is that you can only be an indirect victim of a crime if you are the spouse of someone who has died as a direct cause of a crime. Therefore, it suggests that if the person has not died as a result of the crime, he or she is not considered an indirect 'victim', even if the crime has also left him or her physically, mentally or emotionally damaged. In my seminar class, we discussed that this clearly shows that the idea of victimisation is very much socially constructed, based on what the collective feels is appropriate, meaning victimisation is not a factual concept, and can be changed whenever society feels it should be.

Norwegian criminologist Nils Christie develops this idea of a socially constructed victim by claiming that society has a habit of trying to distinguish the 'ideal victim'. By this, Christie argues that this person would have specific characteristics: weak in relation to offender, engaged in a legitimate activity, blameless, unknown to the perpetrator, the perpetrator is 'big and bad', and the victim has right combination of power and influence (Christie, 1986). When reviewing Christie's work, it became noticeable that he was writing in a period of time when women were seen as being extremely comparable to these characteristics, probably showing that society's ideal victim was generally a woman. After reading Christie's ideas, I decided to compare his thoughts to how much this has changed in the modern day. My findings were that it is still very likely that as a society, we generally, still see women as being more victim-like than men, due to physical constraints, with men more likely to be the perpetrator. But, interestingly, I found that the modern society also likes to insist that the typical victim needs to be a model citizen. In an article written by the Guardian, it is explained that in sexual assault cases, 'compensation has been reduced for sexual assault victims who have criminal convictions' (Starmer, 2015). This suggests that court officials and judges are more sympathetic to a victim with zero prior convictions, than to a victim of the same crime who has previous known felonies. This, therefore, develops this construction in society that victims of crimes are seen as being more victimised if they have been previously completely innocent and model citizens, and, therefore, garner more respect and empathy. Fattah claims that statistically 'criminals are more frequently victimised than non-criminals and the victims of violent crime have

considerable criminal involvement' (1992: 39). Here, Fattah argues that actually people who are seen as 'criminals' and have previous convictions on record are more likely to be a victim of violent crime than non-criminals, but are excluded from this idealisation of victimhood because society denies that criminals may also be victimised.

Over the years, society has developed an interest in victimology, through the media and education. The media have been able to draw public's attention to high profile examples of extreme victimisation, being able to aid victims in need of support to get what they deserve. One of the biggest examples of this in recent times is the Hillsborough disaster in 1989, where 96 football supporters were crushed to death because of the ground's incapability of holding large crowds. The fight for justice for these 96 people and their respective spouses (who suffer from secondary victimisation) has been apparent even to this day, showing us how the media can be a good outlet for helping victims who are dismissed as they do not fit the 'perfect victim' ideal. Since the 1940s, criminology has taken a bigger stance on victimology, with three main approaches being developed: Positivist/Conventional, Liberal, and Radical/Critical. Positivist victimology aims at developing the different typologies of victims, identifying patterns that could lead a person to being a victim, and differentiating them from non-victims (Mendelsohn, 1956, in Doerner and Lab, 2014: 23). However, I feel that this can lead to an excessive degree of victim-blaming, and can cause certain types of people to be stereotypically seen as a victim. Liberal victimology extends its focus on the more hidden forms of crime such as white collar crimes, and tries to explain how corporations and business can be victimised. Radical victimology expands on the conventional notion of victim, by suggesting people can be victims of issues that are not directly criminal, such as poverty, malnutrition, inadequate healthcare and education, etc. and, therefore, aim to show victimhood in areas that are not directly criminal.

To conclude, I strongly believe that victimisation is a very one-sided development of the powerful, who are able to influence which types of people are seen as more 'victim-like' and 'ideal', which then influences the rest of society in how this is constructed. This can be seen mostly through the government sectors which are clearly shown as being more lenient towards certain people, based on certain characteristics they possess. I think this is completely wrong, and after extending my research into the topic, I understood that there are many types of people who are extremely victimised in many other ways and that they need to be supported, and with this, I feel that 'radical victimology' best supports those in need.

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What are some of the factors that influence public opinion on the impact of immigration on Finland and Hungary's economy?

Abigail Hill

Attitudes towards Immigration being bad or good for a country's economy (imbgeco) can be an important indicator of sociological issues such as racism, intra group dynamics and perceptions of crime. The dependent variable, helps to measure and subsequently understand how public opinion on how the economy reacts to an increase in the immigrant labour force is constructed (Card et al., 2005). Economically speaking, an influx of low skilled immigrant employees could increase market competition for native low skilled workers, but ultimately have little impact on wage levels (Card, 2005). Specific variables could influence an individual's understanding and perception of these principles. Two countries which have recently faced public policy discussions regarding immigration concerns are Finland (high quality of education) and Hungary (lower quality of education). The data presented in this paper is taken from the European Social Survey (Round 7, 2004). In order to explore the impact of certain demographics including educational attainment, imbgeco is recorded as a percentage and in accordance with common practice in applied research, treated as a continuous variable. Therefore, my research question and what I aim to answer is: What are some of the factors that influence public opinion on the impact of immigration on Finland and Hungary's economy?

	Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Bad for the economy	116	4.9%	4.9%
1	108	4.5%	9.4%
2	189	7.9%	17.3%
3	267	11.2%	28.5%
4	271	11.4%	39.9%
5	506	21.2%	61.1%
6	283	11.9%	72.9%
7	313	13.1%	86.0%
8	232	9.7%	95.8%
9	71	3.0%	98.7%
Good for the economy	30	1.3%	100.0%
Total	2386	100.0%	100.0%

Table 1: Frequency distribution for 'Immigration bad or good for country's economy' across Finland and across Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Sample size	**2386**
Mean	4.86
Variance	5.504
Mode	5
Standard Deviation	2.346
Range	10

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for cumulative 'Immigration bad or good for country's economy' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

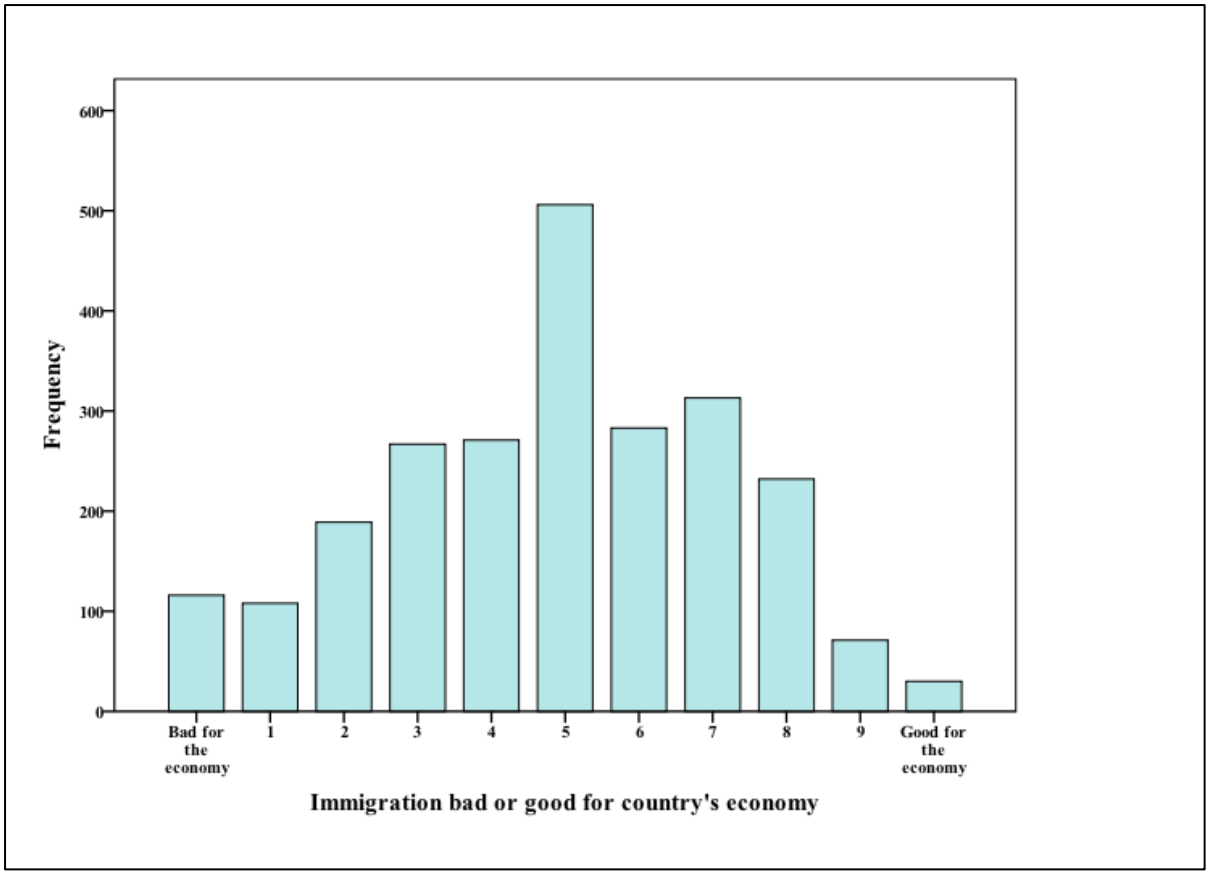

Figure 1: Bar chart illustrating the frequency distribution for 'Immigration bad or good for country's economy' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Table 1 reports that of the 2386 respondents (100.0% of the data) the largest number, 506 (31.2%) lies in the mode category of 5 (neutral) on the likert scale for its impact on a country's economy. In this case the most frequent value has not been outweighed by less frequent values. 13.1%, reported an attitude of 7 (more good than bad for the economy). A cumulative percentage of 61.1% of respondents rated immigration more bad than good for a country's economy. Table 2 reports the variance as 5.504 and the standard deviation is 2.346, meaning the data for the combined population of both countries is moderately dispersed. The self reported attitude responses are on a 11-point scale (0= Bad for the economy, 11= Good for the economy) therefore the range is 10. The mean for this variable is 4.86%, which is near the middle of the range. Figure 1, displays how the results do not necessarily have a meaningful order with observations clustered towards the middle values, but for the top two extreme points more observations are clustered around 'bad for the economy'.

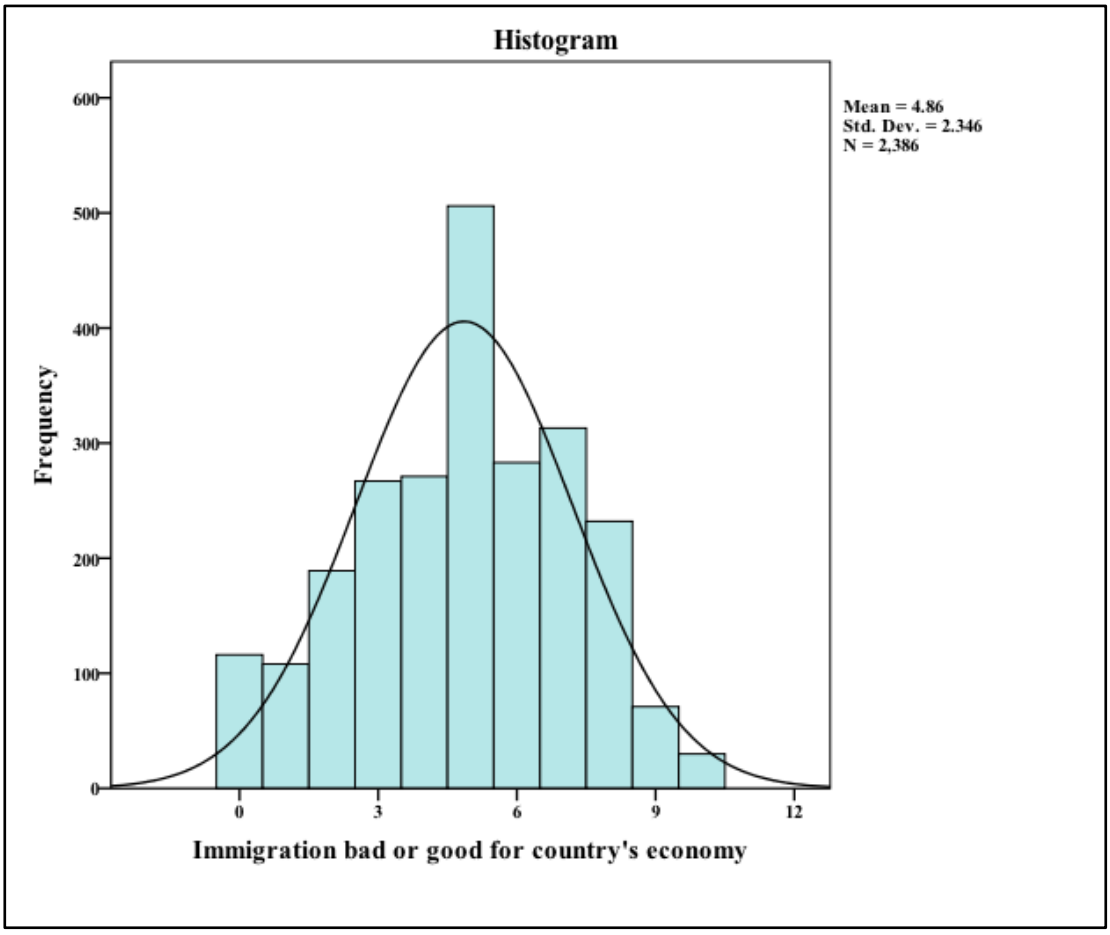

Figure 2: Histogram of 'Immigration bad or good for country's economy' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Figure 2 presents a histogram for the dependent variable imbgeco for Finland and Hungary's economy respectively. It shows that most of the observations fall relatively close to the mean of 4.86% and cluster between about 3 and 7. The variable is normally distributed with no significant skew, making it appropriate as a dependent variable in further regression analysis.

	Sample size	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error of the Mean
Finland	1601	5.43	2.199	0.055
Hungary	785	3.68	2.192	0.078
Mean Difference	1.755			
T-statistic	18.337			
Degrees of freedom	2384			
Significance	<0.001			

Table 3: Results from using a T-test to test the difference in attitudes towards immigration being bad or good for a country's economy in Finland and Hungary.

Table 3 presents a comparison of the mean score of attitudes towards immigration on the economy in Finland and Hungary. The table shows that individuals in the sample from

Finland have more positive attitudes towards immigrants being good for the country's economy than in Hungary which has a lower mean score (3.68% compared to 5.43%). The standard deviations for both groups are similar and in fact not significantly different (0.007 difference). This means the use of a T-test formula for the two independent samples of Finland and Hungary, which are different sizes but with equal variances can be used.

A subset of the ESS14 dataset to test is used to test the null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ There is no significant difference between attitudes being bad or good for the country's economy between Finland and Hungary.

Table 3 shows that the mean attitude for Finland was 5.43% out of a possible 11-point scale ranging from bad for the economy to good for the economy while the corresponding attitude for Hungary was 3.68. This mean difference of 1.755 of a scale point is statistically significant ($t= 18.337$, $df=2384$, $p<0.001$), leading us to reject the null hypothesis of no difference in attitudes towards immigration being bad or good for the country's economy between Finland and Hungary and no association. The analysis suggests individuals in the sample taken from Finland are more inclined to believe immigration has a good effect on the country's economy, with the sample rating immigration more 'good' than the sample from Hungary.

The independent ordinal variable selected to compare to imbgeco is 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' (imwbcnt), it is recorded as a percentage and in accordance with common practice in applied research, is treated as a continuous variable.

	Frequency	**Valid Percent**	**Cumulative Percent**
Worse place to live	81	3.4%	3.4%
1	67	2.8%	6.2%
2	140	5.9%	12.1%
3	217	9.1%	21.2%
4	246	10.3%	31.5%
5	724	30.3%	61.8%
6	305	12.8%	74.6%
7	290	12.2%	86.8%
8	210	8.8%	95.6%
9	72	3.0%	98.6%
Better place to live	34	1.4%	100.0%
Total	2386	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4: Frequency distribution for 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Sample Size	**2386**
Mean	5.08
Variance	4.533
Mode	5
Std. Deviation	2.129
Range	10

Table 5: Descriptive statistics for 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

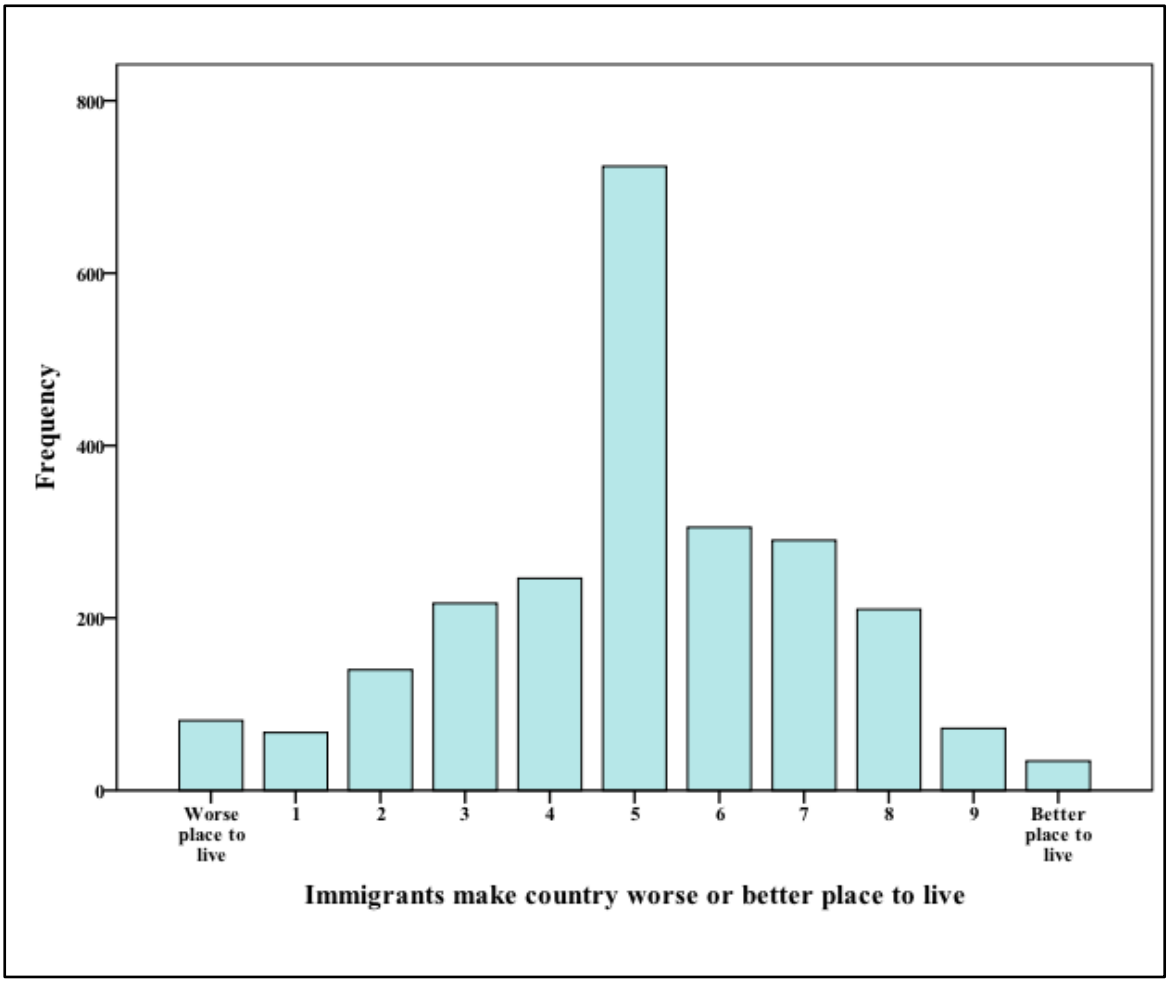

Figure 3: Bar chart illustrating the frequency distribution for 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Table 4 reports that of the 2386 respondents (100.0% of the data), 724 (30.3%) lies in the mode category of 5 (neutral), in this case the most frequent value has not been outweighed by less frequent values. 12.8%, reported an attitude of 6 (better). A cumulative percentage of 61.8% of respondents rated immigration making a place worse to live. The variance is 4.533 and as standard deviation of 2.129 and the range is 10 due to the 11-point scale (0= worst place to live, 10= better place to live). The mean for imwbcnt is 5.08%, which is near the middle of the range. Figure 3 displays how the results do not necessarily have a meaningful order with observations clustered towards the middle values.

Imwbcnt aims to gather the general attitudes participants have towards immigrant's impact on a country and the over-all benefits they contribute to an area. Benefits perceived by participants could include increased cultural diversity and drawbacks such as cultural clashes. A participant's general view of an immigrant's impact on an area could influence their opinion of immigrations economic viability (Card et al., 2005). If participants perceive immigrants as not being social actors in a community, not getting jobs and not paying taxes, this could lead to negative views on immigrations impact on wages and labour.

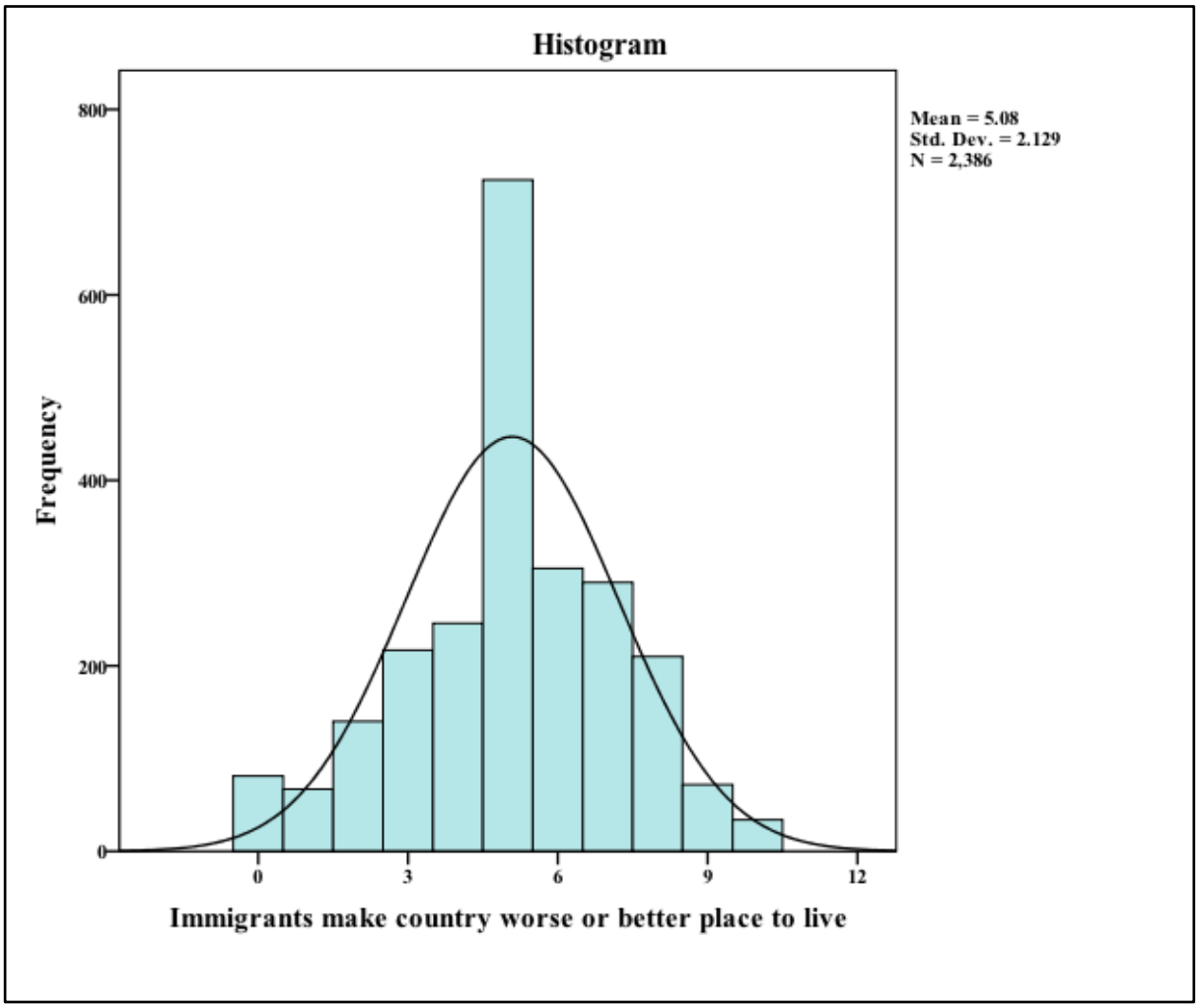

Figure 4: Histogram of 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Figure 4 presents a histogram for imwbcnt, showing shows that most of the observations fall relatively close to the mean of 5.08% and cluster between about 3 to 7. The variable is normally distributed, however there are more cases at the higher end of the scale/range compared to the lower end, so is slightly negatively skewed. This makes it appropriate as an independent variable in further regression analysis.

	Coefficient a	Standard error	T-statistic	Significance
Constant	0.843	0.087	9.716	<0.001
Imwbcnt	0.789	0.016	50.105	<0.001
R^2	0.513			

a. Dependent Variable: Immigration bad or good for country's economy

ANOVAa					
	Sum of Squares	**Degrees of freedom**	**Mean Square**	**F value**	**Significance**
Regression	6733.147	1	6733.147	2510.463	<0.001b
Residual	6393.968	2384	2.682		
Total	13127.115	2385			

a. Dependent Variable: Immigration bad or good for country's economy
b. Predictors: (Constant), Immigrants make country worse or better place to live

	B (Standard Error)	Scores		
Constant	0.843 (0.087)			a= 0.843
Immigration makes place worse or better to live	0.789 (0.016)	8	8x0.789	6.812
				y=7.155

Figure 5: Results from regressing self-reported attitudes on immigration being bad for a country's economy and self-reported attitudes on immigrants making a country a worse place to live.

The subset of data from the ESS14 data was used to test the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ The population slope parameter between participant's self reported attitudes on immigration being bad for the economy and self reported attitudes on immigration making a country a worse place to live in the population is zero.

Figure 4 displays the significant association between imwbcnt and imbgeco F (1,2384) = 2510.46<0.001. The first table reports the constant as 0.843, which is the expected imbgeco score when imwbcnt equals zero. The R^2 is moderately high at 0.513 meaning approximately 51.3% of the variance in attitudes towards immigrations impact on the economy, is explained by attitudes towards immigration impacting on making a country a better place to live. However, there could still be significant factors not included in this model. The result is statistically significant because the probability that we would observe an R2 value as big as this if it was zero in the population is <0.001.

The estimated slope coefficient is 0.789, representing for every one-point increase in the implicit attitude scale of imwbcnt, we would expect an increase of 0.789 in imbgeco on an 11-point scale. The result is statistically significant because the probability that we would see this strength of relationship if it were zero in the population is <0.001. Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected. Table 3 presents the case study score for participant 1891's imbgeco result can be predicted (Y=a + bx + e) to be 7.16, which is reasonably close

to their actual score of 6. It can therefore be inferred that respondents exhibiting more positive attitudes towards immigrants making a country a worse place to live, exhibit more positive attitudes towards immigrants negatively impacting the economy.

The following multiple regression model includes three new independent variables: age (agea), highest level of education, ES-ISCED, Finland and 'important to understand different people' (ipudrst). By including other independent variables, predictions about imbgeco will be more accurate and stronger causal inferences can be deduced from observed associations, between variables to rule out confounding influences.

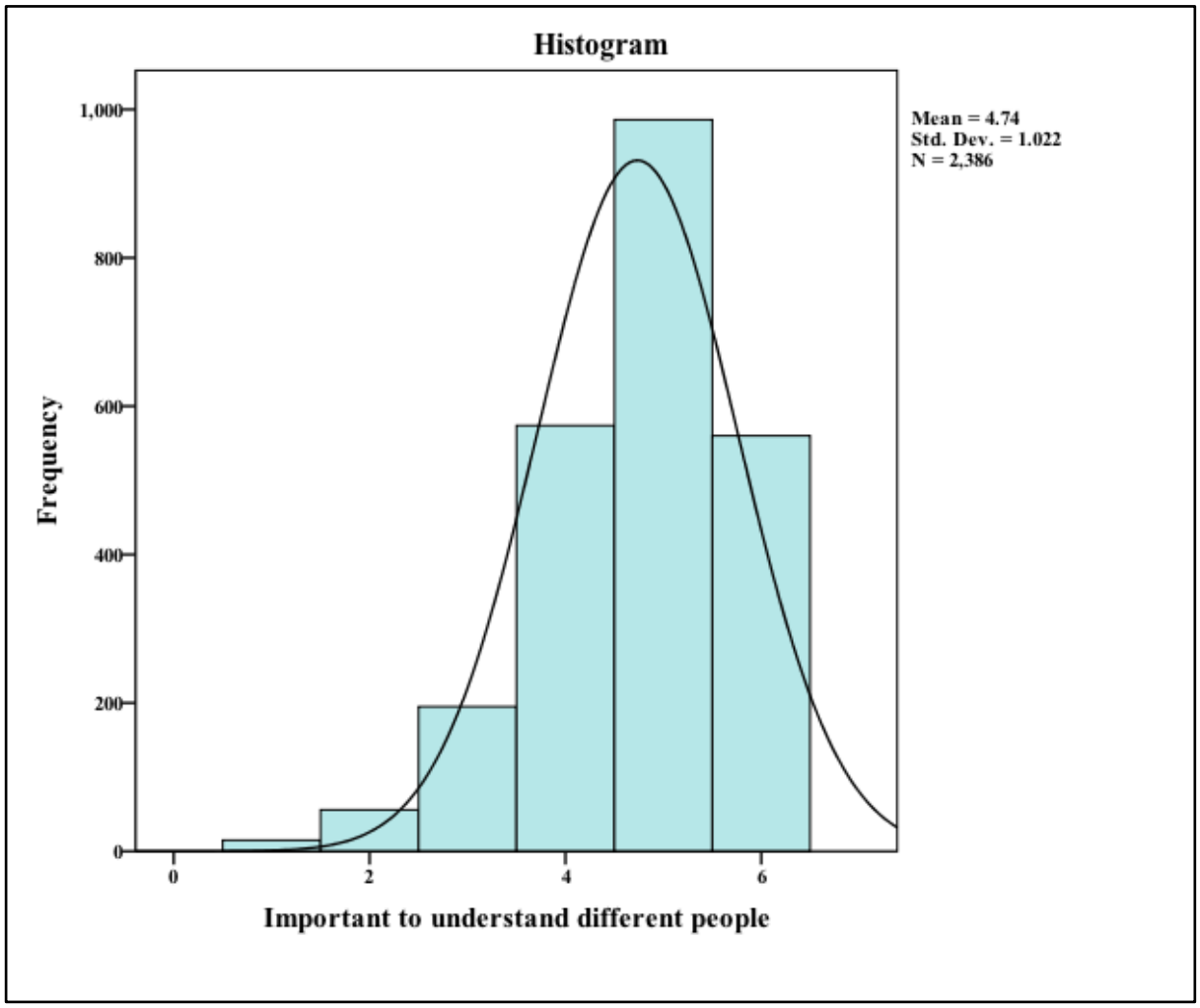

Figure 6: Histogram of self-reported attitudes of importance to understand different people across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Figure 6 shows that the majority of the values of ipudrst, cluster between 4 (somewhat like me) and 6 (very much like me). There is a reasonably strong negative skew to the distribution, however this does not warrant enough concern to question the appropriateness of the variable's inclusion in the regression model.

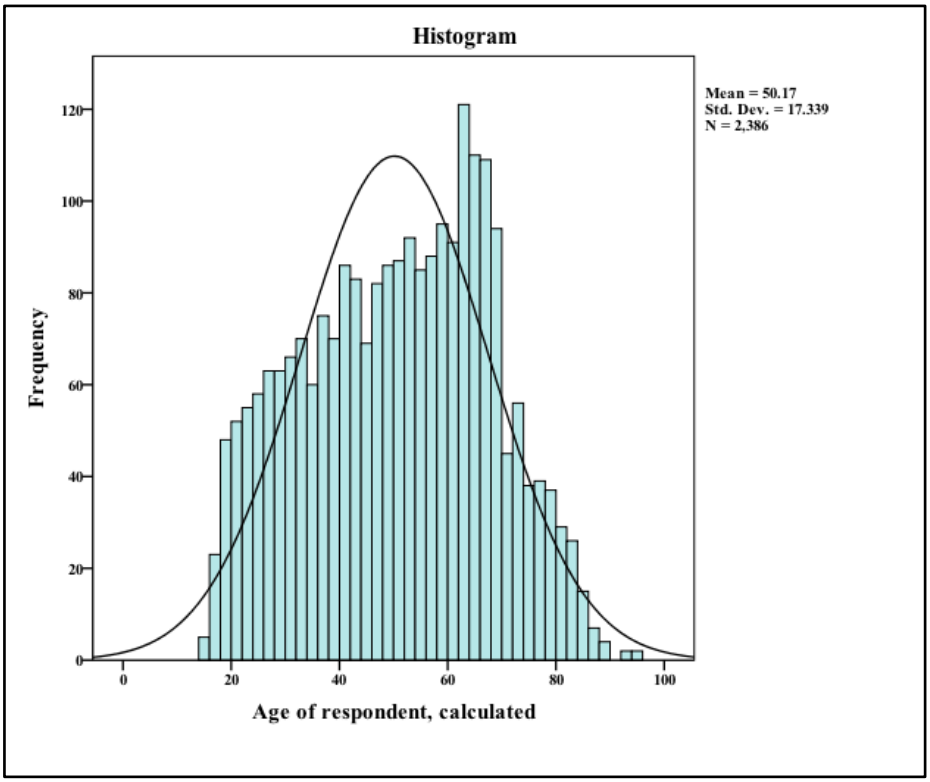

Figure 7: Histogram of age of respondent calculated across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Figure 7 shows the distribution of age has a range of 80 and is only slightly negatively skewed, but close enough to normal distribution to cause no concern.

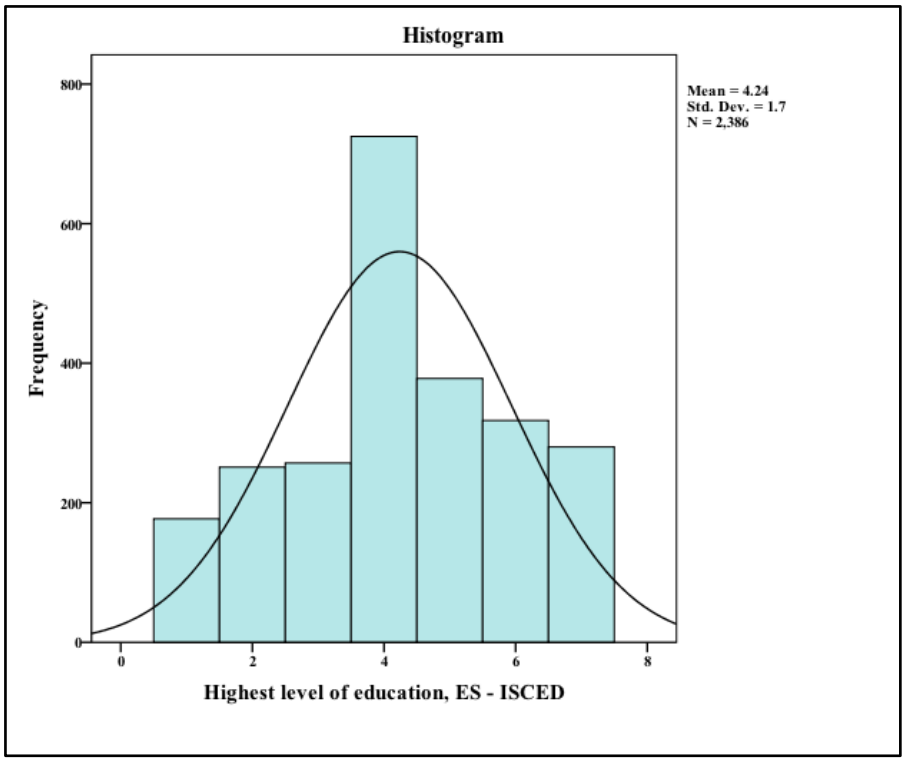

Figure 8: Histogram of highest level of education, ES-ISCED across Finland and Hungary measured in 2004, European Social Survey, Round 7.

Figure 8 shows that the distribution of eisced has a slight negative skew but is normally distributed and is therefore suitable to include in the multiple regression model.

	Unstandardized Coefficients a		Standardized Coefficients a		
	B	**Standard Error**	**Beta**	**T-statistic**	**Significance**
Constant	-0.152	0.202		-0.752	0.452
Finland	0.57	0.075	0.114	7.592	0
Agea	0.004	0.002	0.029	2.018	0.044
Eisced	0.135	0.02	0.098	6.595	0
Imwbcnt	0.717	0.017	0.651	42.537	0
Ipudrst	0.045	0.034	0.02	1.331	0.183

Model Summary				
R	**R Square**	**Adjusted R Square**	**Standard Error of the Estimate**	**Significance**
0.733a	0.537	0.536	1.598	<0.001

a. Predictors: (Constant), Finland, Agea, Eisced, Imwbcnt, Ipudrst
b. Dependent variable: imbgeco

ANOVAa					
	Sum of Squares	**Degrees of Freedom**	**Mean Square**	**F Value**	**Significance**
Regression	7047.813	5	1409.563	551.833	.000b
Residual	6079.302	2380	2.554		
Total	13127.115	2385			

a. Dependent variable: imbgeco
b. Predictors: (Constant), Finland, Agea, Eisced, Imwbcnt, Ipudrst

	B (Standard Error)	Scores		
Constant	-0.152 (0.202)			a= -0.152
Finland	0.57 (0.075)	1	1x0.57	+0.57
Agea	0.004 (0.002)	43	43x0.004	+0.172
Eisced	0.135 (0.02)	7	7x0.135	+0.945
Ipudrst	0.045 (0.034)	5	5x0.045	+0.225
				Y=1.76

Figure 9: Multiple regression of attitudes towards the impact of immigration on the economy on attitudes towards immigration's impact on a place being nice to live, age, highest level of education-ISCED and importance to understand different people.

Figure 9 displays significant association between imwbent, Finland, agea, eisced, ipudrst and imbgeco $F(5,2380) = 551.833 < 0.001$. In the first table the moderately high R2 of 0.537 reports that about 53.7% of the variance in attitudes towards immigrations impact on the economy is accounted for by attitudes towards immigration's impact on a place being nice to live, age, highest level of education-ISCED and importance to understand different people. The probability that we would see an R2 as big as this, if it was zero in a population is <0.001 and is therefore a statistically significant result.

The second table in figure 9, presents the constant as -0.152. This can be interpreted as the average expected value of imbgeco when all of the independent variables equal zero. In this case, all of the variables in the multiple regression model apart from age has no absolute zero point, so the constant does not have a useful interpretation. The constant is not statistically significant as the p-value is greater than 0.05.

We used a subset of data from the ESS14-9 to test the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ The population slope parameter between participant's self reported attitudes on immigration being bad for the economy and age in the population is zero.

The second table reports that the coefficient linking imbgeco to age is estimated to be 0.004. The result is statistically significant because the probability that we would see this strength of relationship if it were zero in the population is 0.05. Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected. For every one point (year) increase in age there is an associated increase attitudes of immigration positively impacting the economy of 0.004, controlling for all other independent variables.
We used a subset of data from the ESS14-9 to test the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ The population slope parameter between participant's self reported attitudes on immigration being bad for the economy and highest level of education, ES-ISCED in the population is zero.

The same table reports that the partial slope coefficient linking imbgeco to eisced is 0.135. Therefore, for every one-point increase in higher education (more educated), participant's attitudes towards immigrations impact on the economy is expected to rise by 0.135 (more

good than bad for the economy) on an 11-point scale, controlling for all other independent variables. The result is statistically significant because the probability of observing this strength of relationship if it were zero in the population is <0.001. Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected. Suggesting that the more educated the participant, the more likely they are to view immigration as a benefit for the economy.

We used a subset of data from the ESS14-9 to test the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ The population slope parameter between participant's self reported attitudes on immigration being bad for the economy and participant's self reported attitudes on importance to understand different people, in the population is zero.

Table 2 reports that the partial slope coefficient linking imbgeco to ipudrst is estimated to be 0.045, on an 11-point scale, holding constant all other independent variables. This can be interpreted as the average marginal effect of an increase in the attitude scale (more like me) on attitudes of immigration positively impacting the economy. However, the coefficient is not statistically significant as the p-value is 0.183, which is a lot higher than the conventional cut off of 0.05. Therefore, there is insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

We used a subset of data from the ESS14-9 to test the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ The population slope parameter between participant's self reported attitudes on immigration being bad for the economy and country, in the population is zero.

The second table presents that the partial slope coefficient linking imbgeco to the country of Finland is estimated to be 0.57. Therefore, for every one-point increase in country, participant's imbgeco attitude score is expected to rise by 0.57 controlling for all other independent variables. The result is statistically significant because the probability of observing this strength of relationship if it were zero in the population is <0.001. Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected. Suggesting that participants living in Finland are more likely to view immigration as a benefit for the economy.

We used a subset of data from the ESS14-9 to test the following null hypothesis:

$H_{0=}$ The population slope parameter between participant's self reported attitudes on immigration being bad for the economy and self reported attitudes on immigration making a country a worse place to live in the population is zero.

The multiple regression model reports the coefficient linking imbgeco and imwbcnt to be 0.717 compared to the simple linear regression model where the coefficient was 0.843. This means for every one-point increase in imbgeco attitudes there was a smaller expected increase of 0.717 in imwbcnt attitudes on an 11-point scale, controlling for all other variables. There was no change is the statistical significance as the coefficient p-values are both <0.001. Therefore, both null hypothesis' could be rejected. The R squared value of the multiple regression model rose slightly from 0.513 to 0.537. The results are statistically significant because the probability of observing R2 values as large as these in the population is <0.001. This suggests that a higher percentage of the variance in self reported attitudes towards immigrations impact on the economy is explained by attitudes towards immigration impacting on making a country a worse place to live, which is accounted for when introducing more independent variables. Nevertheless, the remainder of a high R

squared value in the multiple regression model suggests that the relationship between imbgeco and imwbent is not a spurious one. When analyzing the standardized partial coefficients, which are statistically significant at $p<0.001$, which expresses all the variables on the same scale, it is apparent that changing country from Finland to Hungary has the strongest relative effect on imbgeco. For every one-point increase in country (being a resident of Finland) there was an expected increase in standard deviation units of 0.114, holding constant all other independent variables. The independent variable with the next most relative effect, was imwbcnt, where for every one-point increase in positive attitudes towards immigration there was a 0.651 increase in standard deviation units. Table 3 displays the case study 1229, a predicted score (Y=a+bx1+bx2+bx3+bx4+e), for imbgeco is 1.76 not close to the participants actual score of 5, which reflects the lack of statistical significance of the constant value $p=0.452$.

In Finland and Hungary, attitudes towards immigrations impact on the economy and areas to live are relatively neutral. Yet, Finns are more likely to view immigration as good for the economy than bad. The more positive people feel about immigration improving a place to live, the more likely they were to view immigration as beneficial for the economy. Education appears to be an indicator of immigration attitudes, but there is no strong association between age and attitudes, suggesting views on immigration fluctuate over generations. There was no significant connection between individual's importance to understand other people and attitudes towards immigration. When looking at the various factors that could influence attitudes, education and the relative effect on a place to live have substantial impacts on immigration opinions. Therefore, it could be suggested that using contextual research that Finland has an overall higher standard of education than Hungary and taking into account the association between education attainment and immigration attitudes. It could be suggested that a better quality of education can influence individuals cultural understanding and tolerance of immigrants. Therefore, individuals are more enlightened to the macro economic benefits a country can reap such as increased output, gross national profit and lower wages, thus more inclined to accept more lenient immigration laws and policy.

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‘The ‘underclass’ label is simply the latest of many which have been stamped on that group of poor people perceived as undesirable and threatening’. Discuss.

Keleigh Horton

The concept of an underclass is not a modern development; the idea of a deserving poor and undeserving poor is historic. The undeserving poor, or the ‘dangerous class’ are a group of outsiders whom threaten social order and are seen heavily in the 19th century. Malthus’s redundant population (Malthus, 1888) and Marx’s (1848) ‘lumpenproletariat’ both identify a group of people below the working class who are unworthy of support, an idea that has continued into the 21st century. The label of underclass is defined by Wilson (1987) as those who lack training and skills are long-term unemployed, are not members of the labour force, may be part of deviant behaviour, within family instability and welfare dependent. This definition applies to both Murray’s (1990) structural and Wilson’s (1987) cultural explanation of the underclass. This essay will examine the structural and cultural explanation of the underclass, and how the cultural conservative view only furthers the stigmatisation of a vulnerable group in society. As well as examining how the underclass is a status within the working class, and the label of ‘underclass’ is used to divide the working class.

While the label underclass was not coined until the 20th century, the idea of a separate, immoral class began long before. Malthus (1888) identified the ‘redundant population’; a population without steady employment and subsistence; thus forced to live off charity and public assistance (Mayhew, 2016: 143). Malthus argued that welfare support, which would have been The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1844, only increases negative behaviour such as excessive drinking in the working class (Malthus, 1888). Marx also identifies a dangerous class, the ‘lumpenproletariat’ in which he described as ‘social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society’ (Marx, 1848: 2) Marx did not see these people as working class, as they do not have class consciousness, therefore are not political, they have no purpose in the class revolution, he saw them as hindering the movement. There was also the development of the Eugenics movement (Welshman, 2013), in which those who are deemed weak and inferior are bred out of society. This had both race and class dimensions, it was suggested involuntary sterilisation of the underclass or ‘social residuum’ to stop their ‘degeneration’ of society. (Welshman, 2013) This “underclass” group are seen as dangerous due to how they threaten social order and hinder the development of a moral society. For Marx (1848) the underclass threatened the working class revolution. This idea of a group of people, who are below the working class, due to their immoral behaviour, reliance on welfare and contagion, can be applied to the modern day label of underclass. This historical element emphasises the stigma attached to the underclass, as it shows how the concept of worthy and unworthy poor are so ingrained into western society.

The UK newspapers are much more likely to portray a harsh, negative picture of those receiving benefits than countries such as Sweden and Denmark (Larsen and Dejgaard, 2013) with media analysis (Baumberg, Bell, Gaffney, Deacon, Hood and Sage, 2012). Between 1995 and 2011 more than half of all articles surrounding benefits in tabloid newspapers used negative vocabulary, with almost 70% of articles in the Daily Mail and The Sun (Lansley and Mack, 2015: 142). Harkin (2016) discusses how the concept of the

underclass allows the media to address poverty from a non-structural approach. They use the idea of the underclass to create the 'other'; an example by Jon Gaunt (2009) for the sun highlights this:

> …in a country where the dole figure has just passed 2.2 million … scroungers can rot in their stinking pits, only stirring to pick up the next benefit cheque or breed the next member of the feral underclass (citied in Harkin, 2016: 86)

These stories use highly dissociative language to create an 'us vs them' response which provokes an almost contempt amongst the public towards those in poverty. Golding (1999) states 'these voices underline the fact the contemporary understanding of welfare is based partly on 'the pathology of individual inadequacy as the cause of poverty' (Harkin, 2015:83) The cultural approach to the underclass is most predominant within mainstream media, as Harkin argues it is to 'seek individualised, rather than structural explanations for poverty' (2015:83) Lister (2004) suggests the term 'underclass' is used as a synonym for poverty, which creates a stigma towards the poor in general, as there is no longer a divide between worthy and unworthy. Furthermore, Harkins (2015) explains how the label of underclass is also used to describe a group of people who are 'immoral' and 'violent', therefore a threat to society (Harkins, 2015: 83). This idea that the underclass represents the threat of the 'other' is furthered by Bauman (1998). Bauman (1998) argues that the development of underclass theories overlapped with the end of the cold war, the underclass replaced the foreign threat with a new domestic one. This highly emotive language used to describe the underclass perpetuates the idea of 'culture dependency', people choose to live on benefits and they choose to be poor. (Lansley and Mack, 2015: 143)

Language surrounding the underclass is deeply political; Murray's (1990) analysis of the underclass perpetuates this theme of contagion, 'Britain earlier this year, a visitor from a plague area come to see whether the disease is spreading.' (Murray, 1990: 26) which emphasises this groups 'otherness' and their outside status. Lister (2004) addresses this representation of the underclass 'The language of disease and contamination associated with the 'underclass' conveys a pathological image of people in poverty.' (Lister, 2004:10). Murray identifies the underclass by using three phenomena in which he determines to be 'warning signs', these are; 'illegitimacy, violent crime, and drop-out from the labour force'. (Murray, 1990: 26). Murray (1990) finds that single parenthood is more predominant amongst the lower classes, and that in the US there was a significant difference in the length of time spent on welfare between divorcee parents, and never married mothers. He declares welfare dependency to be a fact amongst single mothers (Murray, 1990). Murray (1990) also determines single mothers to be dysfunctional, as they do not adequately socialise their children, particularly male children due to the lack of positive male roles. He also notes how African Caribbean women are more likely to be single mothers, whereas, other ethnic minorities in the UK are more likely to uphold the traditional nuclear family (Murray, 1990). He also identifies how statistics suggest there is a rapid increase in violent crime in England, and how it is the poor communities that are experiencing the brunt of this increase; this increase in crime is due to the expanding underclass. Murray (1994) states that proof of the underclass is found in the large quantity of healthy, work aged men who 'choose' to not be employed. The 1980s had staggering levels of unemployment, which may be linked to Thatcher's government and the closing of many traditional working class places of work such as the mines. However, Murray (1990) argues that instead young men are part of a subculture of work avoidance, and can become dependent on welfare for support (Murray, 1990). The UK media perpetuates this cultural theory of the underclass,

and will often blame over generous welfare as the cause of the underclass, which allows for a familiar and easy target in which the public can displace their frustration and fear. Murray (1990) places high amounts of blame for the growing underclass on the increase of single mothers, a blame that stems from ethnocentric, and misogynistic ideas. The idea of blame is ethnocentric as Murray (1990) assumes that the two-parent nuclear family is a universal norm, which it is not, other family types are predominant outside of the western world, and provide adequate socialisation for their children. Murray (1994) places considerably more blame on the mother than on the absentee father, and also to combat single motherhood proposes cutting all welfare support to single mothers, so they become economically dependent on the father. A patriarchal idea that diminishes the mother's independence, agency, and creates an unequal power relationship between the mother and father. This supports the idea that the underclass is a label that is used to demonise, or stigmatise a group of people that may defy social norms, therefore they are seen as undesirable.

The structural approach to the underclass argues that the cultural account only furthers the stigmatisation of a group of people, and places the blame on them instead of structures that lead to their circumstances. Wilson (1987) looks at the structures that lead to the development of a black underclass in America, and argues that this cannot be explained simply through race, as class is more significant. He does address the employment disadvantage that black communities face compared with their white counterparts, showing how in the mid-1970s'black teenage unemployment was 2.5 times greater than that of whites' (citied in Morris, 1994:83). This withdrawal from the workplace can be explained through the changes in the economic structure of the inner city, there was a shift from manufacturing to service, which are white-collar professions that caused a decline in the job prospects of low skill workers. Wilson (1991) also looks at the role of single parenthood; he states that male unemployment is the most significant factor causing the increase in single black mothers. He argues there has been a decline in the amount of black men who can support a family comfortably, due to high unemployment, high levels of incarceration and even high mortality rates (Wilson, 1991). Wilson (1991) recognised the connotations surrounding the term 'underclass' and states,

> The general view is that the term ought to be rejected because it has become a code word for inner city blacks, has enabled journalists to focus on unflattering behaviour in the ghetto' and how it is 'a value-laden, increasingly pejorative term that seems to be becoming the newest buzzword for the undeserving poor (cited in Katz, 2013: 219).

Wilson began using the term 'ghetto poor' instead (Katz, 2013). Rex and Tomlinson (1979) discuss race and the underclass in the UK, their study of Handsworth in Birmingham found that estate agents, building societies, and vendors often discriminated against black and Asian workers, which meant they were forced to buy or rent in restricted areas, leading to 'spatial and social segregation' (citied in Morris, 1994: 95). There was a systematic disadvantaged with regard to the labour market, housing and education leading to the ethnic minorities groups forming an underclass. However, Rex and Tomlinson (1979) address the idea of a stigma being attached to the label of 'underclass', and they instead use the label to highlight a group being 'left out of the native working class' (citied in Morris, 1994:95)

The underclass is difficult to classify according to traditional class analysis, due to their lack of occupation. Runciman (1990) argues that the underclass is a separate class at the

bottom of the hierarchy. Runciman (1990) identifies how they represented 7% of British people after the 2008 financial crash. He characterised this group by how they are permanently outside of paid labour, and therefore dependent on the welfare state. This group cannot escape their class due to their complete lack of social mobility (Morris, 1994). Morris (1994) criticises this view due to how this definition includes the elderly, and disabled. Contrastingly, it can be argued that the unemployed are not outside the labour market; rather they have just been unsuccessful. They have been unsuccessful due to lack of opportunities; the charted Institute for Personnel and Development showed in mid-2013,

> …45 applicants for every unskilled job vacancy in the UK, and because of the competition many employers would not even consider school leavers or the long term unemployed (Lansley and Mack, 2015:115).

The lower social classes are the most vulnerable to unemployment, due to the turbulent nature of low skilled manual work, which is increasingly marginal and precarious. Recent research suggests zero hour contracts are increasingly used by 'one in 10 employers' (Lansley and Mack, 2015: 106), leaving little choice for stable employment, which suggests the underclass, is not a class but a status. The underclass is comprised of working class people who are unemployed. This argument suggests that the label of underclass is in fact used to divide the working class to reduce their strength, reduce trade unions, and eliminate any threats to capitalism. As well as providing a powerful incentive to work, as to not work is harshly stigmatised in society (Katz, 2013:2). This is further supported by Sir Alan Budd's admission into the aims of the Thatcher government 'raising unemployment was an extremely desirable way of reducing the strength of the working class' (Lansley and Mack, 2015: 103). Unlike the working class, one cannot identify as underclass, there is no representation due to the lack of collective experience (MacDonald and Roberts, 1997). Marshall et al (1996) also discusses this, he explains how the working class and underclass have different cultural orientation, a different political goal, the working class will strike whereas the underclass will not, and they lack political power.

The concept of the 'underclass' stems from other historic labels, such as 'lumpenproletariat' and 'redundant population' (Mayhew, 2016:143), which separate the worthy, and unworthy poor. Those who are deemed unworthy are seen as a plague on mainstream society, they are a group of people who are causing the moral decay in society. The British media perpetuates this ideology by using negative language, similar to the language used during the eugenics movement to create a false enemy in society, a scapegoat for structural problems in society. The conservative view on this issue vilifies the 'underclass' as it reduces the need for structural change by placing the blame upon the individual; Murray's (1990) cultural explanation of the underclass exemplifies this idea. By examining structure, as Wilson (1991) attempts, it becomes clear that changes to the labour market (industrial manufacturing to service) have led to mass long-term unemployment for a group of people. Also, it should be considered that the 'underclass' is arguably a status within the working class rather than a separate class, and the term 'underclass' due to its negative connotations only isolates a group of vulnerable working class people. Furthermore, the term underclass gained popularity in the 1980s due to the Thatcher government to reduce the political power of the working class and trade unions. The term 'underclass' divides the working class, and a pathological ideology is reinforced by media manipulation that deems some poor people as not just unworthy to receiving welfare but also inferior to other groups in society, which in turn supports the states continuing attack on welfare benefits.

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SPSS Data Analysis - How perceived safety of the living area in the UK and Norway and age can explain how unsafe someone feels when walking alone in their local area after dark.

Tori Ioannou

Introduction

In my data analysis, my dependant variable is the feeling of safety when walking alone in the local area after dark. I am going to analyse the UK and Norway to measure whether the feeling of safety when walking alone differs between the two countries. In sociological research, this can be a popular topic for debate, and seems to have become more of a concern in modern day society. The media tends to increase the fear of walking alone, especially for females and the older generation. This is because it tends to focus on negative topics, such as cases involving people being violently attacked when walking home. This being highlighted in the media is likely to make the public more vigilant. This can be a positive thing; however, it may make the public feel slightly anxious when walking home after dark. In addition, feminists believe women are encouraged to be afraid all of the time, and are warned not to walk alone in potentially dangerous areas after dark in comparison to men (Nelson L, 2005). Relative to my data analysis, my research question is 'How perceived safety of the living area in the UK and Norway and age can explain how unsafe someone feels when walking alone in their local area after dark'.

Summary statistics

	UK	Norway
Mean	2.01	1.54
Median	2	1
Mode	2	1
Std. Deviation	0.823	0.673
Range	3	3

Figure 1: *Summary statistics of feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark in the UK and Norway*

	UK	Norway
Very safe	27.8	55
Safe	49.5	36.4
Unsafe	17	7.7
Very unsafe	5.7	0.8
Total	100	100

Figure 2: *Frequency distribution table of feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark in UK and Norway*

Primarily, in Figure 1, I am interested in looking at the mean result in the UK and Norway. As presented in Figure 1, the mean in the UK is 2.01, whilst the mean in Norway is 1.54. This implies that, on average, a greater amount of people in the UK feel unsafe when walking in a local area after dark, in comparison to a smaller amount of people in Norway. Also, the standard deviation in the UK is 0.823, while the standard deviation in Norway is 0.673. Since both countries share a fairly similar and low standard deviation, this means that each country shared similar opinions on feelings of safety when walking alone after dark. For instance, the majority of people in Norway fall under the 'very safe' category. In addition, Figure 2 shows 5.7% of people in the UK fall under the 'very unsafe' category

compared to only 0.8% in Norway. This shows more people in the UK feel very unsafe when walking alone compared to in Norway. In comparison, 55% of people in Norway fall under the 'very safe' category, compared to 27.8% of people in the UK. Therefore, from these findings, it is evident more people feel unsafe in the UK when walking alone after dark and more people in Norway feel safe when walking alone after dark. Moreover, in Figure 3 presented below, the histogram shows the UK to have a normal distribution, with one clear peak. This clear peak is on the 'safe' category, with the very safe and unsafe category slightly smaller on each side. In figure 4, the histogram shows Norway to be positively skewed, showing that a much greater amount of people felt either very safe or safe when walking home alone than unsafe and very unsafe.

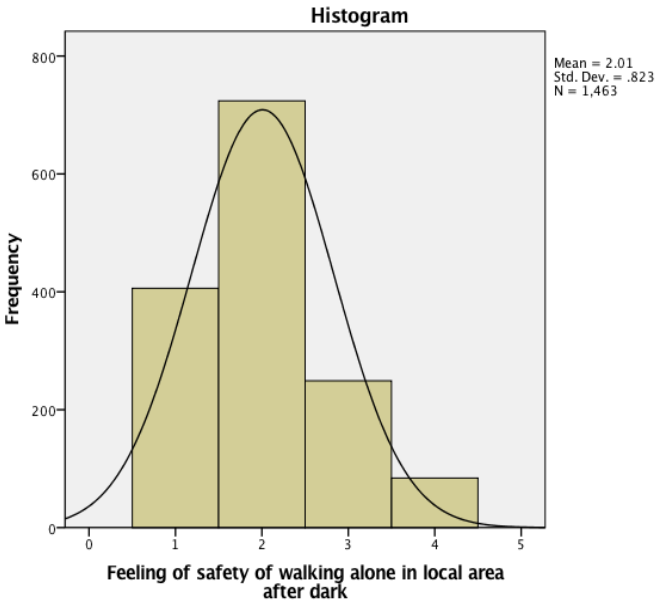

Figure 3: *A histogram of the UK to show feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark*

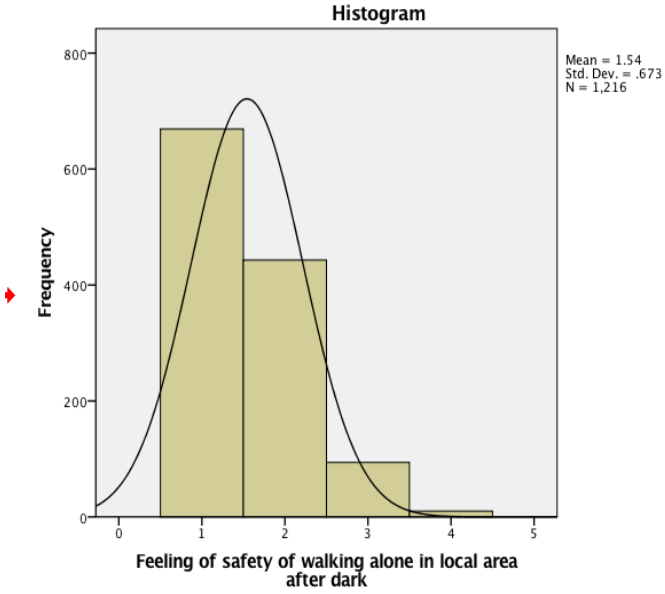

Figure 4: *A histogram of Norway to show feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark*

Crosstabulation and Chi-square

			0	1	Total
Feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	**Very safe**	Count	669	406	1075
		% within feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	62.2%	37.8%	100.0%
		% within UK	55.0%	27.8%	40.1%
		% of total	25.0%	15.2%	40.1%
	Safe	Count	443	724	1167
		% within feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	38.0%	62.0%	100.0%
		% within UK	36.4%	49.5%	43.6%
		% of total	16.5%	27.0%	43.6^

Total	**Unsafe**	Count	94	249	343
		% within feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	27.4%	72.6%	100.0%
		% within UK	7.7%	17.0%	12.80%
		% of total	3.5%	9.3%	12.8%
	Very unsafe	Count	10	84	94
		% within feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	10.6%	89.4%	100.0%
		% within UK	0.8%	5.7%	3.5%
		% of total	0.4%	3.1%	3.5%
		Count	1216	1463	2679
		% within feeling of safety of walking alone in local area after dark	45.4%	54.6%	100.0%
		% within UK	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of total	45.4%	54.6%	100.0%

Figure 5: *A cross tabulation table to show feeling of safety when walking alone in local area after dark in UK and Norway*

	Value	DF	Asymptotic Significance (2 sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	239.567a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	249.775	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	227.355	1	.000
N of Valid cases	2679		

Figure 6: *Chi-square table*

In figure 5, the Crosstabulation table shows 37.8% of people in the UK feel 'very safe' when walking alone compared to a greater amount of 62.2% of people in Norway. In the 'unsafe' category, a large 72.6% of the UK population said it was unsafe to walk alone after dark compared to only 27.4% of the Norway population. In addition, a significant 89.4% of people in the UK felt it was 'very unsafe' to walk alone after dark compared to only 10.6% of people in Norway. This supports the previous findings that those in Norway feel significantly safer when walking home alone in the local area after dark compared to the UK, suggesting that Norway is a safer country than the UK. In addition, since this variable only included four categories, a chi-square test was carried out to examine the independence of the variables. In this analysis, as presented in Figure 6, a Chi-square test was performed to examine whether people in the UK and Norway hold different attitudes on feelings of safety when walking alone in the local area after dark. The difference between these countries was statistically significant, x^2 (3) = 239.567, p<.05. Therefore,

there is a significant association between the UK and Norway and feelings of safety when walking home in local area after dark. This means that I can reject the null hypothesis as there is a difference between the UK and Norway, and this was not a result by chance. Consequently, the findings can be generalised from this sample to the whole population.

Summary Statistics for Independent variable

	UK	Norway
Mean	4.69	4.02
Median	5.00	4.00
Mode	5	5
Std. Deviation	1.232	1.311
Range	5	5

Figure 5: *Summary statistics of importance of living in secure and safe surroundings*

	UK	Norway
Not like me at all	1.1	1.2
Not like me	7.1	16.0
A little like me	9.2	18.2
Somewhat like me	15.1	21.2
Like me	39.4	31.5
Very much like me	28.0	12.0

Figure 6: *Frequency distribution table of the importance of living in safe and secure surroundings*

In figure 5, the UK has a mean of 4.69 and Norway has a mean of 4.02. This shows that people in the UK feel it is more important to live in safe and secure surroundings than those in Norway do. In figure 6, it is evident that 28% of people in the UK regard it 'very much like them' to find it important to live in safe and secure surroundings compared to only a small amount of 12% of people in Norway. In addition, only a small amount of 7.1% of people in the UK feel it is 'not like them' to regard it as important to live in safe and secure surroundings compared to 16% of people in Norway. This can be associated with the dependent variable of feeling of safety of walking home in local area after dark since the previous findings found people in Norway felt more safe to walk home than people from the UK. When looking at Figure 5 and 6, and of the importance of living in a safe and secure surrounding, it is apparent that Norway does not regard it as important to live in safe and secure surroundings as people in the UK do. Therefore, this could imply Norway feel all of their country has safe and secure surroundings which allows them to feel safe when walking home alone after dark in their local area; whereas, those in the UK may not feel their country has safe and secure surroundings. This can explain why they feel more unsafe to walk home alone after dark. Also, Figure 8 shows the significant value as .000. This means the null hypothesis can be rejected and the alternative hypothesis can be accepted.

	UK	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	.00	1216	4.02	1.311	.038
	1.00	4.69	4.69	1.232	.032

Figure 7: *Group Statistics table*

		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig (2-tailed	Mean difference	Std. Error difference	Lower	Upper
Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	Equal variances assumed	15.159	.000	-13.565	2677	.000	-.668	.049	-.764	-.571
	Equal variances not assumed				2523.363	.000	-.668	.050	-.765	-.571

Figure 8: *Independent Sample Test*

Simple Linear Regression

	B (SE)
Constant	1.117 (.052)***
Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	0.155 (.011)***
Significance level (p)	0.000
R2	.066
F (Degrees of freedom)	188.465***(1,2677)

Figure 9: *Summary of simple linear regression on attitudes of importance to live in secure and safe surroundings in the UK and Norway*

Figure 9 shows R squared as .066. This accounts for 6.6% of my research. Therefore, only 6.6% of feeling of safety of walking alone in the local area after dark can be explained by finding it important to live in secure and safe surroundings. This means there is not a strong relationship between my chosen dependant and independent variable. The remaining 93.4% must be due to other factors, such as age and gender. In addition, Figure 9 shows the P value as .000. This means I can reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis as it shows the P value can be proven statistically significant. Also, this means there is a positive correlation between my two independent variables. In Figure 9, the F value is 188.465.

Multiple regression with independent variables

	B (SE)
Constant	0.965 (.063)***
Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	0.188 (0.011)***
Age	0.002 (0.001)***
Lives in UK (Norway=0)	0.375 (0.30)
R2	.123
F (Degrees of freedom)	124.977***(3,2675)

****p<0.001; **p<0.01; * p<0.05*

Figure 12: *Summary of multiple linear regression on attitudes of importance to live in secure and safe surroundings in the UK and Norway*

	B (SE)	Scores		
Constant	0.965 (.063)***			a=0.965
Important to live in secure and safe surroundings	0.188 (0.011)***	6=very much like me	6 x 0.188	+1.128
Age	0.002 (0.001)***	20	20 x 0.010	+0.2
Lives in UK (Norway=0)	0.375 (0.30)	UK	1 x 0.375	+0.375
			Y=2.668	

Figure 13: *A multiple regression model to predict scores*

Figure 12 shows R squared as .123. This accounts for 12.3% of my research. Therefore, 12.3% of feeling of safety when walking alone in the local area after dark can be explained by age and importance to live in secure and safe surroundings. From the previous simple linear regression, it showed 6.6% of feeling of safety when walking home alone after dark could be explained by finding it important to live in safe and secure surroundings. This means 5.7% of my research can be explained by age. Furthermore, in Figure 12, the p-value is .000. Again, this means it is statistically significant, therefore the null hypothesis can be rejected, and alternative hypothesis can be accepted. In Figure 13, based on this multiple regression model, a 20 year old person from the UK who identifies strongly with the importance to live in secure and safe surroundings is likely to have a score of 3 on the dependant variable, identifying with feeling unsafe when walking home in local area after dark. This supports the findings that people in the UK find it more important to live in safe and secure surroundings as they feel unsafe when walking home after dark.

Newspaper article - *Is Norway a safer place to live than the UK?*

According to a recent data analysis, it appears that the population of Norway feel very safe walking home in their local area after dark. Yet, shocking statistics from the UK show the British population feel very unsafe to do so. Data revealed an alarming 89.4% of the UK population felt 'very unsafe' when walking home in their local area after dark, whilst 62.2% of Norwegians felt 'extremely safe' to walk home alone after dark. Evidence suggests that the UK population deemed it very important to live in safe and secure surroundings, implying the streets in the UK are currently unsafe. Yet, Norway did not regard this as very important. Hence, the assumption has been publicized that people in Norway do not fear their country in the same way as the UK. However, whilst the importance of living in safe and secure surroundings and age were contributing factors in explaining feelings of safety when walking home, there seems to be underlying issues that have not yet been uncovered. Possibly, the recent scheme to turn off lights at midnight in the UK had an affect on whether the British public felt more unsafe when walking home in their local area after dark. In general, according to statistics, Norway has been recommended a safer place to live than the UK.

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Hypothetical Research: Happiness Levels in Denmark and Germany - an SPSS Report

Yara Issa

Introduction

Happiness is a very important and complicated concept. Although there is no clear definition of happiness, researches recognize a set of factors that are associated with level of happiness such as life satisfaction, wealth, and well being (Hyde et al. 2003). The primary objectives of this study are to compare and examine the potential link between happiness and health status in Germany and Denmark. Further we extend our study to investigate the possible impact of age on the levels of happiness in the above-mentioned countries.

The main variable under investigation in this study is happiness, and it is going to be our dependent variable. The independent variables are health and age (the demographical variables). A vast amount of literature has recently addressed the factors that contribute to happiness. This report draws on the work of Gerdtham and Johansson (2001). The latter examined the level of happiness in relation to health and age. In their study over 5,000 people from the Swedish adult population were asked to complete a survey. They arrived to conclusion that satisfaction with subjective health is found to be correlated with happiness. The relationship between age and happiness is U-shaped; with happiness being lowest in the age group 45–64 years.

This report is based on European Social Survey ESS14. The first analysis based on four centers tendency measurements. The results are reported for Germany, Denmark, and both countries in tables 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for Germany, Denmark and a pooled sample of both Germany and Denmark.

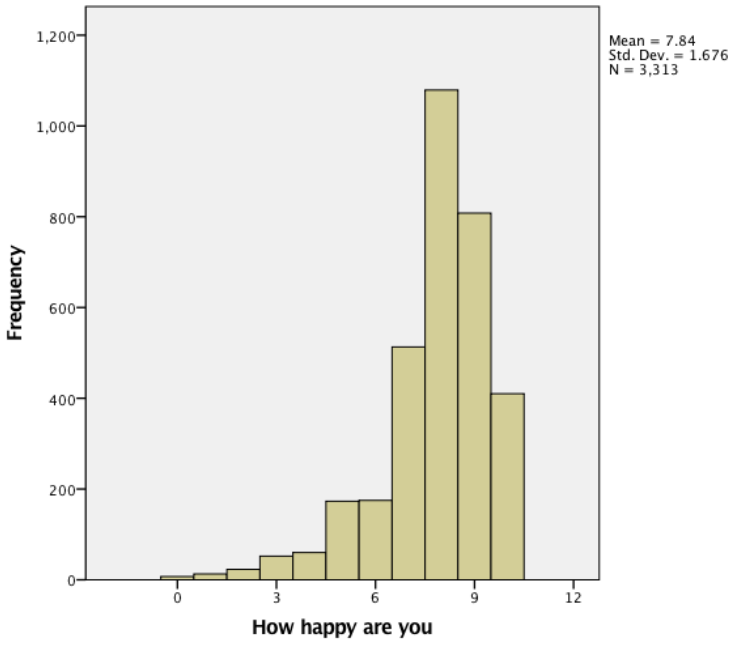
Variable		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
How happy are you (Germany)		2165	0	10	7.62	1.721
How happy are you (Denmark)		1148	0	10	8.25	1.503
How happy are you (Pooled sample)		3313	0	10	7.84	1.676

Table (1) reports descriptive statistics for the underlying variable “How happy are you” considering the individual countries Germany and Denmark, as well as a pooled sample consisting of the above mentioned two countries. The adopted measure of happiness (as reported in the survey ESS14) is distributed in values between 0 to 10 which are the corresponding minimum (extremely unhappy) and maximum (extremely happy), respectively.

Table 2. Frequency table for the pooled sample of Germany and Denmark.

How happy are you	Frequency	Percent	Cum. Percent
Extremely unhappy	7	.2	.2
1	13	.4	.6
2	23	.7	1.3
3	52	1.6	2.9
4	60	1.8	4.7
5	173	5.2	9.9
6	175	5.3	15.2
7	513	15.5	30.7
8	1079	32.6	63.2
9	808	24.4	87.6
Extremely happy	410	12.4	100.0
Total	3313	100.0	

Figure 1. Histogram for both countries



The results reported in Table 1 for Germany shows that on average people in Germany score 7.6 out of 10 and in Denmark they score 8.2 out of ten on the happiness scale. Looking at the corresponding SD (table 1 for Germany and Denmark), it is found that the data representing Denmark is distributed closely around the mean comparing with that of Germany. This is due to the fact that the Danish standard deviation is smaller than that of Germany as reported in Table 1 (1.503< 1.721). Note the smaller the standard deviation, the closer the data is distributed around the mean (Field, 2013).

Considering the two samples together (in a pool sample) Table 1 shows that on average people from both countries scored 7.8 out of 10 on the happiness scale. The SD lies as expected between the two individual standard deviations of both countries. In the frequency table (Table 2) it is shown that the mostly frequent value in the adopted

happiness scale from 0 to 10 in both countries corresponds to the value of 8. This value is the mode and it represents the most chosen answer in both counties with regards to happiness level. Figure 1 shows the dependent variable (happiness) is negatively skewed, and this is because of the difference in values between mean and median (mean – median) < 0. The calculated median (represented by the 50th observation i.e. 50% of cumulative percent) is 8 while the calculated mean is 7.5.

Comparing means

An independent sample *t*-test was conducted to compare the distribution of our variable of interest (Happiness) across our two selected countries.
Using the above statistic, we test the null hypothesis of no difference in level of happiness across the selected countries and the results are reported in Table 6 as follows

Table 3. *t* - test for comparing means.

t-test for Equality of Means	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	S. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Equal variances assumed	-10.5	3311	.00	-.632	.060	-.750	-.513
Equal variances not assumed	-10.9	2624.5	.00	-.632	.058	-.745	-.518

Table 3 reports *t*-test value of -10.489, DF 3311, with P- value <0.001These results suggest a strong rejection of the null the hypotheses of no difference in the means across the selected countries at the 5% significance level (95% confidence level). With such level of confidence, we can conclude that in the population from which our data was drawn, the true mean difference of population falls between (-0.745, -0.518).
Our results suggest that there is a significant difference in the average level of happiness between Germany (Mean=7.62, STD=1.721) and Denmark (Mean=8.25, STD=1.503). The above statistics (*t*- test) confirm that fact that people in Denmark are (on average) happier than those in Germany (8.25>7.62) (Biswas-Diener, et al. 2010).

Independent variables

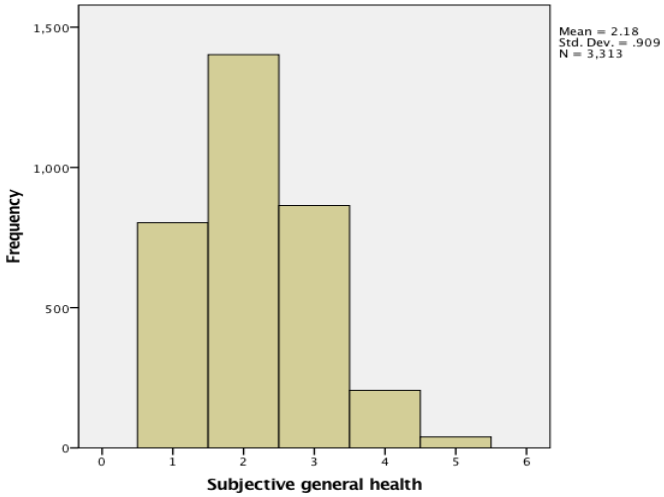
Table 4. Descriptive statistics for the independent variables for both.

Variable	N	Min	Max	Mean	Stdev
Subjective general health	3313	1	5	2.18	.909
Denmark	3313	.00	1.00	.3465	.47593
Germany	3313	.00	1.00	.6535	.47593

Table 5. Frequency table for the pooled sample (variable Subjective general health)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum. Percent
Very good	803	24.2	24.2	24.2
Good	1402	42.3	42.3	66.6
Fair	864	26.1	26.1	92.6
Bad	205	6.2	6.2	98.8
Very bad	39	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total	3313	100.0	100.0	

Figure 2: Histogram of the independent variable for both countries.



In this report, we aim to study the potential changes on happiness (dependent variables) linked to health status (independent variables) in both countries.

Table 4 shows the health statues was reported using a scale rang from "1: Very good" to "5: Very bad". The mean average of people in both countries who documented to have good health is more than 2 points out of 5 on health scale with stander deviation of 0.9. Comparing between the stander deviations of both countries in order to understand of the difference of dispersion of health statues in both countries (Field, 2013). Table 5, the result suggested that on average the mean of Danish people who reported to have good health was almost 35%, whereas 65% of German were considered to have good health (almost doubled the mean of Denmark) with the same stander deviation for both countries = 4.7

The result from Table 5 can conclude that 42% of both countries reported with good health while only 12% of them reported to have bad health statues. Figure 2 suggested that almost 1400 people from both countries reported their health status to be good. The independent variable (Health) is positively skewed in the pooled sample as (the mean = 2.18, the calculated median is 2).

Regression

Table 6. Correlation coefficient results for Model (1) where the independent variable is "Subjective General health" and the dependent variable is "How happy are you".

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted (R Square)	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.352[a]	.124	.124	1.569

Table 7. Summary of ANOVA regression.

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	7206.232	1	7206.232	2543.664	.000[b]
	Residual	64674.851	22829	2.833		
	Total	71881.083	22830			

Table 8. Estimates of ANOVA regression coefficients for Model (1)

Model		β	Std. Error	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for β	
						L Bound	U Bound
1	(Constant)	9.252	.071	130.693	.000	9.113	9.391
	Subjective general health	-.650	.030	-21.656	.000	-.709	-.591

To examine whether there is a liner relationship between happiness and health, we run a simple linear regression between the above mentioned two variables. The mean of happiness is 7.8 which means that people score high level of happiness on a scale ranges from 0=unhappy to 10=happy. While the mean of health is 2.18 indicates that people in both country reported a good health status (scale ranges from 1=very good to 5=bad). The results in Table 8 report an estimate of the intercept as equal to approximately 9.25 and it is significantly different from zero (at the 5% significance level) since p-value is <0.001 This is the average expected value of the dependent variable when independent variables=0. The R^2 for the model is 0.12, which means that approximately 12% of variations in happiness in both countries are explained by health statues as represented in our model. A low R^2 could indicate that there are other factors that could affect the level of happiness but are not included in our model (they account for 88%). Table 18 also reports that the estimate value for the slope coefficient linking subject general health to happiness is -0.65. This value represents the expected change in the dependent variables on average for a one-unit increase in the independent variables. This means that there is a significant relationship between health (on the one hand) and happiness (on the other hand). Note that using the current health scale we treat a low value on the health scale as a strong indicator of good health whereas a higher value indicates a poor health condition. This

estimate is statically significant as the t-test finds that both intercept and variable are highly significant ($p < 0.01$). That leads to a rejection of the null hypotheses, (there is no relationship between level of happiness and health) and thus concludes that there appears to be a linear relationship between health and happiness in the expected direction.

The above results with respect to the estimated model are confirmed by the F-statistics reported in Table 7. Using the linear regression's F-test we examine the null hypothesis that there is no linear relationship between the two variables (in other words r^2=0). With F = 468.9, degrees of freedom 22829, and a p-value <0.05 it is found that the above mentioned null hypothesis is rejected at the 95% confidence level, and thus we can conclude that there might exist a linear relationship between the variables in our model i.e. the subject general health is reliably predictor of the level of happiness in our selected countries.

According to the results reported in Tables 6,7, and 8we find that our estimate of the linear relationship between happiness and health could be represented as follows $y = 9.25 - 0.65x$. Y=9.25 - 0.65 X (+e)

Adding AGE to the pooled sample

In this section we add another variable (age) to our model to examine the hypothesis that subject general health and age are associated with level of happiness in both countries. To see the difference of being resident in one of our selected countries, we include in the regression a dummy variable (Germany) that is equal to one if the person is resident in Germany and zero otherwise, i.e. if the person is resident in Denmark.

Alternatively, this exercise could be done by considering a dummy variable (Denmark) that take a value of one if the person is resident in Denmark and zero otherwise, i.e. if the person is resident in Germany. In our study, we included Germany as a predictor variable. Table 9 shows that r^2 of 0.137 means that only about 13% of the variance in happiness is accounted for by age, health status, and residency in either Germany or Denmark. ANOVA table shows the F-test tests whether the overall regression model is a good fit for the data. The table shows that the independent variables significantly predict the dependent variable, F=175,344, P<0.05, with 3312 degree of freedom, the regression model is fit of the data. In this case we can reject the null hypotheses (there is no relationship between happiness, age and health) and conclude that the alternative hypotheses could be true.

Table 11 presents an estimate of the intercept = 9.142. Also in this table, the estimated value of the slope is reported as -0.633 linking subject general health to level of happiness. This represents the effect of a change in health status by one unit on the level of happiness, controlling for age and country of residency. In other words, an increase of one level in the health scale (higher values indicates bad health conditions) is associated with a decrease in happiness score by 0.633 (slope= -0.633), adjusted for age and country of resident. The table represents that the slop estimates is significant as the p<0.05. That means, those who have bad health conditions are more likely to have low level of happiness.

The same table also reports that slop coefficient linking level of happiness to age is estimated to be 0.006. This can be interpreted as the expected change in level of happiness for a one unit increases in age, controlling health status and country. The slope estimate here is significantly different from 0 as the p- value is very small P<0.05. As a result, we can reject the null hypothesis related to age (i.e. age is statistically not different from zero) and

thus we conclude that there appears to be relationship between happiness and age.

In the same table, we also add a dummy variable to examine the effect of a person living in Germany or Denmark. We add a variable (Germany) that is equal to one if the person is resident in Germany and zero if the person is living in the Denmark. Results suggest that the happiness level of a resident in Germany is lower than the happiness level of another living in Denmark by 0.345 (slope=-0.345), holding the other predictors constant (health and age). P-value <0.05 therefore we can reject the null hypothesis (there is no difference of being resident in Germany or Denmark). In other word, there is a significant difference between the levels of happiness of person living in Germany in comparison to another living in Denmark. The general form for of the equation to predict level of happiness considering age, health status, and country as independent variables is Y=9.1432-0.633 (health) + 0.006 (age) -0.345 (Germany) + e; where (e) represents other factors that are not included in our model. Comparing the $r^2$for the simple regression mentioned above r^2= 12.4% (Table 6) and the multiple regression r^2=13.7% (Table 9), we can conclude that the r^2 increased when adding more predictors to the model.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis and comparing our results obtained for both countries we can conclude that having a good health condition is a significant predictor of the level of happiness in Germany and Denmark, holding other factors constant. It is also important to note that age is found to have a significant effect on happiness in Denmark and Germany, holding everything else constant. Moreover, the level of happiness is found to be lower than the level of happiness in Denmark controlling for other predictors.

Our results also showed that on average Danish people are happier than Germans. This conclusion was confirmed throughout our analysis in section 1 where we conducted a t test to examine the significant difference in the average level of happiness between our selected two countries.

Table 9. Correlation coefficient results for Model (1)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted (R Square)	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.370[a]	.137	.136	1.558

Table 10. Estimates of ANOVA regression coefficients.

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	1276.087	3	425.362	175.344	.000[b]
	Residual	8027.222	3309	2.426		
	Total	9303.309	3312			

Table 11: Correlation coefficients results for Model (2), dependent variable is "How happy are you"

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	9.142	.098		92.910	.000
Age of respondent, calculated	.006	.002	.062	3.743	.000
Germany	-.345	.059	-.098	-5.883	.000
Subjective general health	-.633	.032	-.343	-20.040	.000

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Describe and discuss one (or more) examples of: police corruption, OR cover-ups, OR miscarriages of justice

Farzana Khatun

According to Jones and Newburn, policing refers to those organised forms of order-maintenance, peacekeeping, rule or law enforcement, crime investigation and prevention – which may involve a conscious exercise of coercive power – undertaken by individuals or organisations, where such activities are viewed by them and/or others as a central or key defining part of their purpose. (Jones & Newburn, 1998, cited in Newburn, 2008: 149). However, there is no agreed definition of policing and policing varies across countries; this is because policing is reproduced through police culture. Police culture, can be beneficial as it allows officers to do their job in situations that can be considered as dangerous or even unpredictable (Chan, 1996). However, there are also implications with police cultures; for example, it could result in negative stereotypes about certain groups, as well as overlooking bad practices, thus, resulting in police corruption and miscarriages of justice (Newburn, 2008). Police corruption has occurred in many countries, whereby police officers have abused their authority and have accepted bribes, demonstrated poor performance and incompetence, therefore failing to perform adequately. On the other hand, miscarriages of justice cases raised critical concerns about police practices as well as errors made in the wider criminal justice system (Newburn, 2015). Victims of miscarriages of justice were wrongly convicted and served long sentences in prison. This essay will describe and discuss the issues of police corruption and miscarriages of justice as well as referring to evidence/examples.

One of the main reasons for the emphasis on police culture is because it is 'where the action is', as well as the influence it has on the choice made by police officers (Newburn, 2008). Many scholars have argued that it is impossible for police officers to impose all laws, not only because of resources, but because police work usually requires service provision and order maintenance rather than enforcing the law (Newburn, 2008). This, therefore means that the police are responsible for deciding who is stopped, arrested, questioned and so on (Newburn, 2008). As a result, those who are targeted by the police become 'the criminals' whereas those who are not are considered as 'the innocent' (Newburn, 2008).

However, actions or behaviours of police officers that are influenced by factors such as class or beliefs about certain ethnic groups can influence who becomes criminalised (Newburn, 2008). For example, black people are seven times more likely than white people to get stopped by the police, whereas Asians are three times more likely to get stopped (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). Furthermore, concerns about police culture in relation to racism achieved greater prominence after the Macpherson Report in 1999, whereby an undercover journalist, Mark Daly, exposed the racist activities of trainees at a regional police training centre, accusing the police of 'institutional racism' (Newburn & Peay, 2012). Institutional racism can also be seen in the Stephen Lawrence case in 1993 – Stephen was black and his attackers were white, however, despite obvious leads, no convictions were made. Although there was no corruptor, bribe, or illegitimate service in exchange, these cases demonstrate the lack of performance, incompetence and weak management within the police force which are associated with police deviance, misconduct and corruption (Punch, 2000). As a result, intense publicity led to widespread demands for reform in police organisations (Punch, 2000). However, police culture is not always negative; it is

often seen as an important function for the survival of police officers in a profession that could be dangerous and unpredictable, allowing them to do their job (Chan, 1996).

The police are supposed to enforce the law and not abuse it, but in reality, as Punch argues, policing and corruption are inseparable (Punch, 2009). Police corruption refers to 'an act or omission, a promise of action or omission, or an attempted action or omission, committed by a police officer or a group of police officers, characterized by the police officer's misuse of the official position, motivated in significant part by the achievement of personal gain' (Ivkovi'c, 2005). For example, police officers that intentionally do something they are not meant to, or do not do something they are supposed to for some sort of financial or material gain abuse their responsibilities (Punch, 2009; Ivkovi'c, 2005). However, Newburn argues that this definition it is too brief as it focuses on personal gain (Newburn, 2015). Nevertheless, police corruption is usually linked to bribery and extortion - it is illegal to bribe a police officer and for a police officer to accept a bribe (Bowles & Garoupa, 1997), but, depending on the legal system, it could refer to something else such as theft (Bowles & Garoupa, 1997).

Evidence illustrates that police corruption is transnational and a recurring problem – it is found in many police organisations and in countries such as the USA, France, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands and many more (Punch, 2009). However, there are cross-national and cross-cultural differences and variations (Punch, 2000); for example, in North America, there are evident patterns of police corruption being associated with bribery (predominantly in drug scandals); whereas in European countries, concentration is on the 'noble cause' of corruption and police performing inadequately (Punch, 2000; Stinson et al., 2013).

Police corruption in relation to bribery can be seen in many drug-related scandals – in the last two decades of the twentieth century there were major drug-related corruptions in American (Stinson et al., 2013). In particular, in New York, investigations exposed great drug corruption which included the police burglarising drug dens, trading in stolen drugs, and robbing drug dealers and their consumers for their own personal gain (Stinson et al., 2013). The two year investigation found that the connection between police misconduct and drugs changed the structure of police corruption – police officers no longer used their authority to obtain payments, instead, they took part in the activities themselves (Stinson et al., 2013; Punch, 2000). For example, a New York police officer was arrested after he accepted $2200 from an undercover investigator posing as a drug dealer who needed an escort to deliver $100,000 in drug profits (New York Times, 1993; Ivkovi'c, 2005). The scandals demonstrated how drug-related corruption contributes to misconduct and police deviance, they also show that the public start to lose their trust in the police and view them as 'hypocrites'; this is because the police are the most conspicuous actors in the enforcement of drug laws (Kraska & Kappeler, 1998 cited in Stinson et al., 2013). Drug related bribes are usually external (transactions that are made to officers are from someone outside the police force), and in these cases, it is usually expected that the briber testifies against the police officer whom he bribed, though, it is very unlikely that the briber will incriminate himself, and police officers follow the wisdom of 'you never cough' (never admit anything) (Stinson et al., 2013). Consequently, this means that the police officer is less likely to get caught. Nonetheless, bribes can also occur within the police agency; this is known as internal bribes. For example, an officer may bribe another officer for the answers to an exam so that he could get promoted (Newburn, 2008). Nevertheless, an important aspect of police corruption is not bribery itself but the effects it may have on the perceptions of potential criminals as to the expected cost of punishment for any offence

(Bowles & Garoupa, 1997). This is because offenders/potential offenders may believe that if they are caught committing an offence they can get away with it if they pay bribes. However, if these views are extensive, then deterrence will weaken and the amount of crime will rise (Bowles & Garoupa, 1997).

In contrast, unlike America, in most European countries organised corruption is not typical – this is mainly because of the difference in politics, culture and city of government (Punch, 2000). Instead, European experience with police corruption and deviance revolves around the 'noble cause' of corruption, and incompetence and failing to perform adequately (Punch, 2000). In cases of noble corruption, the performance of the officers during the imprisonment and interrogation process of supposed suspects was seen as the main issue (Newburn, 2008). This was seen especially in the IRA case, which will be discussed later in the assignment on the subject of miscarriages of justice. Additionally, in Belgium, a particular case that demonstrated 'system failure' and police officers performing inadequately was the Dutroux Affair (Newburn, 2008; Punch, 2000) – Marc Dutroux was a criminal who was responsible for the abduction, sexual abuse and murder of young children. In 1985 Dutroux was arrested on charges of rape and theft, however, he was soon released but was arrested again in 1986. Although the prosecutor at the time believed he was a dangerous criminal, his supervisors thought the case should go to a lower court where he would receive a maximum sentence of 10 years (Punch, 2003) – however, he was released from prison early and later abducted and murdered five girls. The two core features of this case are; first, it was claimed that Dutroux enjoyed the protection from an official (although, a commission found no evidence for this); and, secondly, that police officers and justice authorities were incompetent and unorganised, and to some extent, responsible for not arresting Dutroux earlier to prevent the assaults and murders (Punch, 2000). For example, on many occasions the police were informed about suspicious activities of Dutroux, but no action or written reports were made (for instance, in 1995, Dutroux and his associate kidnapped three boys but soon released them, the investigating police officer, Zicot was aware of this but did nothing) (Punch, 2003). In essence, like the Stephen Lawrence case, this case represents a major case of - 'system failure' - where factors of incompetence, corruption and institutional weakness had occurred.

Once police corrupt behaviour and deviance became public knowledge, the police responded to it through the 'rotten apple' metaphor – blaming the individual, 'rotten' officer, to announce the agency to be otherwise clean (Chan, 1996; Newburn, 2015). However, the notion of rotten apples has many limitations (Newburn, 2015). For example, not only does it take away the attention from others – usually those in power – whose administration ought to be questioned, it implies that everything/everyone else in the organisation to be good (Newburn, 2015). But this is not the case, as the American reformist Commissioner, Patrick V Murphy, once put it: "The task of corruption control is to examine the barrel, not just the apples – the organization, not just the individuals in it – because corrupt police are made, not born." (Barker and Carter, 1986: 10 cited in Newburn, 2015). As a result, Punch used the term 'rotten orchards' to describe police corruption, it refers to the idea that it is not the 'apple' (individual police officer) that is rotten; instead it is the organisation as a whole. He used the Belgium Dutroux case, the IRA case and others to support this concept (Punch, 2003).

Moreover, in western democratic societies, police corruption and deviance are thought to be one of the most morally unacceptable acts by police officers and/or organisations (MacVean, 2010). This is because, the misuse of official power and trust by those who are authorised to maintain the law results in the public losing their trust and confidence in the

police (MacVean, 2010). Yet, Punch found that corruption and deviance is both systematic and widespread within police organisations (Macvean, 2010 & Punch, 2009). Miscarriages of justice, in contrast, are when an innocent person is convicted of a crime he did not commit (Punch, 2003). This, therefore, means that a double failure of justice has occurred – not only is the innocent person convicted, but also, the guilty person is free (Punch, 2003). As a result, this allows the real offender to victimise others. This, therefore, shows that there has been a failure of the court, and of the judicial system. Wrongful prosecutions, convictions and arrests could be a result of incorrect eyewitness identifications (for example, a result of memory error or police suggestion); false confessions (mostly brought by police suggestions, if not psychological pressure); the fabricated and concocted testimony (this is usually enthused by the recognised rewards the system has for them when they offer false testimony that supports the state's theory); police and prosecutorial misconduct (This is when important information is withheld at the trial); forensic and scientific fraud (this is brought on by law enforcement bias, however, this is not to frame an innocent person, but to support a case bias once the suspect is thought to be guilty); and so on (Leo, 2005; Sarat & Berman, 2009). In most miscarriages of justice cases, there is usually more than two of these factors that lead to wrongful convictions, for instance, the police may be joined with perjury withholding evidence to gain convictions (Sarat & Berman, 2009).

The British Legal System established itself to be extremely reasonable and professional (Punch, 2009), yet according to Robert Mark (1978) 'the fact that the British police are answerable to the law, that we act on behalf of the community and not under the mantle of government, makes us the least powerful, the most accountable and therefore the most acceptable police in the world' (cited in Punch, 2009: 136). However, evidence suggests otherwise, for example, the supposed suspects of IRA (Irish Republican Army) terrorists were victims of miscarriages of justice in Britain – they were imprisoned for 16 years based on false and doubtful evidence (Punch, 2003). In the early 1970s, the IRA started a bombing campaign in the UK. The police focused on the Birmingham six (two explosions in Birmingham) and the Guildford four (one explosion in Guildford and another in Woolwich), which resulted in several deaths, thus, causing a public outrage. Because the public have an idea of what the police do – for example – prevent crime, enforce the law and detect offenders through evidence (Waddington & Wright, 2010), they were pressurising the police to make arrests and convict offenders (Waddington & Wright, 2010; Punch; 2003). As a result, the police arrested a number of suspects. However, the suspects were assaulted by the police, intimidated with threats of violence, relentlessly questioned and pressurised into answering and so on. Although some admitted the offence, others ostensibly confessed. During the 1970s a confession was seen as crucial evidence within the British legal system – thus, at the trial all suspects were given life imprisonment as they all 'confessed' (Punch, 2003). After a few years, families, friends and politicians began to doubt the prosecution. On a number of occasions there were attempts to appeal but they were rejected. However, once the cases did go to the Court of Appeal in 1977 the convictions were upheld, the judge at the time stated "we are sure there has been cunning and skilful attempt to deceive the Court by putting forward false evidence" (Royakkers, 1997 cited in Punch, 2003: 186).

Since the release of the Guildford four and the Birmingham six, there have been numerous High Court judgments where convictions based primarily on confession evidence in murder and terrorist cases have been quashed on appeal (Gudjonsson, 2002). This is because these cases as well as other miscarriages of justice cases demonstrated that it is

not only the police who ignore/bend the rules and regulations, but so do other members of the criminal justice system in order to gain convictions (Punch, 2003).

Nevertheless, the issue of miscarriages of justice has been a continuous social concern because of the effects it has on the victims (Naughton, 2007). But, simultaneously, because so many people have been wrongly convicted for crimes they did not commit, this has resulted in some great changes to the criminal justice system to minimise the chances of this occurring again in the future (Naughton, 2007). For instance, the Adolf Beck case developed the Court of Appeal in 1907; the Confait Affair case led to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure and the introduction of formal guidelines on police investigation under the introduction of Criminal Evidence Act (1984); and the Birmingham six and Guildford four, as well as other cases, resulted in the Royal Commission on criminal justice and the creation of criminal case review commission (Naughton, 2007).

Furthermore, in the 1990s, the development of DNA testing and the application of this new technology to criminal cases proved many individuals to be innocent and they have walked out of prison after a lengthy time (Leo, 2005). DNA testing identified mistakes within the legal system which led to changes in the nature and study of miscarriages of justice in America and other countries. More importantly, DNA testing established actual innocence rather than technical innocence (Bedau, Radelet & Putnam, 2004, cited in Leo, 2005). However, scientific evidence is not as strong or easily obtained as many people believe (Newburn, 2008). A reason for this is because (most) criminals are less likely to leave clean samples behind, thus, lack of scientific evidence means it is hard to find the offender, and samples for that reason give rise to possibilities and probabilities (Newburn, 2008). Additionally, the police ask the scientists for their opinion and what to look for when examining a crime; as a result, in this process, the scientists can often become biased (Newburn, 2008). Similarly, DNA evidence can also be seen as problematic - some police officers occasionally arrest some individuals in order to get them onto their database (Newburn, 2008). This means that, as DNA evidence holds great value in criminal cases, police officers are given greater powers, but instead of using it effectively they abuse it, thus, the result is police corruption (Newburn, 2008).

In conclusion, although police cultures can be beneficial as it allows police officers to do their job, it has been argued, if actions or behaviours of police officers are influenced by certain factors such as race, then it would have an effect on who is criminalised. Furthermore, police culture in relation to racism seems to be a major concern – as demonstrated in the Stephan Lawrence case in 1993, where the lack of performance, incompetence and weak supervision led to no convictions although there were obvious leads; this is linked to police deviance, misconduct, as well as corruption. Police corruption cases in the USA demonstrated that when acts or omissions are motivated by some form of personal gain, for example, monetary or material, then the police are more likely to abuse their power. In contrast, European concerns about corruption and deviance revolve around the noble cause of corruption and non-performance/incompetence and failing to perform adequately; this was seen in the Belgium Dutroux Affair and the Stephen Lawrence case where there was major 'system failure'. However, once police corruption became public knowledge, the police used the 'rotten apple theory' to proclaim that the agency is good and that only one officer, 'the rotten apple', is responsible for the corruption – although, this notion has been criticised. Nevertheless, the IRA case is one of the major miscarriages of justice cases that occurred in Britain – it demonstrated that many individuals had been wrongly convicted of crimes they did not commit and were released after spending so many years in prison. In particular, the development of technology and DNA testing found

many victims of miscarriages of justice to be innocent, although, on many occasions, DNA testing could be restricted due to lack of samples.

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What are the police 'for' and what do they 'do'? Make reference to studies of the history of policing and to current debates

Charlotte Leach

In this essay I aim to answer the question: what are the police 'for' and what do they 'do'? I will do this by looking at both historical aspects of the police as well as current debates on their role and job in society. Another way to answer these questions is through an analysis of the 'functions' and 'roles' of the police. I will use work from a variety of academics such as Robert Reiner, Timothy Brain and Les Johnston to help support and develop my arguments. The topics that will be discussed in this essay include the historical development of the police, such as the establishment of the 'new police' in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel; the movements of police work, and how their approach to dealing with crime has changed; and the idea of whether they play an all-encompassing 'omnibus role' (Reiner, 2010), or just either prevent or detect crime. The essay also seeks to highlight the separation of the fantasized ideals of what police 'do', that can be seen on television and in our cinemas, and the real life police work that in reality, is far less exciting that what we are led to believe.

This essay begins with setting out the historical background of the formation of the police in order to show some context for the rest of the essay. Beginning in the pre-eighteenth century, police, who were a private force of individuals employed by the wealthy to police the poor in their own interests, is an ideal place to begin, as it is the point where our modern day policing system most recognisably originated from. At this period of time policing and the function of a police force, as described by Johnston, 'referred to a socio-political function (rather than merely a formal legal one)' (Johnston, 1992:4). What Johnston is saying here, is that the police had a political function, as well as a social one, which is something that arguably has not changed. This is demonstrated in the example above: the police were used to control the poor in the interests of the wealthy. In this scenario, the police's function socially, is to maintain the class system of upper, middle and lower classes, which in turn ensures their political function to support the wealthy by protecting them from the 'ghetto underclass' (Chambliss 1994) . A modern day example of this would be when Margaret Thatcher came into office in 1979; one of her first moves was to approve a 45% pay rise to the police (Chesshyre, 2012); this in turn made sure that the police would serve in the interests of the right winged government of that time, hence the modern day link to a socio-political function. This would also link to a Marxist criminological perspective that the police were repressive agents of a capitalist state who exercised overt class repression and capitalist injustice (Bowling et al. 2016: 125).

The next era of history to discuss is probably one of the most crucial pieces of police history. The establishment of the 'New Police' by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 marked a change in the way the police would work. Instead of being a private entity, the police became a force that primarily focused on the public. Its new role was to protect and serve the masses instead of those who paid their wages. The important thing to note about the 'new police' was that their main aim was not crime detection, but primarily crime prevention. This evolution in the development of a police force didn't however escape criticism, and was far from perfect. In Johnston's *The Rebirth of Private Policing* (1992) he criticises the new police by claiming that:

[the] system is an amateur one. The only full-time state employees who enforced the law were revenue officers dealing with customs and excise. Criminal justice was mainly in the hands of parish constables, along with justices of the peace and their deputies. Neither were paid. (Johnston, 1992: 8).

This is an important fact to consider because although the new police were established they still did not deal with much criminal activity. It wasn't until 1842 when detectives started to appear, and even then, they appeared in very small numbers. The New Police also gave birth to the 'British Bobby', who was a character that on one hand instilled a sense of fear and control in the people who came across him, and on the other created this sense of community and belonging. The idea of the 'Bobby on the beat' (McLaughlin, 2012) was to increase police presence on the streets in the hope that it would help to maintain social order and control those classes that were feared. In other words, the uniform represented authority. A classic pop-culture representation of the Bobby was the English television programme, Dixon of Dock Green, and during the volatile 1960s and 1970s (a period of political unrest), people and the government began to miss the presence of the policeman, and blamed much of the social malaise from which Britain suffered, rightly or wrongly, to that absence (Brain, 2010:40). However, some studies have suggested that police presence has little or no effect on crime rates. For example, in America, an experiment was conducted whereby police presence, and the effect it had on crime rates, was tested. The Kansas City Patrol Experiment discovered that intensified police patrols are scarcely noticed by offenders or citizens and have no impact on crime rates (Felson 2002: 4). This would suggest that the idea that the 'Bobby' cast a shadow of fear was neither productive nor noticed. Now that a brief historical background has been laid out, the essay moves on to answer the question of: what are the police 'for' and what do they 'do'?

Firstly, this requires an expansion of the idea of the 'Bobby on the Beat', which can be interpreted as an old fashioned notion that no longer exists in contemporary society. The policeman was once viewed as a neighbour or a friend to the community who would help people from the community with menial tasks, like the cliché of rescuing a cat from a tree, or telling the naughty child from around the corner off for riding their bike on someone's front garden. The policeman was a vital part of the community and almost acted as the glue which held the community together, and people respected them. It wasn't uncommon for people from the neighbourhood to know the policeman on a first name basis. However, nowadays, this is something that is incomprehensible to many of us. Instead of being the friendly neighbour, the policeman is an unknown person to the community who casts very little air of respect. This point is important because it shows how the police force has become less personal and approachable to the general public. Nowadays, the police force is no longer feared and respected, but instead, the vast majority of people view them as a system which lets people down and fails to provide the service they promise to provide. This could be linked back to the previous point that police work has changed so radically over the past century that they no longer have the time, energy, or man power to provide the same personal experience the older generations had.

The second point of exploration is the idea of the police as a service provider, or as Punch put it: a 'secret social service' (Punch, 1979). It is true that most police work has in fact very little to do with crime and criminal activity. In an article from the Daily Mail it is shown that only a quarter of all police 999 calls are genuine emergencies (Daily Mail, 2011). The policeman has almost adopted the role of crime fighter, social worker, community

supporter, educator, mental health nurse, and life coach. This is what Reiner meant when he described the role of the police as an 'omnibus role' (Reiner 2010). One example would be police involvement in metal health. In an article by Lamb et al on this topic (Lamb et al, 2002), it states that neither service can efficiently work without the other, and that it is clear that since cuts have been made in the mental health sector, the police have had an influx in dealings with severely mentally ill people. This point is true for most services that have been subject to funding cuts. The police are used as a method of picking up the pieces that other services and care providers aren't able to afford to deal with anymore. This is important because it is an example that shows that the police really haven't changed that much in the sense of the amount of crime they actually deal with. In this respect, the purpose of the police here is to respond to all types of urgent social problems, and in order to do so they must respond in a 'fire-brigade' manner (Reiner, 2012).

The third point of investigation is the unrealistic, fantasized ideals the public have of the police. The media representations and popular discourse that frame the police as crime fighters (Bowling et al. 2016: 125) is fundamentally very dangerous and harmful to the public views of the police and the success to which police can do their job. We see in films and in many television programmes, police officers fighting crime, shooting at criminals and performing 'stake-outs' in order to catch the villains; however in reality police work is far less exciting. To quote Marcus Felson:

police work consists of hour upon hour of boredom, interrupted by some moments of sheer terror. Some police officers have to wait years for these moments. Most seldom – or never – take a revolver out of its holster. Most are never shot at and never shoot anybody else (Felson, 2002: 4).

This is crucial to the argument that these media presentations of the police are so dangerous to public opinion because they install false ideals of what the police do and how they do it. This in-turn makes it very difficult for the police to fulfil the public's expectations of them, and when they fail to catch the villain every time, they lose public confidence and support. This is a vicious cycle which unfortunately does greater harm than commonly expected. In other words, 'it both threatens the effectiveness of emergency service delivery and places unrealistic expectations of CSI-level crime fighting upon a police force that could never deliver it' (Bowling et al. 2016: 129). It could then be argued that the police are constantly battling against a disillusioned public with very little support for them, which in turn makes what they 'do' an almost impossible task, because whatever they do will never fulfil the media fuelled fantasy. This also poses problems when the police try to use self-policing as a method of preventing and detecting crime. Communities are encouraged to police themselves through community watches and by policing their neighbourhood, through making sure the area is kept presentable, and by watching out for any suspicious behaviour. Without full public confidence the police are unable to rely on this approach.

The final point to touch on is how the police manage these tasks, and the different approaches that have been used over time. For example, when the police are faced with the task of maintaining social order and policing the feared lower classes, an approach of zero tolerance policing is adopted. This approach, as described by Benjamin Bowling, is the way 'in which every minor law is clamped down on hard by police' (Bowling 1999: 531). It does this in the hope that it will deter people from committing the same crime or reoffending. The other approach previously mentioned is Robert Rainer's idea of 'fire-brigade' (Reiner, 2012) policing. This approach is one that refers to the way in which police respond to crime, and it means that they respond to all sorts of crime, as well as social emergencies.

This is an important approach because it shows again that police are not just dealing with criminal behaviour, but are instead dealing with all sorts of social problems.

To conclude, this essay argues that the main answer to the question of what are the police for, is that they play a vital role in sustaining social order and control by policing the feared classes, policing crime in terms of preventing and detecting it, and by playing their role as a 'secret social service' (Punch, 1979). They achieve this through adopting approaches such as zero tolerance policing and fire-brigade response, as well as continuously trying to gain public support and respect whilst battling against the ballooning, media fuelled pretense that they are 'superheroes'. The question of what they do could be striped back to the basics of fighting crime and catching the perpetrator, however, it is more important to look at the question in a broader sense, which includes all of the other jobs a policeman has. So, in answer to the question of what do they do, it is important to consider their jobs both in the basic sense of finding and catching the criminal, along with the wider job of protecting and serving the general public.

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Outline and evaluate some of the ways in which new media are influencing contemporary political life

Jeanette Louison

This assignment will outline and evaluate some of the ways in which new media are influencing contemporary political life. The assignment will look into the development and transformation of Jürgen Habermas' theory of the 'public sphere' (1962). Further, the assignment will look into some examples of new media influence on contemporary Norwegian politics. The primary focus of this assignment is on social media in relation to politics and examples will be drawn from current Norwegian politicians. First, in order to get a better understanding of the aspect of the question, defining 'new media' and 'contemporary political life' is in order. New media is:

> An umbrella term… loosely referring to computer-based media. The term applies to a wide range of phenomena and practices: new kinds of textual forms, new patterns of media, new ways of representing the world, the self, and community… (Chandler and Munday, 2011: 293).

Examples of new media can be Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram. There is no determined definition of contemporary political life, as it changes as the time and modern life changes. However, it can be described as the modern life of politics; meaning the means and methods of today's politicians; a form of contemporary political life that this assignment will focus on include democratic societies. The reason for focusing on democratic societies is due to a more open society and access to the internet. Countries such as China and North- Korea do not have access to some of the biggest social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram (Xu, 2015). Therefore, politic life through those media is not necessary.

Everyday politics is a part of contemporary political life, and it sometimes involves people who may not have any connections to politics but forward their own ideas (Highfield, 2016). New studies and literature claim that politics transforms in order to embrace new media (Axford and Huggins, 2001). It is argued that these changes are the result of modernisation and that this shift in modern politics and social circumstances explain the 'increasing personalization of politics' (2001: 213). Furthermore, social media gives citizens, politicians and journalists the ability to contribute to political life in a shared context and so 'social media centralize and demonstrate the overlap between different political practices and topics' (Highfield, 2016: 10). This relates to Jurgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Habermas looks into the transformation of the public sphere over the past 200 years (Harper, 2011). 'The bourgeoisie public sphere may be conceived above all else as the sphere of private people come together as a public…' (Habermas, 1992: 27). The public sphere is:

> an arena that mediates between state and society; a forum in which private individuals can debate public affairs, criticise authority of the state and call on those in power to justify their positions before an informed and reasoning public (Williams, 2003: 68).

'The attraction of Habermas's 'public sphere' for media theory is its focus on the political dimension of the media and their relationship with democracy and the political process'

(Williams, 2003: 69). Social media are examples of public spheres where private people can criticise authority and call on those in power to justify their positions. Several examples of this can be shown in Norway on social media such as twitter. A recent political issue in Norway was when one of the parties 'Venstre' (Liberal party) did not agree with government parties on the state budget and broke negotiations. There was a question of whether there was going to be a vote of confidence in the news, however, it was stated that other means such as subsidiary voting or a revised edition of the budget could be employed (TV 2, 2016). In relation to the state budget, the prime minister expressed herself on twitter after an account stated that 'Høyre' (The Conservative Party) managed to use more money from the oil fund and that they struggle with basic budget principals of income vs. expenditure. Solberg answered, 'the oil money spending does not increase in the settlement' (Solberg, 2016). This is an example where the private used the public sphere of twitter to call on authorities, and furthermore, it is an example of a new platform of communication for politicians.

As the article 'Out with the old, in with the new? Perceptions of social (and other) media by local and regional Norwegian politicians' (2016) by Anders Olof Larsson and Eli Skogerboe explained, previous studies have shown that social media has been used by politicians to strengthen their means of campaigning (Larsson and Skogerboe, 2016). Further, social media is effective not just for relating and expanding to new audiences in their campaign, but it is also used to communicate with other politicians, party members and voters (2016: 3). In relation to this, the study found that on a scale of one to seven 'perceived importance of communication channels', Facebook ranked as 5.1 by local politicians (Larsson and Skogerboe, 2016). Further, by our definition of new media, email falls under that category, and email was ranked as 5.5, websites and electronic newsletters were ranked at 4.7, and at the lower end of the scale, however all the same mentioned, twitter with 3.5, blogs were 3.3 and YouTube with 3 (Larsson and Skogerboe, 2016). This shows that politicians themselves acknowledge that new media and further social media has influenced contemporary political life in Norway. In addition, the article surveyed the 'perceived importance of social media for different communicative tasks' on a scale from one to seven as well. This showed that 'contact with citizens' ranked 5.8, 'contact with political partners' ranked 5.8 and 'contact with interest groups, organisations, and so on' ranked 5.5 (Larsson and Skogerboe, 2016: 9). Although the article by Larsson and Skogerboe supports the view that new media influences politics, it concluded that politicians still found TV debates and newspapers the most important means of communication (Larsson and Skogerboe, 2016). However, it was apparent that local politicians acknowledged social media as an influence on contemporary political life.

Another article by Anders Olof Larsson, written with Bente Kalsnes and Christian Christensen, 'Elite Interaction: Public service broadcasters', about the use of Twitter during national elections in Norway and Sweden' (2016) explores the use of Twitter in relation to elections in Norway and Sweden. The focus of this assignment is Norwegian politics, and so the focus will be on the Norwegian aspect of this article. During the Norwegian election in 2013, TV broadcaster NRK or 'Norsk Rikskringkasting' (Norwegian National Broadcasting) was one of the main broadcasters. The Study by Larsson et. al. showed that the hashtag #NRKvalg, 'valg' meaning election, was used 44,302 times in tweets (Larsson et. al., 2016). Further, the article explored twitter '@mentions', which are when people mention certain people (who are on twitter) with an '@' in order for it to show up in their notifications. The data for the Norwegian election showed more activity through @mentions, which shows a more interactive communication with users and members of the public sphere due to the conversational aspect of these @mentions (Larsson et. al., 2016).

Studies of local government and politics show that a variety of online tools are not only common but also empowering assets for local politicians' (Larsson and Skogerbo, 2016: 4). The President of the Norwegian Medical Association, Marit Hermansen, tweeted about the issue of budget cuts in the health sector @mentioning five Norwegian politicians, including the leader of the Labour Party, from four different parties; she got several responses from all the politicians (Hermansen, 2016). These Twitter @mentions, as explored in In 'Elite interactions' by Larsson et. al. were the reason the leader of the Labour party and the other politicians were able to see and respond to the Tweets from Hermansen.

Further debates about budget cuts for the health sector developed on twitter where the leader of the Labour Party posted: 'To have money for the budget deal the hospitals will cut almost half a billion [NOK]. Unwise' (Støre, 2016).The vice-president of the Labour Party's parliament group answered: 'still growth in the hospital budgets from 2016 until 2017, so that is not entirely correct is it?' (Astrup, 2016). Here we see the example of politicians using the public sphere of the social media Twitter to communicate with each other, similar to the local politicians in the article by Larsson and Skogerboe.

One can argue that some of the connotations and the passively aggressive notion of such tweets by politicians might seem unprofessional; however, it is apparent that new media influence contemporary political life in democracies such as Norway. Examples from other social media platforms include Instagram where the Prime Minister Erna Solberg, as well as other politicians, is active. Here is an example where she has used the public sphere of Instagram to promote political motives:

♥ 699 likes

erna_solberg Startet dagen med en kort samtale med Teslagrunder Elon Musk. I anledning Regjeringens Grønn Omstillingkonferane. #grønnomstilling Samtalen ble livebroadcastet på min Facebook side. https://www.facebook.com/ernasolberg/videos/10153984969291832/

♥ 749 likes

erna_solberg I dag har jeg lagt frem regnskap for regjeringens arbeid så langt. Du finner den her : https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/politisk-regnskap/id2424353/ #minregjering.

On the left is a picture from the Prime Minister's Instagram and the caption reads:

> Started the day with a short conversation with Tesla founder Elon Musk. In association with the Governments Green Restructuring Conference. #greenrestructuring The conversation was live broadcast on my Facebook page… (Solberg, 2016).

On the right, the picture is also from her Instagram reading 'Today I have presented the finances of the governments work so far. You can find it here…#mygovernment'. These show the spread of politics on social media expanding the political audience.
Further, there are images such as:

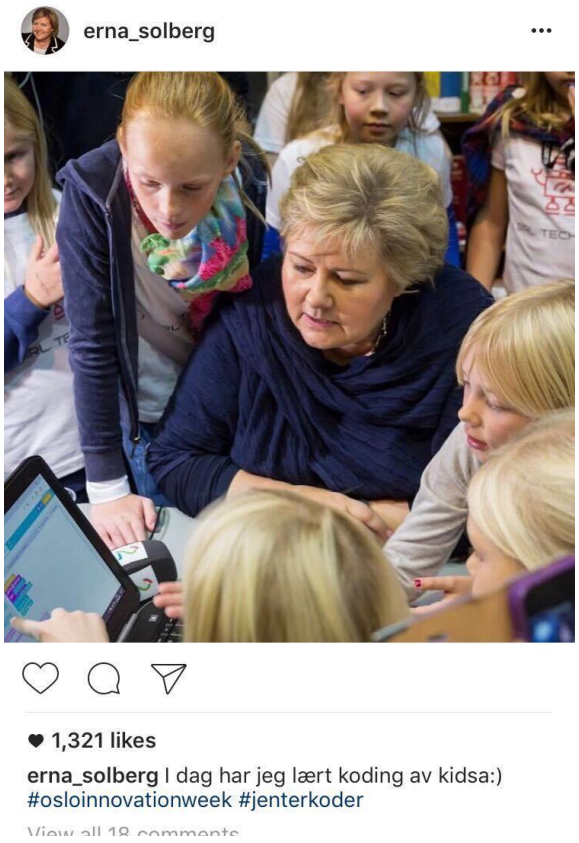

Fig 3. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/BLtRLw7hMPC/?taken-by=erna_solberg

Fig 4. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/BBvnsjHL93G/?taken-by=erna_solberg

On the left, translated, it says 'Today I learned coding from the kids :) #osloinnovationweek #girlscode'. However, 'kidsa' is a word taken from the English word 'kids' and is a type of 'youth jargon' referring to kids as the Norwegian word for 'the kids' would be 'barna'. This shows an effort to be more relatable to the younger generation. In addition, she used ':)' which is internet jargon used to create a smiling face. On the right:

> Have discussed NATOS future at the big security conference in Munich. We contributed significantly to improve the beauty balance with an all women's delegation from the prime minister's office (Solberg, 2016).

These show political messages whilst keeping up with social media standards and jargon, with a 'selfie' slang and even some spelling mistakes adding to the style.
Then there are pictures that are completely unrelated to politics such as:

Fig 5. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/6YB9_ar9wn/?taken-by=erna_solberg

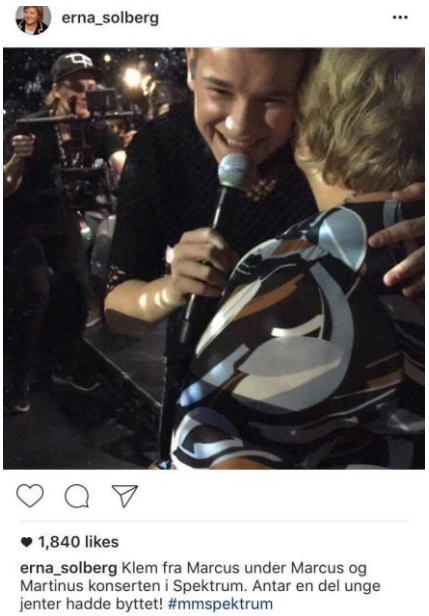

Fig 6. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/BMuU-BkBxV7/?taken-by=erna_solberg

On the left: 'At the 'Øya festival' and can't wait for Lars Vaular…' and on the right: 'Hug from Marcus at the Marcus and Martinus concert at 'Spektrum'. Assume a lot of young girls would have traded! #mmspektrum'.

Activity on social media such as Solberg's reaches a wider audience as well as creating an atmosphere of more connection to the public, seeing that she is not just a politician but human just like the rest of us. Whether this activity across social media is positive for a political campaign or not can be discussed. On one hand, they relate to wider audiences and can spread their political messages in a 'fun' way such as Solbergs 'selfies' and youth jargon. However, it may also create a less serious image of a quite authoritative figure. One might argue that in relation to Habermas's public sphere, the prime minister is encouraging the discussion in the public sphere by giving the public access to comment sections and following her profile.

Some of the disadvantages of the increased use of social media in politics are the false perception of being politically active. The participation of politicians on social media might draw people to these social media, and this can give the sense of participation by retweeting, or sharing a post on Facebook. This is a case of what is referred to as 'slacktivism'. Slacktivism is 'Actions performed via the Internet in support of a political or social cause but regarded as requiring little time or involvement' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016). Paolo Gerbaudo discussed this term in his book 'Tweets and the streets' (2012). In this book, he explains that, in relation to events in Tunisia and Egypt and the 'Arab Spring', that not everyone was convinced by the optimistic view of Clay Shirky. This view suggests that commenting on events on social media emphasises 'the almighty power of social media as a means of collective action' (Gerbaudo, 2012: 7), and the view that more information automatically means more action is 'slacktivism' and does not result in political action (Gerbaudo, 2012).

There are examples of online activity that can be viewed both as slacktivism and not. For example online petitions. Although it may be seen as slacktivism as it can be an example of a feel good action with zero political contribution, it can be argued to contribute to politics as for whether the person signing cares or not. Because if enough people sign, whether they contribute in other ways or not, it can create a difference as 'If a petition gets 10,000 signatures, the government will respond' (Petitions - UK Government and Parliament, 2016).

In conclusion, in relation to Norwegian modern politics, there are several examples that point to new media positively influencing contemporary political life. Through the use of the public sphere of social media, politicians open up for easier communication between each other and the public as well as opening up for people to contribute to political issues. As 'Out with the old in with the new' points out, traditional forms of communications such as TV debates are still at the centre for the most efficient communication in a political campaign, however, the use of social media does strengthen political campaigns. Although political life through social media can lead to what is referred to as 'slacktivism' there are many positive aspects of social media in relation to politics. There will always be people who 'slack', but due to the wide range of social media, protests, activists, campaigns etc., they are likely to reach people who did not know about a certain issue and that are encouraged to take action.

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The Relationship between the Attitudes towards Immigration and Understanding Different People

Ciara Mole

(1) Topic, Hypotheses, Variables and Outline of Report

Immigration is an inevitable life event that the majority of society will come across at one stage in their life, whether it is their own migration in question or the migration of friends, family or colleagues. Migration statistics quarterly year report by the Office for National Statistics showed that immigration has risen to "650,000, the highest estimate recorded" (Office for National Statistic, 2016) in the UK. However, in recent years, the word 'immigration' has become a political, ideological tool used for the purpose of increasing political power and popularity, and for myself, the connotations of the words 'immigration' and 'immigrant' has been tainted by the constant and crude media representations of this life event. To list only a small number of newspaper headlines; "REVEALED: Migrants setting up SECRET Calais camps - and attack ANYONE who comes near" (The Express, 2017), "Hundreds of migrants arrived in the UK by lying about their age" (Daily Star, 2017), "Migrants 'should be made to learn English before coming to the UK'" (Evening Standard, 2017).

In this data analysis report I will be explaining the results of the statistical tests I have carried out using the SPSS programme, analysing secondary data from the European Social Survey 2014. I have chosen one dependant variable, 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live', and one main independent variable, 'Important to understand different people' in order to formulate my research question:

Is there a relationship between people's attitudes towards immigrants making their country a worse or better place to live and the importance they attach to understanding different people?

Null Hypothesis: There is no relationship between people's attitudes towards immigrants making a country a worse or better place to live and the importance they attach to understanding different people.

By using regressions models, I have also tested whether we are able to predict someone's attitudes towards immigrants' impact on their country on whether they attach importance to understanding different people, their level of education, their age and their attitude to the impact immigrants have on the country's economy. To do this, I used simple and multiple regression models.

Prior to carrying out my statistical tests, I formulated several hypotheses based on what I presumed I may find from my data analysis:

- H_1: A person's attitude regarding whether immigrants make the country a better or worse place to live is affected by the value they attach to understanding different people, their educational attainment and their age.

- H2: Whether or not someone believes immigrants are bad or good for the country's economy affects their views on whether they believe immigrants make the country a worse or better place to live.
- H3: A respondent's country of residence (UK or France) affects their attitudes towards immigrants and whether they make a country a worse or better place to live.

(Due to the recent banning of the female Muslim tradition clothing, the burqa and the niqab in France, I assumed that there would be differences in attitudes towards immigrants between France and the UK, hence my formulation of H3, "Headscarf ban turns France's Muslim women towards homeworking" (The Guardian, 2014)).

(2) Summary Statistics

- Table (1): Table showing the descriptive statistics for the variable 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' on scale; '0' Worse – '10' Better, including respondents from both UK and France

N	2887
Mean	4.89
Range	10
Standard deviation	2.338
Valid	2887
Missing	0

Table (1) shows that there were 2887 responses to the question 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live'. The Mean score for these responses was 4.89, with a standard deviation of 2.338. The table also shows that the range for this variable was 10, which means that there were responses at both ends of the response scale, '0' = Worse place to live, '10' = Better place to live. All of the 2887 responses were valid, with 0 missing.

- Table (2): Table showing frequency on responses to the variable 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' on a scale; '0' Worse – '10' Better, including respondents from both UK and France

Score	Frequency	Percentage
0	170	5.9
5	840	29.1
10	77	2.7

Table (2) is a table showing the frequencies for the range of responses for the variable, 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live'. We can see that 29.1% of

respondents answered '5' as their response this this question, 840 out of the 2887 respondents.

(3) Independent Samples T-Test

- Table (3): Table showing results from independent samples t-test, comparing the means and standard deviation scores for how the UK (1) and France (0) respondents answered the question 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live'

UK	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error mean	df	Sig. (2 tailed)
Immigrants make country better 1.00 or worse place to live .00	1463 1424	4.84 4.93	2.527 2.127	.066 .056		
					2885	.262

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare 'Immigrants make country a worse or better place to live' between the UK (1) and France (0). There was no significant difference in the scores for UK (M= 4.84, SD= .066) and France (M= 4.93, SD= .056) conditions; t(df) 2885, p = .262.

Although p> .005 and there was so significant difference in the scores for the UK and France for their responses to 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live', this does not mean we cannot use this data for further statistical tests. This simply means that the two countries had similar attitudes towards immigrants' impact on the country as a place to live, but possibly, as I will show below with a simple linear regression model and a multiple regression model, differences between the countries may arise when other additional variables are included in the statistical regression tests that I have conducted.

(4) Summary Statistics with Added Subjective Variable

Below is a table displaying the descriptive statistics for the second subjective variable I wish to add to my next statistical test, the simple linear regression model.
I have chosen the variable; 'Important to understand different people', on a scale '1' = Not like me at all, to '6' = Very much like me. I decided to choose this variable because I feel that when reporting on research regarding people's attitudes towards immigration, it is important to also look at people's attitudes towards tolerance and the understanding of other people's ways of life. Personally, I find it intriguing that many members of society enjoy cuisine and fashion imported and 'borrowed' from many different cultures, yet we also hear of religious and cultural intolerance and severe racism.

A report from the Pew Research Centre, an American think tank, calculated that; "Restrictions on religion rose in each of the five major regions of the world – including in the Americas and sub-Saharan Africa, the two regions where overall restrictions previously had been declining. The share of countries with high or very high restrictions on religious beliefs and practices rose from 31% in the year ending in mid-2009 to 37% in the year ending in mid-2010" (Pew Research Centre, 2012). Therefore, I decided to include the

variable regarding the value people attach to understanding different people because I felt that it would additionally aid in understanding people's attitudes towards whether immigrants make the country a worse or better place to live, hence my research question.

- Table (4): Table showing frequency on responses to the variable 'Important to understand different people' on a scale; '1' Not like me at all – '6' Very much like me, including respondents from both UK and France

N	2887
Mean	4.71
Range	5
Standard deviation	1.088
Valid	2887
Missing	0

Table (4) shows that there were 2887 responses to the question 'Important to understand different people'. The Mean score for these responses was 4.71, with a standard deviation of 1.088. The table also shows that the range for this variable was 5, which means that there were responses at both ends of the response scale, '1' = Not like me at all, '6' = Very much like me. All of the 2887 responses were valid, with 0 missing.

(5) Simple Linear Regression Model

A simple regression analysis was calculated to predict people's attitudes towards the impact immigrants make on their country based on their attitude towards how important it us to understand different people. The results of the regression indicated that the predictor explained 3.4% of the variance in the attitude towards immigrants' impact on their country (R^2=.034, F(1, 2885)= 100.36, p<.001). It was found that the extent to which someone found understanding different people important predicted how someone felt immigrants impacted their country (β= .183, p<.001).

We can predict people's opinions on whether immigrants make the country worse or better by the equation for the regression line:

Y= 3.03+ .394*important to understand different people

In other words;

Immigrants make country worse or better = 3.03+ .394*important to understand different people

For instance, someone who thinks that it is 'Very much like me' to think that understanding different people is important (indicated x=6) he/she is likely to score 5.394 on the 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' question.

Or another example, someone who thinks that it is 'Not like me at all' to think that understanding different people is important (indicated x=1) he/she is likely to score 3.424 on the 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live' question.

So based on these data, if someone thinks that understanding different people is important, he/she will score higher on the question 'Immigrants make country worse or better place to live', answering my research question. Therefore, if they score higher: those who think that understanding people is important are more likely to claim that immigrants make the country a better place to live.

(6) Multiple Linear Regression Model

Multiple regression analysis was used to predict a respondent's attitude to whether immigrants make the country a worse or better place to live based on their attitude towards the importance of understanding different groups of people, their highest level of education, their age, whether they think immigration is good or bad for the country's economy, and their country of residence, aiming to answer my research question, H_1, H_2 and H_3.

The results of the regression indicated that the predictors explained 49.1% of the variance in the number of episodes ($R^2 = .491$), regression was significant $F(4, 2881) = 569.365$, $p < .001$). This meant that the multiple regression model predictors explained more variance in the number of episodes compared to the simple linear regression model.

- Table (5): Comparing variance explanation for simple and multiple regression models

Model	R^2
Simple linear regression	.034
Multiple regression	.491

Table (5) shows the R^2 scores for the simple linear regression model and the multiple regression model. The results of the multiple regression model, which include 4 additional variables (respondent's highest level of education, respondent's age, whether they think immigrants are bad or good for the country's economy, and their country of residence) than the simple linear regression model. When comparing the R^2 results from the 2 models, the multiple regression model indicated that the predictors explained 49.1% of the variance in the number of episodes, far greater than that of the simple linear regression model which indicated that the single predictor explained 3.4% of the variance.

It was found that the extent to which someone thought it was important to understand different groups of people significantly predicted their attitude towards whether immigrants made the country a better or worse place to live ($\beta = .144$, $p < .001$) as did their level of education ($\beta = .068$, $p < .001$), age ($\beta = -.01$, $p < .001$), whether they thought immigration was good or bad for the country's economy ($\beta = .619$, $p < .001$), and their country of residence ($\beta = -1.20$, $p < 0.53$) was not a significant predictor of someone's attitude regarding whether immigrants make the country a better or worse place to live.

- Table (6): Table showing the results from a multiple regression model and the values needed for the regression equation with an example

	B (SE)	Scores (example for regression equation)		
Constant	1.508 (.183)***			a= 1.508
Important to understand different people	.144 (.029)***	6= Very much like me	6 x .144	+ .864
Highest level of education	.068 (.017)***	6	6 x .068	+ .408
Age	-.010 (.002)***	30	30 x -.010	-.3
Immigrants are bad/good for the country's economy	.619 (.013)***	9	9 x .619	+ 5.579
			Y=	8.059

*p< .001****

Table (6) then shows that we can predict someone who answers '6= Very much like me' on the 'Important to understand different people' question, has an educational level of '6', is aged 30, and answered the question 'Immigrants are good/bad for the country's economy' as '9', they would score 8.059 out of 10 on the question 'Immigrants make country a worse or better place to live', using the regression equation; $Y = a+b_1X_1+b_2X_2+b_NX_N...$;

(7) Summary of Findings

In order to summarise my findings, I will explain my results in relation to my research question and to the alternative hypotheses I formulated before conducting the data analysis, and to the results from the statistical tests I carried out.

Firstly, from the independent samples t-test I was able to reject H3: 'A respondent's country of residence (UK or France) affects their attitudes towards immigrants and whether they make a country a worse or better place to live'. The independent sample t-test showed that the difference in means between France and the UK when responding to the question 'Immigrants made the country a worse or better place to live', as p>.005. This was also shown in my multiple regression model, as when I included country of residence as an additional variable, p>.005 and therefore not significant.

From the simple linear regression model, I was able to answer my research question: *Is there a relationship between people's attitudes towards immigrants' making their country a worse or better place to live and the importance they attach to understanding different people?* The results from the simple linear regression model indicated that the predictor explained 3.4% of the variance in the respondent's attitude towards whether immigrants made a country a worse or better place to live, which was significant p<.001.

However, after conducting the multiple regression model and adding 3 (3 out of 4 were significant as previously explained) variables to the model, which increased the predictors explanation of the variance from 3.4% to 49.1%, I was better able to answer my research question with relation to H_1 and H_2.

In conclusion, to answer my research question; 'There is a relationship between someone's attitude towards whether immigrants make a country a worse or better place to live and the value they attach to understanding different people. If someone thinks that immigrants make a country a better place to live, they also score higher regarding their attitudes to understanding different people. Secondly, if someone thinks that immigrants are good for a country's economy, they also score higher in the question regarding immigrants make the country a better place to live. However, when comparing the UK and France, their views regarding immigrants were not significantly different.'

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Realist Criminology: A Critical Review

Daniel Powell

Realist criminology emerged in the late 60's and early 70's as, theorists believed it was time to get 'real' about crime. As with any social movement, realism branched off in to two political dispositions; left and right realism. The right wanted to get 'real' about crime in the sense that it wanted to move away from broad structural approaches and focus more on individual factors that contributed towards the commission of crimes. Whereas, the left wanted to get 'real' about crime by, tackling the issues in society that can lead to crime that it believed were not addressed before. This critical review will mainly focus on the right perspective, looking at how they try to explain the importance of individual responsibility and may disregard the importance of structural influences.

The lecture began by outlining the right/conservative realist argument. Straight away there is an obvious flaw with this theory. This is that, as realism itself promotes, it ignores structure and focuses mainly on the individual. This is supported by the reading which states how right realism: 'tend[s] to avoid explanations that include considerations of root causes' (Mathews, 2014:15). This is the argument that left realists also make, as they instead seek to focus on the causes of crime rather than punishing those who commit it. Therefore, this shows how the core of this theory has already limited itself by excluding structural explanations, which many criminologists such as Merton with his strain theory (1957) see as key in explaining the commission of crimes. We discussed this idea of a 'more individual' approach and drew the conclusion, in our class, that right realism closely relates to the functionalist theory. This portrays the conservative ideology that right realism revolves around. Therefore, it leads us to ask the question: is it really the best theory for criminology today? We live in an ever changing, post-modern society with a lot of diversity, so surely a theory that promotes traditional values will be insufficient in explaining crime in our contemporary society. Further reading has also demonstrated this, Young and Mathews & Young (1992:2) point out how the 'problem is that they attempt to explain the reality of crime by focusing on only one part of the phenomenon.' Left realists have also criticised the right for this and point to how a study of the causes of crime is necessary.

The lecture advanced to develop upon the idea of individual responsibility. Felson clearly demonstrated this by his theory of 'situational crime prevention' (Felson, 1997 in Shoam, Beck & Kett, 2008) This idea assumes that individuals seek the opportunities for crime as rational actors when in fact their criminal career may derive from structural pre-tenses. In the class, we discussed the key reading and found Murray significantly reinforced this idea of individual responsibility and meditated causal crimes. After reading a pamphlet by Murray (2001), there are many issues that can be drawn out from his argument. First, Murray completely ignores structure and places all responsibility on to "the criminal" and their own choice to commit a crime. Murray sees this as an ever-growing problem due to certain 'types' of people. For example, he says 'people at the margins of society, socialised and often violent.' (Murray, 2001). This demonstrates how Murray reinforces stereotypes, drawing the assumption that they are different to the 'normal people' in society, viewing criminals as degenerates. Murrays solution of returning to traditional values, assumes that removing what he classes as incentives of belonging to the underclass (such as benefits/welfare) will reduce crime. However, not all crimes are committed by the 'underclass'. Murray ignores all forms of white collar and state crimes. Therefore, not only

is Murrays theory flawed in the sense that it ignores structural influences of crime and bourgeois crimes, it is also paradoxical. This is because he reinforces the marginalisation of individuals which he says leads to crime, by labelling these individuals as 'violent'. Left realists say that crime is a function of inequality and poverty and therefore the solution may be within the structure that causes poverty rather than the individuals within it. This is an approach that seems to have more supported theory behind it, rather than to simply blame the individual themselves. On the other hand, this contradicts what realism set out to do, which is to change the focus on structure that existed previously.

The lecture followed on with the theme of how right realism can ignore the influence of structures and discussed James Q Wilsons broken window thesis (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). This theory attempts to show how independent factors can cause crime rather than structural issues. However, the lecture pointed out a clear criticism that there is no attempt to look at the bigger picture of crime. This is because fixing "broken windows" will not fix the criminals and it assumes this idea of rationality and incentive to commit crime, when it may be that larger structural issues that exist within that area such as poverty or deprivation. This theory also only relates to urban areas where the interest of economic investment can be applied.

This right realist approach ultimately has one obvious solution to the problem of crime. That is harsher punishment and increased imprisonment. This solution derives from the overall view of right realists towards criminals as "delinquents" and from the reading which states how 'conservatives repeatedly call for the intensification of punishment as a way to reduce crime' (Mathews, 2014:16). After discussion in the class we realised that this may not be the best solution as it leads prisons to become mass warehouse containment facilities for the marginalised; rather than institutions of reform and tools of reintegration as we believed they should be. Left realists disagreed with the right here and believed the penal system should try to reintegrate individuals into society and favoured methods such as restorative justice.

To conclude, the assessment of the right realist approach has made me realise it may not be the best approach to influence policies and study criminology. This is because it draws upon individual responsibility but fails to examine the structures in place that influence these individuals. We are all social actors with our own thoughts and goals but a lot of social theory, such as strain theory, has portrayed the key role social structures play in shaping our opportunities, morals, values and social norms. Prisons are an important institution to reveal the ineffectiveness of right realism, as today we can see a lot of the right realist policies and ideologies being reflected in contemporary society. This may be why in America, 724 people per 100,000 are incarcerated, (BBC News, 2016). We need to realise, as a society, that the movement and displacement of criminals and criminal opportunity (such as the broken window theory tries to suggest) is not solving the problem, especially as around 25.6% of prisoners reoffend (Ministry of Justice, 2016). Maybe, it is time for another change in the overarching doctrine of criminology, this time, toward more liberal ideologies. However, I believe that a realist perspective is not enough to study criminology. Perhaps a combination of the realist approach and structural explanations would be best for covering all the elements that the incredibly diverse problem of crime presents.

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How can the police combat terrorism?

Tremayne Williams

The topic of terrorism is itself a wide scale subject to discuss; there are many components that must be commented on in order to get the full understanding of the term. This essay will cover the topic of terrorism in detail, giving examples of terrorist groups and how they carry out their attacks. Their objectives, advantages, disadvantages and ideology will be taken into account and put into perspective, and the public and social media views will also be discussed to give the full picture of the impact that terrorism has. Furthermore, this essay will draw attention to the different agencies that are involved in the 'invisible war' between the two ghosts commonly known as the terrorists and secret law enforcement agencies. As part of this discussion, this essay shall touch on the various techniques of high policing and low policing, intelligence agencies, and foot patrol policing. Finally, tactics of counter-terrorism, and how unlikely agencies have a big impact on the fight against terrorism, such as de-radicalization groups, will also be addressed.

There is no agreed international definition for terrorism itself, yet there are many definitions that contain the same two components. These two components are: politics or religion; and supporting this, one definition of terrorism is creating mass fear with violence, be it political or religiously fuelled. Questions are always raised as to what fuels terrorism, as there are various different reasons, with most being quite similar. The definition of terrorism has been associated with a number of problems, for example, the critique that one definition cannot possibly describe all the elements or the actual purpose of terrorism in all its forms.

Historian David J Whittaker suggested that there are 4 different perspectives of terrorism: the authority, onlookers, victims and the terrorists themselves. Differences might be expected from an authority responsible for order and peace; from an onlooker, either one who saw things at first hand or following events on radio and television; from a victim or relation; and lastly, from one of the terrorists themselves (Whittaker, 2004). The above could do with being broken down and simplified a little. Terrorism is often a pre-meditated strike, creating an atmosphere of sheer fear, usually to change public policy (McLauglin, 2006).

There are two scales of terrorism: national and international. National terrorism is an act of violence involving groups from within one state, and international terrorism is an act of violence involving groups from more than one state. Acts of terrorism can vary from attempting to influence and change the way people behave, or to change people's views on a local or international matter (Mueller & Stewart, 2016). Making public statements globally is often the main aim, with the ultimate aim of creating fear and making the presence of a group or political cause known. Terrorists can be made to seem a lot more threatening by suggesting they have grand ideological plans to radically change Western society to establish grand 'caliphates', and to spread, and then rigidly enforce, an extreme version of Sharia law (Mueller & Stewart, 2016:35).

The common strategy of terrorist groups is to pollute the nation or the world with fear; the fear of something happening to what is perceived to be a safe haven. Fear is the key to terrorist attacks; their planning and preparation are conducted invisibly and once they are

ready to attack they use the media and the public eye to their advantage. The attack itself is designed to gain a high level of public visibility, in the belief that articulating an act of violence with a specific and politicalised cause (Innes & Theil, 2008). Media is their biggest outlet; social media can be used to their advantage as it is something that the government and law enforcement cannot gain complete control of. Once something touches the internet it is almost impossible for it to be removed completely; this is where terrorists can instill their fear. Psychological disruption, social disruption and then publicising the cause, is a typical terrorist objective (Martin, 2010).

According to Martin (2010), applying dramatic violence against symbolic targets is part of their objective to inflict maximum damage. From the terrorists' perspective, the major force of terrorism comes not from its physical impact but from its psychological impact; this being before and after the attack has occurred. For example, many New Yorkers suffered strong levels of stress and anxiety long after the 9/11 attacks. The social disruption factor is an objective of propaganda by the deed. Disrupting the normal daily routine of civilians would leave a long-lasting impact on the minds of the nation. An example of this would be the London bombings on 7th June 2005, which brought the whole of the London underground to a halt. As the underground is London's main source of travel, many citizens were left using alternative travel. The alternative means of travel were buses and taxis, yet people were too scared to use the buses as they were a target of the bombings also. The last phase is publicising the cause, where once again propaganda is their strongest point of fear. Once they have successfully got into the minds of the masses, be it public or governmental, they will go straight to the social media and broadcast follow up threats if the government doesn't comply with their wishes, or just to strike an aftermath of general fear.

An example of a terrorist group would be ISIS who is currently the cause of the most recent terrorist attacks, and followers are known to be openly recruiting people to join their cause. Their attacks are religiously fuelled, radicalising members of their religion to join their 'war'. This group has been designated a terrorist organisation by the United Nations and many individual countries. They are widely known for their videos of beheadings of soldiers and civilians, including journalists and aid workers, and the destruction of cultural heritage sites. This terrorist group has been known for various different attacks such as the Nice bombing, the Orlando shooting and more. Yet we are not yet sure which of these attacks ISIS were involved with, or if they were just claiming their involvement to improve their image of fear and terror throughout the world. This group is an example of international terrorism, hitting more than one state and planning to hit more. There are different types of terrorist organisations that have a smaller scale of attack, one of these being the IRA. The IRA (also known as the Irish Republican Army) was an Irish republican paramilitary organisation with the intentions to remove Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and to succeed in bringing an independent republic encompassing all of Ireland. This was the biggest and most active republican paramilitary group during the 'Troubles'. The IRA were known for many of their attacks on the UK, such as the coach bombing on 4th February 1974, where 12 people were killed after the IRA planted a bomb in the coach carrying British soldiers back to their families.

Combatting terrorism is not as simple as just attempting to catch the suspects and then be done with it; it is a lot more complicated; terrorism is often committed by groups, not individual people. They gain followers by promoting their cause, and in some cases 'brainwashing' and radicalization. Stopping the fear from spreading is far more difficult than just locating and seizing; the media has to be controlled and monitored by the law

enforcement agencies. Facts that could cause mass panic must be protected or terrorist groups would be at their strongest point as they thrive off of moral panic. Every nation has a different approach to combatting terrorism; depending on the scale of the attack there are different required measures. Militarising the police on the ground is a form of low policing, a tactic many countries use when terrorism is on high alert. This is a tactic of deterrence for terrorists on the ground as it becomes harder for them to carry out their plan on foot. For the public, this can be reassuring for some, but also quite worrying for others, as they know that something is going on. The UK's counter terrorism strategy is organised around four key strands (HM Government, 2006):

- Prepare: for acts of terrorism by developing political, economic, social and technological resilience.
- Prevent: acts of terrorism happening in the first place.
- Protect: the UK from terrorist attacks through 'target hardening' measures especially where the potential target forms part of the 'critical national infrastructure'.
- Pursue: terrorists in order to bring them to justice.

Pre-meditated attacks are very hard to counter, which is why there are many different types of policing that occur simultaneously. High policing and low policing are two methods that contribute towards counter terrorism. In high policing, prevention is the key objective, using tactics of gaining intelligence behind closed doors, hidden from the public, such as surveillance, monitoring of bank accounts, travel, and any suspicion of potential targets. Low policing consists of street patrolling and deterrent through the application of criminal law. This is carried out in the eye of public on purpose, as it contributes to the deference of crime and deviance (Brodeur, 1983). This process is formed of high policing and low policing, risk analysis and more. Alongside the different levels of policing (high and low) there are various agencies that go hand in hand with them. Low policing agencies would be civilian communities, multi-agency activity, and uniformed policing. These agencies are responsible to take action in sectors such as: immigration, radicalization, community intel collection, arrests and managing community tensions. High policing agencies stem from the military, secret services such as MI5/MI6, and Counter Terrorism Units. Agencies in this line of work mainly work from intelligence based actions, collecting secret intel, and arrests and prosecutions of high profile targets.

For the police and other agencies to prevent or intervene with the growing process that leads to radicalization, they are manifestly hindered by the fact that reliable empirical information and sophisticated theories about how radicalization occurs, to whom, when, where, and why, is very much in its pre-mature stages of development. De- agencies work hard on decreasing the amount of people who fall into the path of radical actions. There is only so much these agencies can do with the information without overstepping religious and ethical boundaries. Very limited evidence suggests that radicalization in the UK is carried out through friends and family of the Muslim community. Radicalization often follows on from a racial or personal attack on the religion itself (Wikitorowicz, 2005). This makes it very hard to infiltrate and deter, as going into families to attempt to de-radicalize 'potential terrorists' would be seen as extremely racist and could possibly spark even more family orientated radicalization.

Furthermore, in seeking to shine a light on these 'invisible' threats that law enforcement agencies cannot find, a vital role of gaining intelligence is played. It has been said to underpin all aspects of counter-terrorism work and is cast as its very lifeblood (Wilkinson,

2001). This use of intelligence is used in most types of contemporary policing, but due to the difficulty of battling terrorism head on, it is used as a key tactic in high policing. Gaining intelligence can completely destabilise and prevent widespread potential risks. Covert surveillance, espionage and the recruitment of informers are methods of collecting intelligence. However, there are major advantages and disadvantages to these types of intelligence collection. Double agents can be very useful to gaining secret intelligence that cannot be gained with surveillance. The role of a double agent is to send in undercover law enforcers of any agency as a spy to play the role of a terrorist within the opposition's organisation. This is can be very dangerous as if they are uncovered to be a spy then this could jeopardize the whole operation. Informants can be the most effective way, and yet the most damaging way (to law enforcement agencies), of gaining information.

Much like a double agent, informants can be sent into terrorist organisations to uncover and gain information on a personal level. The key difference between a double agent and an informant is that an informant is not a member of a law enforcement agency; they are often people that have been either involved in terrorist groups, or people that know of them, and have valuable information and/or access to these groups. The way to gain informants is to infiltrate the enemy territory or use previous intelligence to find people that have been involved or know how to get in, then offer them a deal to persuade them to cooperate. The problem with informants is that they can be manipulated by trickery and deceit by the radicals, thus turning them against the law enforcement agency. They can be deliberately misled and made to turn on their handlers if they have been compromised (Dunningham & Norris, 1999). They can be very unreliable at times, depending on how close their relationship is to the terrorist group; problems like this could have a major backlash on the whole operation.

Terrorist prevention tactics are becoming more and more visual after significant attacks. Following the London bombing in the underground tube station, there has been a mass removal of bins on the platforms to prevent bombs or any type of explosives from being planted there incognito. These are simple prevention tactics that can deter any kind of future attacks. Learning and gaining intelligence from previous attacks seems like a reaction rather than anticipation, but also effective to counter any potential future encounters. For example, security in airports has been significantly improved after the 9/11 attack. Security measures have been made more vigilant due to this, but it has also raised some attention to being slightly prejudice towards the Asian community. Racial profiling has been a major discussion as the security has been strengthened in order to prevent any attacks being carried out in the airports, to deter any members of terrorists groups being let into countries that could be the cause of the next attack.

In conclusion to this essay, counter terrorism is a challenging topic to pinpoint as there are many things to consider. High and low simultaneous policing is the key to effective policing of terrorism. High ranked agencies such as MI5 and MI6 are very important as they are needed to gain valuable intelligence in order to deter future attacks, but these agencies work off of leads and investigations, and learn from previous attacks. Low policing agencies that work on the ground are just as important when fighting terrorism; making subtle changes, such as removing bins from the tube station, can help towards deterrence of such attacks. De-radicalization and radicalization prevention tactics that are put into place are significant in stopping terrorist groups from expanding their empires, making it harder from them to strike fear into the public. These agencies help to strengthen the public mentally by shedding a light on how we can stop such attacks and bring peace to the nation in the wake of potential attacks.

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Outline the advantages and disadvantages of the feminist position which argues that all women share common experiences.

Aisha Arouche

Major theories within the academic discipline of sociology have seen a continuous shift in ideas surrounding sex, gender and sexualities since the 1990's, which recent feminist thought has arguably struggled to keep up with, whilst facing 'critiques from within and outside its own discourses' (Brooks, 1997:13). Feminism is defined generally as 'a social movement, combining theory with political practice, which seeks to achieve equality between men and women' (Scott, 2014: 245); numerous writers within this theory have argued the position that all women, regardless of social characteristics, share common experiences with one another. Drawing upon work from influential academics such as de Beauvoir (1949), Harstock (1983) and hooks (1982), this essay will outline and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of this feminist standpoint, concluding that the position still holds value with regards to the shared experience of oppression, and that whilst the position has been deemed 'essentialist', this term itself has been branded problematic.

In any piece of academic writing discussing feminism or gendered discourses, it is arguably important to discuss how we define the concept of 'women' and therefore acknowledge Simone de Beauvoir's (1949) work in which she differentiates between gender and sex, perhaps being one of the first to do so. In 'The Second Sex' (1949), gender is defined in relation to the socially constructed, but not equal, concepts of femininity and masculinity and their distinct characteristics, by which women are defined in association with emotion and dependency whilst men are viewed as the true and superior sex. Writing in the middle of the twentieth century, de Beauvoir rejects biological determinism and defines women through their social identities. She argues that 'man defines women not in herself but as relative to him' (de Beauvoir, 2011:5); in other words, women are deemed as the 'other' in relation to men. Through this statement, de Beauvoir suggests that all women have a shared experience. Bergoffen (2009: 27) argues that de Beauvoir's analysis collectivizes women as a 'we' through their 'shared embodied experience of alienated subjectivity' and notes how this shared experience is implied to be inevitable due to their universal definition of 'other' and constant objectification. For de Beauvoir (1949), the concept of woman is not defined by what it offers but rather it is universally and socially defined by what it lacks in comparison to the concept of man; whilst deemed essentialist, her thoughts surrounding the socially constructed definition of 'woman' clearly still has had influence over feminist writers informed by postmodern thinking.

The 'relationship between feminist knowledge and women's experiences' (Brooks, 1997:18) lays central to the numerous critiques of second wave feminism brought about by new-wave feminists. The latter have highlighted the diversity of the lived experience of women, arguing that previous feminist scholarship has 'insufficiently recognize[ed] socioeconomic class, culture, race and other social factors that are relevant' (Vakalahi et al, 2014: 419) which makes it impossible for women to share common experiences. Scott (1992) highlights the problematic nature of the term 'experience' and notes the complex ways in which it is defined and interpreted across different academic disciplines as well as by different writers, therefore making it important to establish how the term shall be

defined in this essay; 'experience' shall thus refer to 'a way of talking about what happened, of establishing difference and similarity, of claiming knowledge that is unassailable' (Scott, 1992: 37). The feminist debate regarding experience has mainly focused on its essentialist and universalist nature; whilst those who oppose the collectivization of female experience have denounced the normalization of certain types of females or femininities, those in agreement with the standpoint have started to question the dividing and hindering effect these critiques have had on the advancement of feminist politics.

Criticism towards earlier feminist theorists' lack of complexity in their analysis of women's oppression and experience has come from numerous sources and has consequently divided the movement (Brooks, 1997). However, the most notable disapproval and fragmentation has come from Black Feminism. Writers such as bell hooks (1982) have argued that the most significant disadvantage of such a standpoint comes from its neglect of the lived experience of racism (Brooks, 1997); according to Collins, 'black feminist thought consists of ideas produced by Black women that clarify a standpoint of and for Black women' (Collins, 1986:16). Hooks (1982) argues that the female experience is inevitably riddled by class and race identities which become more important and personal than a universally shared experience. This idea has been neglected by dominant discourses within feminism since its birth – discourses created by white, middle-class and heterosexual women. However, not only does hooks (1991: 172) argue for the deconstruction of the position that women regardless of race share experiences, she also importantly calls for the deconstruction of a 'monolithic homogeneous black identity and experience' which is arguably present in past and present feminist writing. Here she argues that the term 'black woman' is used as a general term to encompass a wide variety of cultures and ethnic groups in an attempt to unify their experiences as one, when once again the lived experience of a 'black woman' is bound to be more subjective than simply the physical appearance of her skin.

Moore (1994:2) makes a similar observation, stating that the position which views experience as 'ontological, singular and fixed' is reductive for both the understanding of the lived experiences of lay women and for feminist thought itself; intersubjectivity shapes female experience and identity through difference. In addition, this criticism can also be drawn from discourses surrounding the sexual freedom and sexual experience of women, as seen in 'The aftermath of feminism' (McRobbie, 2009) which grounds the criticism, drawing it from the political to the personal. McRobbie (2009) acknowledges the differing levels at which women experience these two themes; whilst all women have the shared experience of restricted sexual freedom, she argues that Black and Asian women experience 'patriarchal authority and judgment' surrounding their sexual choices and sexual identities to a much higher degree. Binding together these arguments, the postmodernist wave of feminism or what has been termed 'New Femininities' (Gill,2007) argues that the diversity present in those that fall into the social category of 'women' renders it impossible and essentialist for women to share common experiences.

Essentialism is defined as 'the idea that certain features or experiences are necessarily constitutive of members of a group' (Fulfer, 2008: 1), and whilst used as the main critique of second wave feminism by postmodern academics, it has recently be deemed problematic, with Spivak (1994) branding it 'a loose tongue' (in Stone, 2004: 135). Both Heyes (1997, 2000) and Marshall (1994) outline the differing meanings that have been attributed to the term over the history of feminist thought; Marshall (1994) clearly identifies three different types of essentialism that have become visible since the nineteenth century, consisting of (i) biological essentialism, (ii) philosophical essentialism

and (iii) historical reification (in Brooks, 1997:20). These multiple meanings have, according to Heyes (1997: 144), confused academic interpretation of writing concerning women as a collective group, and subsequently de-valued its substance as what seems an 'automatic reflex' critique in an attempt to dismiss classic and valuable feminist pieces. One may argue that if academia pays too much focus on difference and not enough focus towards the experiences and identities women may share, they run the risk of ignoring important similarities that bring women from different social background together for the advancement of their own political agenda and social status. Heyes (1997: 143) importantly states that 'third waves run the risk of allowing critical analysis of second wave feminist theory to take precedence over more constructive and pragmatic work'. Whilst it is important to bring difference and issues of difference to the forefront of feminist thinking and feminist politics, the term has arguably become over used and unconstructive, which serves as an advantage to the feminist position which argues that all women share a common experience. It is tempting to agree with academics such as Heyes (1997, 2000) who notice how it has become more commonplace for 'postfeminists' to be linked with a failure to recognize the shared oppressed role women experience due to patriarchal conditions, under the precedence of essentialism.

Despite strong views put across by those influenced by postmodernist discourses that challenge unitary and monolithic notions (Brooks, 1997), there are still a number of feminists who hold the belief that women share a common experience of oppression regardless of their race, class, ethnicity and sexuality. Paying attention to the public/private sphere division in which women are restricted and associated with the latter, Harstock points out that 'lived realities of women's lives are profoundly different from those of men' (1983:284) and so therefore 'women's work in every society differs systematically from men's' (1983:289). Whilst she recognizes the invisibility of sexuality and race in her own work, she argues that to view women as a collective group, which have the possibility of sharing certain commonalities, serves as more constructive for her own analysis on the sexual division of labour, drawing on Marx's simplified class system as justification. For Harstock (1983), women's dual activity in both the private and public sphere is the foundation for a feminist standpoint, which ties together women irrespective of diversity; women obtain and are expected to maintain the role of the 'insider' and the 'outsider', from which they can then draw common experiences. Frye (2005) takes this theoretical position even further by claiming that women's shared status and position within society takes precedence over any class, race or geographical boundaries (in Fulfer, 2008). Morgan (1984) similarly believes that women share the experience of oppression as well as holding common attitudes and common world views on phenomena such as war; for her these three commonalties 'despite variations in degree, [are] experienced by all human beings who are born female' (in McDowell, 2016: 86). Harstock (1983), Morgan (1984) and most obviously de Beauvoir (1949) all view women's experience of the marginalized or 'other' role, particularly within the private/public split, as the main commonality that bridges women together and overcomes difference in order to maintain solidarity, arguably essential for the political progression of women.

For feminists, the distinction between the personal and political is a mirrored image of the power relations between the two genders, a distinction they insist must be rejected (Lovenduski and Randall, 1993). Yet, since the emergence of post-feminist thinking surrounding difference and identity, there has arguably been a failure to recognize the consequences of such a standpoint for feminist politics. In her book 'Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression', Ramazanoglu (1989) summarizes why the 'we' in feminism 'remains vital as part of a political project' (Woodward, 2009: 48); despite acknowledging

the difficulties of collectivizing women as a unitary group, she argues it a necessity as an abandonment of grouping subjects together would be extremely damaging for feminist politics and lead to a lack of political progression for women who would lack the ability to speak as 'one' or as a 'we' . As postmodernists attempt to deconstruct current feminist ideas of the 'self' or 'subject', it is questionable how successful the feminist political agenda can be if terms such as patriarchy, which have only recently been brought into political discourse due to the second wave, are branded as narratives that therefore have no relationship with the lived experience of women (McLaughlin, 2003). Subsequently, postmodernist thought and those feminists who have incorporated such ideas into their own scholarship, 'cast doubt on their validity', that is politicized terms such as patriarchy and the division of labour, and so give support to the notion that no real change can come from feminist activism in the form of political and social liberation because its whole premises is based on a 'narrative' (McLaughlin, 2003: 98). It must be considered what feminism is as a theory and whether it can be successful in its imperatives without a common identity which can be used to achieve liberal change for more than just the individual subject.

Despite the arguments presented above concerning the standpoint that all women share common experiences, there are more recent academics (Littlewood, 2016 and Scott, 1992) who have problematized the concept of experience and attempted to move away from it all together, an idea that has already been briefly touched upon within this essay. Scott (1992: 24) debates the validity of experience in 'Feminists Theorize the Political', particularly when used in historical and feminist works, and argues against any 'appeal to experience as uncontestable evidence and as an originary point of explanation' due to questions surrounding its construction. Scott (1992) notes that experience is often confused with knowledge despite it being debatable what does and does not count as 'experience' or what is classed as an experience that is valued enough to then become knowledge. Experience, according to Scott (1992), cannot automatically become knowledge without first analysing its production and origin. The construction of experience is also problematic to Littlewood (2016: 26), who argues that experience is not a simple concept but one that is affected and shaped by dominating ideology, social institutions and social groups; she places emphasis on her view that 'experiences are not infallible guides to how things "really" are'. As McCann and Kim (2003: 17) note, whilst experience has become an important and valuable concept within feminism, it is critical to understand that 'its meaning and usefulness have been continuously contested', a critique which has only recently started to cast doubt on the concept's ability to be used as the premises of a theoretical standpoint. Although it has been agreed that a complete break from the term 'experience' would be impractical due its grounded place in language (Scott, 1992), there is need for a reconsideration on whether we can still effectively use the term as a way of explaining and identifying women's lives and furthermore whether it should be the task of feminists to uncover and make visible such experiences (McLaughlin, 2003).

In conclusion, there are a number of advantages and disadvantages that can be discussed regarding the feminist position that all women share common experiences; most notable, however, is the concern that 'without a shared subject, can feminism have a shared agenda?' (McLaughlin, 2003: 15). Academics such as hooks (1982), Scott (1992) and Harstock (1983) offer useful and valuable ideas surrounding this debate including interlinked issues of race, class and sexuality. Despite these issues of difference, it is hard not to agree with those who argue that there is still an underlining common experience felt by those who identify as women even if it is through sharing the most basic level of oppression. Analysing the varying literature that exists on such a debate, it seems vital that

new-wave feminists emerging in current discourses continue to identify potentially problematic concepts such as 'essentialism' in order to avoid their unconstructive use. Whilst it is extremely interesting and relevant sociologically to continue to discuss whether common experiences can be formed amongst women, it is possible that along with the emergence of new feminist positions such as 'new femininities' and 'post-feminism', the concept of experience will become less commonplace; this holds the potential of allowing new ways of drawing together and understanding women's lives to be brought into current feminist debates, ways that are arguably not laden with essentialism.

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Outline the advantages and disadvantages of the feminist position which argues that all women share common experiences

Aaliyah-Mae O'Connor

Feminism is a theory that advocates equal political, social and economic rights for all women. It is an ideology rooted in the emancipation of women from the traditional patriarchy, seeking to establish liberation and equal opportunities for all women. In Western societies there have been a number of feminist movements that were the driving force for societal changes in regards to gender equality and women's rights. Through such movements, women have gained many rights, including the right to vote, to work and to receive an education, all in the last century (Messer-Davidow, 2002). A common philosophy within traditional feminism is that all women share the same experiences, on the basis that no matter where a woman is from, she will always be subjected to men, whether it be physically, emotionally or sexually. More recently, some feminist researchers have questioned this traditional philosophy, essentially arguing that women throughout the world, or even women in the same country, do not share common experiences because there are other intersections also at play, such as race, class, religion and sexuality. They have argued that traditional feminist approaches fail to recognise these intersections, all of which dramatically change a woman's experience. According to Vega et al.:

> [There is a] multiplicity of identities that form part of our identity as women. I am all the identities at the same time; I am the intersection of all of them… We do not leave any of our identities behind when we participate in an activity (Vega et al., 2012: 73).

Thus, it is always important to account for all intersections that are at play at the same time for different women. This essay aims to critically analyse the feminist position which argues that all women share common experiences. The essay will begin by looking into traditional feminist philosophies, originating in the work of Mary Wollstonecraft and first-wave feminism, then to Simone de Beauvoir in her famous text '*The Second Sex*', before briefly moving onto the feminist anthropologist Sherry Ortner's work. Along with critically addressing the advantages and disadvantages of the theories, the essay will examine controversial issues such as transgenderism that these traditional theories fail to account for. The essay looks into more contemporary feminist theories, those of bell hooks and Judith Butler, to explain how different intersections can alter different women's experiences.

The origin of feminism can be traced back to the period after the French Revolution of 1789, with Mary Wollstonecraft being a prominent figure in this first-wave feminism. Wollstonecraft was a strong advocate for women's rights and in her article, *The Vindication of the Right of Women* (1792), she asserts that all women are oppressed and subjected to men because of their lack of education and low status in society. Her article is considered to be the manifesto of feminism as it is one of the first written works of feminist ideas. In this she argues that throughout society women are treated as subordinate insignificant beings who are trained to only care about their beauty and attractiveness. Wollstonecraft argues that women are not some form of decoration or property belonging to men, instead they are human beings and should have the same fundamental rights as men, primarily the right

to the same education in order to achieve their full potential (Wollstonecraft, 1982). She sought to explain how men and women are equal beings, however, because of their exclusion from the universality of rights, women were considered inferior and could be seen to share common experiences in society.

For first-wave feminism, the focus was on overturning legal restrictions so that women had equal access to rights in the public and political realm. As well as the right to an education, women fought for the right to vote - also known as the women's suffrage, property rights and various others. However, over a century later, a second-wave of feminism was incited in the United States. In the 1960's, this second-wave feminism introduced a broader debate regarding a wide range of issues that all women were said to be experiencing; these issues included: the family, sexuality, reproductive rights and issues in the workplace (Burkett, 2015). Second-wave feminism went beyond the call for equal rights and sought to understand and explain the social construction of gender inequality. A key feminist of the second-wave movement is Simone de Beauvoir, a French feminist, writer and philosopher. In her famous book *The Second Sex* (1949), she reveals a ground-breaking theory on the social construction of gender inequality, asserting that all women are considered to be 'the Other' (de Beauvoir, 1949). De Beauvoir argues that women are defined by being the 'other' in relation to men; thus, while men inhabit the role of the subject – the role of the conscious being, women on the other hand are the object to the subject, they are the 'Other'. According to de Beauvoir this is the cause of gender inequality in society as all women are subjected to this. Moreover, de Beauvoir attempts to look at and understand what the concept of a 'woman' means, arguing that 'one is not born a woman, but rather becomes one' (1989: 301). Here, she implies that there is no real absolute definition of a 'woman' but instead it is societal forces that restrict and pressure women to act in a socially constructed feminine way; it is society that imposes what women have to be (de Beauvoir, 1989). De Beauvoir argues all women share this experience, as all women are characterized exclusively in opposition to men as the 'Other' of men.

Additionally, de Beauvoir argues that women have been made into objects by men, and this is key to the notion of women's shared experience. She states 'the representation of the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from the point of view which is theirs and which they confuse with the absolute truth' (de Beauvoir, 1949: 236). By this de Beauvoir means that the world and its representations are dominated by men – their thinking and their teaching. They get to write the important books and create the important art and it is their interpretations that swiftly become the absolute reality and complete truth. What is more, the way femininity and female subordination is perceived to be natural, as a result of women's biology, is also a construction created by men. Thus, the way women are defined in society, the ways in which they have been socialised to behave and act have been created by men and is not natural at all. According to de Beauvoir, this is an illusion all women experience, to be the passive, attractive and ultimately 'the Other'.

Similar to de Beauvoir, feminist anthropologist Sherry B. Ortner claims that all women share common experiences, as she identifies a universal link between sex, gender and status (1974). In her article *Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture* she explores the 'universality of female subordination' (Ortner, 1974: 68). She proclaims that there is a universal subordination of women and it is rooted in their association with nature, asserting that it is a 'fact that exists within every type of society and economic arrangement [with] every degree of complexity' (Ortner, 1974: 68). Thus, her theory is not only limited to western cultures, but refers to societies worldwide. A key part in Ortner's theory is her identification of women as 'enslavement to the species,' whereby she explains that it is

women who are expected to invest a substantial amount of time in the natural process of pregnancy and childbirth, and even after the baby is born it is normal for women to spend more time with the baby because they are believed to have more of a natural bond. Therefore, women are confined to the domestic tasks of the household, which in turn enables men to pursue more cultural activities such as art (O'Connor, 2015). Moreover, Ortner argues that it is something universal that follows from women's physiology, specifically gestation and lactation. For example, infants need breast milk produced by women, thus mothers are expected to stay at home and look after the baby (O'Connor, 2015). This system is practiced across a number of countries; for instance, in the UK mothers are given a 52-week maternity leave whilst fathers are given a 26-week paternity leave (GOV.UK, 2017). Women's responsibilities are seen as natural and inevitable because of their physiology (Ortner, 1974). Ortner argues that all women are subordinated because of the gender symbolism attached to women, and that men are the dominant decision makers and the controllers of nature, the women. Here, feminists point out that the personal becomes the political as women's experiences are defined particularly through their bodies. Similar to de Beauvoir, Ortner argues that cultural and gender definitions and values are a social construct created by men and their imaginations.

With these positions discussed, arguing that all women share common experiences, there are numerous advantages. Firstly, the acknowledgement of women's shared oppression, from Wollstonecraft and her fight for rights to ascribed gender roles, these have made huge contributions to greater gender equality throughout society. Women are in a far better position than they were a few decades ago because of continuous feminist movements that have been inspired by these conventional thoughts of women having shared experiences. Furthermore, de Beauvoir is often seen as the first thinker to make a distinction between sex and gender; thereby her work was ground-breaking on the basis that it describes discrimination on the basis of socially constructed gender differences rather than based on differences in biology (Halewood, 2016). As well as influencing feminist anthropologists such as Sherry B. Ortner, de Beauvoir has also influenced the work of other feminist theorists such as Nancy Hartsock, in explaining women's shared experiences. Hartsock coined the 'feminist standpoint' approach in 1983 which is founded on Marxist ideology. She starts from the position that the material conditions of a person's life can affect that person's understanding and experience of society (Hartsock, 1998). Looking closely into the material conditions of women and the sexual divisions of labour, she argues that 'women's lives differ structurally from those of men' (Hartsock, 1983: 284). Similar to Ortner's argument, Hartsock claims that in our society women have been given the responsibility for certain areas of production and reproduction, like childbirth and child-rearing, while men have been given the role of producing material and financial goods (Hartsock, 1998; Halewood, 2016).

According to Hartsock, all women have shared experiences of the world that are different from those of men. Women occupy the role of being both insiders and outsiders in today's capitalist society. Firstly, they are considered to be insiders because they are vital agents for the continuation and maintenance of the current capitalist system. Capitalism simply would not work without the unpaid domestic tasks and roles of women. On the other hand, they are considered outsiders because they have a limited power and influence on the system (Hartsock, 1998). Women operate in both the private and public domains and to the arrangements of production and reproduction. Hartsock argues:

> Just as Marx's understanding of the world from the standpoint of the proletariat enabled him to go beneath bourgeois ideology, so a feminist standpoint can allow us

> to understand patriarchal institutions and ideologies and perverse inversions of more human social interactions (Hartsock, 1983: 142).

Hartsock's arguments reveal ground-breaking ideas about women's shared experiences of oppression in many patriarchal societies.

While these theories of women sharing common experiences are plausible, they have all been criticised for being too essentialist. Some feminists have argued that there is no straightforward notion of women's experiences from which we can construct knowledge, as society is too large and diverse to generalize this (Benhabib, 1995). Furthermore, de Beauvoir and Ortner's approach to women's experiences has been heavily critiqued because they universalise their theories and do not take into account that they may in fact be socially and historically limited. They were both white, middle-class, heterosexual, European intellectuals, and consequently they simply cannot describe the way in which women have been oppressed all over the world. African American academics have especially emphasised this point. Henrietta Moore goes so far in saying that:

> The experience of being a woman or being black or being Muslim can never be a singular one, and will always be dependent on a multiplicity of locations and positions that are constructed socially, that is intersubjectively (Moore, 1994: 3).

Other postmodern feminists have made similar criticisms, highlighting the ethnocentrism and ahistoricism of traditional branches of feminist theory. Feminists such as Joan Scott argue that there is no such thing as 'women's experience' because experience is always transversed with issues of class, race and sexuality (1992). As bell hooks states:

> Race and class identity create differences in quality of life, social status and lifestyle that take precedence over the common experience women share – differences which are rarely transcended (Brooks, 1997).

Hooks stresses that differences between women need to be accentuated instead of being overlooked. For example, the experience of being an Iranian woman is different from that of a middle-class white woman in the UK. It is always important to account for all intersections and systems of oppression that are at play at the same time for different women - for instance, the racial discrimination and oppression systems black women experience, as well as their gender subjection. Walby notes that sites of oppression for women of colour will be different from white women's, and thus this may change the basis of gender inequality (Brooks, 1997). She further claims that:

> [The] family unit is a site of resistance and solidarity against racism for women of colour, it does not hold the central place in accounting for women's subordination that it does for white women (Walby, 1995, cited in Brooks, 1997: 17).

This alone goes against both de Beauvoir and Ortner's universality of subordination theory. It is impossible to have a singular women's experience because of this great difference in identities, lives and status.

Additionally, traditional feminist theories have failed to account for wider issues that involve the new foundation of sexual identities which continue to create oppression for women. They have excluded the oppression experienced by those in the transgender community, as these women do not fit the 'normal' representation of women. This is an

issue post-structuralist feminists speak about, as they claim there is no stable and coherent category of 'woman' or even 'man';instead these terms are signifiers. A key post-structural gender theorist is Judith Butler, who argues that gender is not something that is fixed, rather it is something expressed through a performance. In her book, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Butler criticises the central assumption of feminists – that all women share common experiences, and explains that gender is not a fixed entity, but it is performative:

> [Gender] is the stylised repetition of acts. The effect of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion of being an abiding gendered self (Butler, 1990: 40-1).

Thus, it is the repetition of specific acts that gives the illusion of gender, but behind these acts there is no real fixed gender. What is more, Butler argues that in advanced contemporary societies there is a notion of compulsory heterosexuality and heteronormativity; anyone who differs from this is considered deviant, not only by others in society, but through self-regulation and self-discipline (2006). In turn, these expectations produce and reify an ontological binary gender division between 'man' and 'woman' and it is this split that supports women's inferiority (Halewood, 2016). This is an issue that was overlooked by de Beauvoir and Ortner as their concept of women stayed within the gender binary system. Their concept of women can even be considered to be outdated as it is not applicable in today's society; there are now a wide variety of gender identities that fall outside the conventional description of man and woman. Butler's ideas paved the way for new insights from feminist and queer theory, as she broadened the concept of what it means to be a woman, to include transwomen and their oppressions in society. Transwomen's experiences and oppression will be completely different to African American women. Second wave feminism failed to address the fact that there are 'different sites of oppression' and potentially different 'sites of struggle' (Brooks, 1997).

To conclude, this essay has outlined the advantages and disadvantages of the feminist position which argues that all women share common experiences. Overall, this position is very limited in scope. This essay has looked into the feminist philosophies of de Beauvoir, Ortner and Hartsock, and while they did contribute some insightful theories of women's experiences, they all generally overlooked how different women's experiences are affected by multiple factors, such as race, class, ethnicity and sexuality. As the world is so large and diverse it is almost impossible to generalize a notion of women's experience, whereby all women share common experiences.

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Outline the advantages and disadvantages of the feminist position which argues that all women share common experiences.

Monique Bailey-Mckenzie

To some extent, the idea of 'shared experiences' holds true. A large proportion of women share the stereotypical collective experience of getting married and becoming wives, they look after the home and eventually their role expands to child birth and becoming mothers. However, with the changing face of society, gender presents itself as an increasingly challenging and complex concept, an example of this would be for those who identify as transgender, as such, it becomes difficult to define what classifies as a shared experience for each woman. Thus, the idea of common experiences presents itself as a blanket statement that makes it difficult to associate with every woman. The feminist positon regarding shared experiences has often argued that the common experience faced by women is that of oppression. Historically, the idea that women shared the collective experience of oppression was a result of women being tied to the home and domestic labour. This no longer holds true as a large proportion of women take on both domestic labour and careers. The evolution of feminism has come to look at more than gender, and incorporates issues of social class and race as equally important factors regarding oppression.

The introduction of second wave feminism has been attributed to the work of Simone De Beauvoir in which she is most famously known for her book *The Second Sex* (1949), which creates a compelling argument in looking at gender as a social construction that limits and oppresses women depicting them as the 'other'. Beauvoir's ideas have influenced other feminists in favour of shared experience such as Nancy Hartstock and her 'feminist standpoint' (1983). Her work has also come under heavy attack from black feminists such as bell hooks (1984) who argues against the shared experiences of all women, but rather the ignored shared experiences of black and ethnic minority women. This essay holds Beauvoir central to the argument of oppression as a common shared experience. I draw on her work in support of female oppression and use other key feminists in support of her work. I also present some limitations to her ideas before closing with my thoughts which consider shared experience to be more complex that Beauvoir depicts.

The notion of shared experience is heavily argued for by Simone De Beauvoir as a result of the underlying problem of patriarchy within society. As a philosopher, social activist and feminist, Beauvoir attempts to make women aware of the social and political conundrum they face in the modern age by drawing attention to the existing problem of oppression, in which she considers women to be the 'other' in comparison to men. More specifically, women are perceived as secondary to men on the grounds that 'humanity is male and man defines woman' (Beauvoir, 1956:15-16). Beauvoir's argument illustrates the inevitable response from women to learn their appointed position within society as the opposing force to men as women come to represent that which is 'subordinate' and 'irrational'. This is what is meant by Beauvoir's famous quote "one is not born a woman but becomes a woman' (Beauvoir, 1979:301), in the sense that the idea surrounding gender is socially constructed by men and his ideals, and shaped as a consequence of ones' upbringing. As such, Beauvoir attempts to overcome this issue of essentialism by putting forth the

argument that certain ways of behaving as a woman are not essential and should not govern who we are.

In the book *Situating Anorexia* by Susie Orbach (1986) she provides an argument that opposes Beauvoir's ideas about sex and gender as she claims that feminist theorists point to the family as the transmitter of an inferior psychology of women, in which the mother is responsible for the psychological and social development of the infant from the biological category of the sex to the social category of gender (Orbach, 1986:17), however, since these responsibilities rest on the mother who herself has been reared within the realms of patriarchy, it is likely that she is only able to reiterate the ideals that have been transmitted to her through her own mother and society, reinforcing the influence of patriarchal oppression over women. This argument further helps to back up Beauvoir's point, in highlighting the continuous cycle of oppression faced by all women.

The work of Nancy Hartstock (1983) provides a clear advantage to Beauvoir's idea of shared experience. Much like Beauvoir, Hartstock attempts to make women aware of their oppression within capitalism. Her 'feminist standpoint' is grounded in Marxist theory and starts from the position that the material conditions of a person's life affects their understanding and experience of society. Hartstock further builds on the work of Marx by arguing that much like class divisions, there is also a sexual division of labour. Ultimately this means that women have been assigned certain positons within society, referring to the private sphere of the home inclusive of production and reproduction, whilst men are associated with the public sphere of producing material and financial goods. The idea of shared experience is further supported by Walby (1992) who argues that 'there is sufficient evidence of common shared oppressions among women to identify patriarchy as a significant source of oppression in advanced Western capitalist society'. (Walby, cited in Brooks 1997:18).

Presently women who find themselves within the public sphere suffer severely from a disorientated gender wage gap in a society that deems itself fair and ostensibly advocates for the equal rights and opportunities of its employers (Hirschmann, 1990). Recently, an article published by The Guardian highlighted that on average women are earning £300,000 less than men in their life time, largely the result of maternal commitments. The women's right organisation, Fawcett Society, have come to brand this problem a 'significant lifetime pay penalty' arguing that "The impact of having children means that as men's careers take off, women's often stagnate or decline," (Sam Smethers cited in the Guardian, 2016). Again, this comes back to the issue of oppression women suffer as a result of their gender in which they are linked to the private sphere and the nature of their bodies, Hartstock also puts this down to the fact that women's lives differ structurally from men's as women are expected to fulfil their role within the private sphere.

Women who have branched outside of the private sphere find that to some extent they suffer from what Dunscombe and Marsdon (1995) argue to be a 'triple shift' whereby women are mothers and housewives and have the additional burden of balancing a career, a career that a woman may often consider important but must delay or neglect in relation to fulfilling her more 'important' responsibilities based on her assumed gender role. For Hartstock women share the common experience of being both insiders and outsiders to wider society, women are insiders on the basis that they are considered crucial to the continuation of the capitalist system in rearing children and taking care of the home, contrastingly, women are also outsiders as they hold weaker positons within the system,

whereby their role lies within domestic duties, thus they are silenced on issues outside of their role.

A number of Western women have moved outside of their position within the private sphere altogether which could render Hartstock's ideas as somewhat dated because small portions of women are shifting from the stereotypes of housewives and becoming the breadwinner, however, there is still a large number of women who juggle domestic duties with a career, her position within the public sphere presents itself as inferior to that of men as she is often underpaid in comparison. It is this dual social role that Hartstock points to as women's shared common experience, whereby a women's experiences more accurately reflects the reality of the social world, in which the contribution made by women into capitalism is underacknowledged and their role within the private sphere is expected, highlighting the oppression suffered by women whose voices are silenced at the hands of patriarchy and capitalism.

Within Western society, women are often viewed as free individuals who are able to exercise freedom of speech and engage in a number of topics and debate. It is often easy to forget how the ideas of oppression are transmitted to women on a global scale through the use of different media forms. Angela McRobbie (2008) provides an advantage to the idea of shared common experience in which her research into the magazine industry has concluded that society is often socialised into their gender roles through the use of different media forms which ultimately dictate how we should behave. The magazines published for women convey different message to that of male magazines. As pointed out by Beauvoir "the representation of the world itself is the work of man" (Beauvoir, 197:236) which explains why male magazines largely focus on objects and images of attraction such as cars, power, and masculinity. Female magazines on the other hand find that they are often centred around the 'male gaze', meaning that women are depicted from a masculine viewpoint, as a result of this female magazines teach women what to focus on such as sex appeal and femininity as this is pleasing to men, again man becomes the subject in which he is central to a woman's life leaving the woman as the 'second sex' and 'other' to man. To suggest that women represent a passive and homogenous audience presents itself as flawed, a vast majority of women no longer conform to the roles expected by men, with some women now identifying as lesbian and Trans. McRobbie calls on the work of Stuart Hall whereby she justifies a new form of sexual contract in which "women's positions of subordination and experience of inequality though changed remains unequivocal and substantial" (McRobbie, 2008). McRobbie creates a compelling argument that helps to show the common shared experience women face in being tied to their gender. Although much has been done to free women of the labels tied to her sexuality, women still fall victim in being considered the 'other' to men in which she exists only to please men. Conversely, McRobbie also presents an argument which states that "white women in the UK are increasingly, living out their class positions, through the modality of gender…no longer adhering to their positions as house wives of men or daughters of fathers."(McRobbie, 2008:7). Presently a number of white women living as housewives have come to represent that which is trendy, these women have been able to use their gender to reflect them in a positive light which has aspired other woman to aim for such a position in which they are able to attain a higher social class and have themselves portrayed positively through their gender. Nonetheless, this position still reinforces the issue of oppression by living a life guided by male dominance and financial control, women can still be seen as victims of a shared experience of oppression despite feeling that they are liberated.

In light of the advantages, Beauvoir's work holds several disadvantages which have weakened her argument to the idea of common shared experience. Beauvoir makes the mistake of pre-supposing that all women share a common experience and comes to universalise the idea of oppression. Women residing in countries that nurture a particularly strong patriarchal hierarchy such as the Middle East are likely to possess different experiences of the world and what it means to be a woman. They are less likely to feel that oppressed because they have internalised their way of living as normal, arguing that their decision to wear the Hijab does not represent oppression but is reflective of their cultural and religious beliefs. This viewpoint is strongly supported by a number of Muslim women and suggests that they do not feel the same way as Western women regarding oppression or that perhaps, Muslim women do not view oppression in the same way as Western women who arguably live a life that is more liberated. Despite this, Beauvoir acknowledges that women can be complicit in their own oppression, women may not necessarily feel that they are oppressed but that does not mean that they are not still facing oppression and she attacks essentialism for neutralising these gender roles.

As such, Muslim women come to represent Beauvoir's idea of the 'Second Sex' perfectly, as they are unable to voice themselves freely and live a life governed by patriarchal dominance. Arguably, Beauvoir writes for the audience of Western women without realising that the true extent of oppression is one that appears globally. Further still Beauvoir's can be accused of attempting to impose her view of shared experience onto other women as an idea that is absolute. In the same way that a man cannot fully understand a woman's experience and can only sympathise, one woman cannot fully understand what it means to be another. Thus, her attempt to connect every woman through shared experience presents itself as flawed.

Beauvoir's attempt to universalise all women comes under heavy attack from Black feminists for dismissing the issue of race. Key writers within the Black feminist movement Hazel Carby (1986) and bell hooks (1984) call out feminist theory for its universalised terms as representing and essentially white, heterosexual feminist movement. The issues faced by black women have largely been ignored by society and white feminist advocates in their campaign for women's rights, instead directing their focus towards a more Eurocentric audience, as such hooks criticises the feminist theory further by arguing that the difficulties faced by women is not truly representative of all women but rather white women and the oppression they face, thus, the black woman goes unnoticed. Ultimately it can be argued that black women face oppression more so than white women, as black women suffer the additional burden of being black as well as being a woman, therefore the issues black women face are made worse by not only being female but having to account for race which put black women in an even worse position than that of white women. Furthermore, feminist positions arguing that women are oppressed within the home is argued against in an interesting point made by Walby (1990) who points out that the family acts as a 'site of resistance' against racism for black women, the family does not account for black women's subordination as it does for white women. This is particularly interesting as Walby's argument goes against Beauviour's notion of shared experience, it become clear that black women have different experiences to white women in which the unit of the family work together as a support system rather than to oppress the women as argued by Hartstock. Essentially Anglo-Saxon feminism has attempted to universalise the positon of Western women without much regard for non-white women, as such, feminism is accused of being Eurocentric and simplistic for ignoring the differences faced by non-white women namely, racism (Scott, 2014). This makes the idea of common experiences flawed as it fails to take into account black and other ethnic minority women.

Beauvoir is often critiqued for the positon that she held during the time of writing. She writes not only as a white woman, but as one from a middle-class background. In addition to this many of the feminist writers writing during this time were also white and write about their experiences from a white female perspective, which proves problematic on the basis that their ideas automatically discount women from ethnic backgrounds and the problems of oppression that they may face. Although these feminists try to paint a picture of female oppression that is relevant to all women, Roberta Sykes argues that "white women merely have less power than white men." (Skyes, 1984: 63, cited in Brooks, 1997) These feminists despite backlash from the public face a freedom to voice their opinions which cannot be said to be the same for women from different ethnic backgrounds. When one looks at the racial hierarchy, white is at the top, and only then does gender separate white women from white man. Thus, Beauvoir's work paints itself as an idea that is more relevant to white women or more precisely, privileged white women from a similar background as herself.

The issue of cultural practices and racial oppression and all present trouble in the face of feminist position regarding the idea of shared experience. Looking at the arguments presented, it becomes apparent that women do share a common experience, in the sense that they are oppressed as a result of the patriarchal system which governs them. However, when it comes to the notion of shared experiences, I reject this belief, as we now live in a world where the idea of gender is expanding to incorporate those who fall outside of the conventional heterosexual norm, such as lesbians and Trans women. Likewise, the failure to recognise black and ethnic minority women and their issues, as pointed out by hooks, limits the audience to white women. As aforementioned in my introduction, the idea of shared experience presents itself as a blanket statement that makes it hard to argue for. To some degree Beauvoir's attempt to universalise all women as sharing a common experience presents itself as an over simplification of the problems dealt with by every woman. Despite these limitations, Beauvoir's notion of shared experience is successful in her introduction of the 'other' and gender in helping to raise awareness of women's subordinate positon within society. The support of Nancy Hartstock's 'feminist standpoint' further justifies the issue of female subordination through the division of labour and Marx' theories regarding oppression. All in all, I believe that the feminist position has been particularly useful in trying to get women to come to the realisation that they are subjugated in different ways. However, until this moment, there stands little chance of women truly being liberated and having the power to overcome one of the largest problems they have continuously faced over the years, despite the illusion that progression has been made.

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How is ethnic identity gendered in Latin America?

Synne Boberg

Ethnic identity in Latin America can be seen as something that is fluid and easily changeable. As well as gender identity, ethnic identity is something that is performed differently depending on the situation and context (Paulson, 2002). There are no fixed, rigid ethnic categories, and a person's ethnic identity is usually seen in relation to someone else's (de la Cadena, 1995). Even people from the same community can be seen as having different ethnicities (ibid.). This essay will argue that Latin American ethnic identity is highly gendered, and that women are generally seen as more Indian than men. Although many anthropologists see gender relations in indigenous communities as complementary, women tend to hold an inferior position in the division of labour, and are not as free to leave their communities as their male counterparts. The urban sphere is associated with whiteness, and thus men who leave their communities to work in the city are seen as more mestizo than the women who stay in the villages. Sexualised and fetishized images of Indian women can be seen as a result of the Conquest, as it enforces the idea of white male domination. The view that women are more Indian than men is also replicated by the tourism industry, where tourists arrive expecting to see women dressed in traditional clothing, and where the women fulfil these romanticised ideas in order to make money.

Although some anthropologists, such as Allen (1988) and Hamilton (1998), argue that gender relations in Indian communities are complementary, it can be argued that women still hold an inferior position in the division of labour. It can be assumed that men's racial and cultural superiority is a result of experiences outside of the community (Ypeij, 2012: 20). In the Andes, women are believed to belong in the home, while men often travel to towns and cities for work (Weismantel, 2001). As men become more mestizo, meaning someone of mixed European and Indian descent, or 'whiter', through their work and involvement with the urban sphere, women become more Indian, and thus inferior to them (Canessa, 2005). The principle of complementarity controls the sexual division of labour, but in this system women hold an inferior position (de la Cadena, 1995).

The term for a married couple in Aymara is 'chachawarmi', for which the literal meaning is husband and wife. The equivalent in Quechua is 'q'ariwarmi' (Cockburn, 2016: 845). This implies a concept of unity and complementarity, which can be seen as two ontologically distinct but inseparable components, meant to coexist in harmony (Goodale, 2008). However, this idea of gender complementarity risks overlooking or disregarding gender inequalities. In the international context, gender equality is widely understood to involve 'women and girls having the same rights, access to resources, opportunities and protections as men and boys' (Cockburn, 2016: 846). The Andean tradition of gender complementarity contributes another way of looking at gender equality while at the same time providing justification for when gender inequality endures (ibid.). This system argues for 'equality in diversity'; 'Women are not just like men, they are different; but it is precisely their difference that legitimizes their capabilities and establishes their rights to the same opportunities as men' (Cervone, 2002: 190). However, the sexual and economic autonomy of indigenous women are often limited by the closed boundaries of the community (Smith, 1996: 159). In some villages, women who do not marry within their village or ethnic group, or who work outside the community are accused of being ethnically disloyal. This ensures the maintaining of ethnic solidarity (Safa, 2005: 319). Harris found

that conflicts would often arise from these supposedly egalitarian representations of 'chachawarmi'. The gendered practices in both the private and the public sphere would often create tension that would lead to conflict and even violence (Harris, 2000). This emphasis on conflict as a characteristic of the relations between men and women shows complementarity as 'dynamics of power, contestation and the continuous re-creation of unity', rather than as a harmonious relationship (Burman, 2011: 75).

Because Latin America was colonised by the Spanish, their social relationships, especially gender relations, are formed by a system of domination and oppression (Choque-Quispe & Stephenson, 1998). In the Mediterranean, women were associated with domesticity, and the Spanish brought these values with them to the New World (Weismantel, 2001). In Bolivia, multi-ethnicity is viewed as negative as a result of centuries of colonial domination (Choque-Quispe & Stephenson, 1998). Choque-Quispe and Stephenson explain that the intolerance between the people in power and the oppressed originates from the Spanish conquest, when the conquerors were imposed upon the Andean people as superior and at the head of the social pyramid. The fact that the indigenous peoples were inferior to the Spanish was embedded into the society and still remains a fact today (ibid.). Thus, indigenous men who have close ties with the urban sphere and therefore identify as more mestizo, often see themselves as superior to people who are more Indian, such as their wives. Canessa found that when husbands and wives fought, the husband would shout in Spanish and call his wife an 'india sucia' (dirty Indian woman) (2005). This was to establish that he was her superior, that he spoke Spanish and she did not, and that he was more mestizo than her, even though they were both from the same community and they could both be considered indigenous (ibid.).

Canessa describes a school book in Bolivia portraying a 'blue-eyed boy dressed as a conquistador accompanied by an Indian girl smiling coquettishly at him' (2005: 135). This shows a summary of Bolivian social and political history: white men conquering feminised Indians, and taking Indian women as partners to create a new mestizo race (ibid.). Indian women are often fetishized by white men. It is almost always European men who have relations with Indian women, and not the other way around (Weismantel, 2001: 155). This is because, based on the ethnic hierarchy, white men are on the top, and Indian women are on the bottom (de la Cadena, 1995). By taking Indian women as their partners, mestizo men assert their dominance and reinforce ideas of white men as conquistadors. These relationships are almost always hierarchical and not always consensual (Dore, 2000:154). A prominent image of Indian women throughout history is as the wives and concubines of Europeans (Canessa, 2005). In the years after the conquest, Indians as a whole were seen as feminine (ibid.). Indian women embody Indianness in a way that Indian men do not as a result of the conquest. Conquest and dominance are highly racialised and gendered (ibid.). Because gender and race overlap, women are not just 'more Indian' (de la Cadena, 1995), but Indian men are also more feminine (Canessa, 2005). Men who wear their traditional dress are often seen as less masculine, serious and competent (Hendrickson, 1996: 162); because of this they rarely wear it. Hence traditional clothing, which signifies indigenous identity, is more commonly associated with the women who weave it and wear it much more than men (Nelson, 1999).

'When a woman is hoeing potatoes in her field she is a campesina, but when she goes to the city to sell her potatoes she is a chola' (Paulson, 2002: 140). These are examples of identity categories, 'campesina' meaning rural peasant woman and 'chola' meaning merchant or urban indigenous woman (ibid.). Judith Butler describes being a gender, such as male or female, 'to be engaged in an ongoing cultural representation of bodies and, hence, to be

dynamically positioned within a field of cultural possibilities' (Butler, 1986: 36). It is a way of interpreting the body, and thus gender is something you do, not just something you are (ibid.). The same can be said for ethnic identity. Ethnic and gender identities are performed differently in different settings. When working in the market, an indigenous woman will often play on her ethnic identity to better please her clients. The clients' own sense of identity, including their whiteness, education and cleanliness depends on their sense of superiority to indigenous women (Paulson, 2002: 141). Urban mestizos feel as though their male identity is enhanced through flirtatious relationships and sexual encounters with indigenous women. Gender and ethnicity are not simply contained in the body, but depend on the context one is in and the relationships one engages in (Paulson, 2002: 143).

Where de la Cadena did her fieldwork in Chitapampa, Peru, she found that as the community was so small, the sale of their produce was not enough to fund the consumption needs of the village. Therefore, many people look elsewhere for work (de la Cadena, 1995). De la Cadena found that social hierarchies in Chitapampa were structured and legitimated by ascriptive ethnic identities (ibid.). According to de la Cadena, being Indian means being a monolingual Quechua-speaker, illiterate, and a peasant, while being mestizo means being bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, literate and living in an urban residence (1995: 331). However, contrary to being two fixed, separate categories, ethnicity in Latin America is a fluid, flexible process. Depending on the context, a person has an almost unlimited amount of possibilities to construct, an Indian, mestizo, or a mix of identities (ibid.). The Chitapampino have an ethnic hierarchy, within which the mestizo is superior to the Indian; ethnic inequality is therefore prominent in Chitapampa (ibid.). The Chitapampino identify mestizos in their community based on their level of interaction with the urban sphere.

Among the Chitapampino, men can go through cultural mestizaje, meaning going from Indian to mestizo, whether they are married or not, while an indigenous woman who stays in the community can only begin her ethnic mobility once her engagement is formalised (de la Cadena, 1995). A married woman usually stays in the rural community, while her husband seasonally migrates to urban centres for work. Married men have greater access to commodities, and thereby money, than their wives (Van Vleet, 2005). Because Indian women are the least socially mobile, they are lowest on the chain of social subordination (de la Cadena, 1995). De la Cadena's findings show that the mestizo population of Chitapampa is overwhelmingly male, while most women identify as Indian (ibid.). It is believed in the community that men are more capable of work than women, mostly because women are excluded from several important work tasks such as ploughing. The type of work that women do is often not seen as real work. If women were to perform 'male' labour tasks, it is believed that they will damage their biological reproductive capacities (ibid.). A hard-working, strong, and highly competent worker with children is limited to and defined by her motherhood rather than any of her other identities (Canessa, 2005); this provides a source of gender inequality. One of the consequences of this inequality is that women are denied access to status and power in the community, and that they have to acquire this access through marriage (de la Cadena, 1995).

Among many communities such as Chitapampa, the city has become an important source of income, economic power and political influence. Urban work, such as craftwork and office work, is valued higher than rural work (de la Cadena, 1995). Urban work is often used to distinguish mestizos from Indians, as it is often said that 'Indians don't know how to work as well as mestizos do' (ibid: 334). Women do not have any relations with the urban sphere, as they are often seen as incapable of performing urban work. The only type of

work they can get is as maids or at the market. Thus, they are seen as more Indian within their own community's ethnic hierarchy (ibid.).

Orlove argues that race can be defined by a substance outside the biological body, and in the Latin American Indians' case this substance is the earth. He explains that the closer a person is to the earth, the more Indian they are (Orlove, 1998). A person living in the city, working an 'urban' job, is less Indian than a person living in a village, working in the fields. Because men are more likely to work in an urban setting than women, this means that women tend to be more Indian. Indians' closeness to the earth, from the clay pots they use to make their food to their adobe homes, characterises them as dirty and primitive in the eyes of mestizos. They are seen as not belonging to the nation state because they are monolingual in Quechua or Aymara, and because of the clothes that they wear (Orlove, 1998). 'Full citizenship remains elusive for the more Indian, the less urban, and for women' (Canessa, 2005: 16). Because women are more likely to be monolingual than men, and more likely to stay in the rural community and take care of the agricultural work while their men go to work in urban communities, Orlove's points strengthens the argument that women are more Indian than men.

Many Indian men claim their citizenship through the masculinising spaces of the military. The many Indian soldiers sacrificing their lives in the Bolivian army led the middle-ranking officers to think they deserved full inclusion in the nation state (Canessa, 2005). However, this form of citizenship was highly gendered. Women, who were mostly confined to the household sphere and did not perform military service, would not receive full citizenship (Larson, 2005). Educating women was seen as important for the development of a country, as better housewives and mothers was seen as fundamental to the modern nation-building project (Jayawardena, 1986). Women were educated, not to be better able to work and obtain careers, but to learn how to become the perfect housewife. The European idea of a woman was a nurturing, loving and patient mother, not a stoic, strong, combative Aymara woman. Thus, women are yet again confined to the home and to motherhood in the rigid sexual division of labour (Larson, 2005). The thought was that 'The education of the woman should prepare her, above all, for the happiness of the home' (Torres, 1946:168). Indian men are seen as contributing to the nation through either wage labour or military service, unlike women who are seen as contaminating intruders when they enter the urban sphere as market vendors (Seligmann, 2000).

When gender-focused programs were introduced in Bolivia, many resisted. Those who fought for indigenous autonomy saw this as a threat, and fought against the 'feminist meddling in the private lives of Bolivia's ethnic groups' (Paulson, 2002: 138). They believed that the ethnic traditions are unique and must be glorified, protected and preserved, and this could not be done while fighting for women's rights. When statistical information and opinions gathered through interviews with women were presented by the gender supporting group, the reply from one of the resisting groups was: 'Andean women do not exist individually, outside of the family and the community, women do not think, need, or act outside the couple. We must focus our research on community, rejecting individualism as a destructive Western concept' (Paulson, 2002: 138). In a way, this meddling in the indigenous way of life can be seen as ethnocentric and westernising. The gender-sensitive approach and the ethnic-sensitive approach have been viewed as two opposite poles, methodologically and ideologically opposite (ibid.).

Tourism has rapidly grown in the Cuzco- Machu Picchu region of Peru in the past 15 years (Ypeij, 2012). As this is one of the poorest areas in Peru, many poor people try to earn

money in the tourism industry. They use these jobs as an opportunity for social mobility (ibid.). Because the jobs available often are for educated people, people from rural areas or lower classes create new jobs for themselves, such as street vendors, shoe shiners or tourist guides. Many tourists travel places where they can have authentic encounters with indigenous people (ibid.). The media often portrays indigenous people as exotic, exciting, and colourful. Indigenous people who work closely with tourists are aware of these conceptions, and use them to their advantage. They stress their indigenous roots, and exaggerate their culture (ibid.). Tourist workers often perform staged identities and cultures for tourists (Edensor, 2001). The increased tourism has allowed women to use their Indianness as a source of cultural capital. Their attractiveness to tourists allows them to use their gender and ethnicity to find new ways to earn a living (Babb, 2011). One example of this is sácamefotos - colourfully dressed indigenous women who offer to take photos with tourists in exchange for money (Ypeij, 2012). The sácamefotos typically wear their most beautiful clothes, which are normally only worn during festivities. They wear these clothes when posing for tourists in order to transform themselves into 'authentic' Indians (ibid.). The sácamefotos are an example of how women are seen as more Indian than men, as only women perform this type of work. The profession is created from the tourists' desires, as it was popular to take photos of Indian women in indigenous clothing when visiting the market. The indigenous women then realised the potential to make money on dressing up as the Indians the tourists were fantasising about. Thus, the sácamefotos were created in the image the tourists had of what an Indian woman should look like (ibid.).

The women weavers of Chinchero are also attracting tourists to Peru. The women wear their indigenous attire with pride as they wish to revive the life of their ancestors. The outfits strengthen their indigenous and feminine identities (Ypeij, 2012), which implies a link between Indianness and femininity. As well as the sácamefotos, the weavers' indigenous femininity, female bodies, and clothing are important as they mirror tourists' fascination for romantic, exotic images (ibid.). For both the sácamefotos and the weavers, their relationships with mestizo male tour guides are unequal. Contact between them and tourists are controlled by the guides, and the guides also expect a 15 to 20 per cent commission from the money the women make. The guides also decide if the women look 'authentic' enough, meaning that they decide what the tourist perception of indigenous people should be. Because their sales often depend upon the guides, the women often do a lot to please them (ibid.). This shows another form of ethnic and gender inequality, as it is the mestizo men who have power over the Indian women. Both sácamefoto work and weaving is often seen as shameful and inappropriate. People judge the behaviour of these women and accuse them of leaving the communities where they supposedly belong to occupy tourist spaces. They are said to violate ethnic and gender boundaries and identities (ibid.). Many of these women's husbands complain about their wives leaving the house to be the breadwinners of the household. They are used to feeling superior to their wives, but the power relations are changing. Most families involved do however see the women's contributions as a good opportunity. These phenomena show that women's roles are changing within rural communities. It is becoming more and more accepted for women to seek work outside of their community (ibid.).

To conclude, it can be said that ethnic identity in Latin America is highly gendered. Gender and ethnicity is something that is performed, and it is relative to context. It is therefore fluent and ever-changing. People perform their ethnicity based on the situation in order to use it to their own advantage, such as women in the marketplace who act and dress according to what their customers like in order to sell more. Because of the gender

complementary system used in indigenous communities, women are inferior to men and more bound to the rural community. Indian women are often fetishized by mestizo men, as this enforces their idea of dominance and the conquest. Men are more likely to leave the community to work in an urban context while women tend to stay in the community. The urban sphere is associated with mestizo identity, while the rural community is associated with Indian identity; thus, it can be argued that women are more Indian and men are more mestizo.

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How did Freud explain hysteria, and to what extent did his explanations differ from his predecessors?

Lok Ching Cheung

Hysteria is truly a fascinating topic of the human psychology. While the word hysteria means emotional distress nowadays (Halligan and Marshall, 2001), back in the early 1900s, it referred to the transference of psychological disorder to physical symptoms, as Halligan and Marshall have mentioned in their book. Irigaray (2008: 86) described that hysteria is stigmatised as a place where 'fantasies, ghosts and shadows fester and must be unmasked, interpreted, brought back to a reality of a repetition, a reproduction…[that is] consistent with the original'. What she is contending is quite similar to what Freud was arguing regarding the explanations of hysteria, which to some extent is different from his predecessors. In this essay, I will first explain how Freud attempted to explain hysteria and then elaborate on why he was to some extent different from his predecessors in his explanation of hysteria.

To Freud, hysteria was a disease of the mind. His explanations accounting for hysteria were deeply related the psychological disorder experienced by his patients. As the father of psychoanalysis, it is evident that his account for hysteria was connected to his theories of repression and the unconscious mind, as well as the complex relationship between the mind and sexuality.

At first, Freud was inclined to believe that hysteria was a consequence of repressed infantile sexual abuse that the patient had repressed and forgotten (Romano, 2012). This was known as the seduction theory, which he eventually abandoned as the premise that all patients suffering from hysterical symptoms was proved too problematic: he wrote on his letter to Wilhelm Fliess, explaining that his abandonment of the seduction theory was because it meant accusing 'that in all cases, the father, not excluding [his] own, had to be accused of being perverse'.

In place of the seduction theory, Freud instead argued that hysteria was caused by sexual fantasies during childhood. These fantasies, established as perverse and repellent by the patient, were repressed as a result. Thus, the patient's hysterical symptoms did not show up until a traumatic event triggered them because of 'the repression of normal sexuality but also by unconscious perverse prompting' (Freud, 1901:43). In this sense, the mind was troubled by repressed fantasies that it cannot in fact remember – instead, such repression was expressed through hysterical symptoms.

For example, in Dora's case, Freud asserted that the symptoms that she was showing, for instance, her hallucinatory sensation of constantly feeling the pressure of Frau K.'s embrace on her upper body after she was traumatised by his kiss when she was only fourteen, was a reflection of such trauma because she felt his erect penis during their embrace and was unknowingly sexually aroused by his actions. To Freud, Dora was not traumatised by Frau K.'s affections – she was traumatised by her own growing sexual instinct.

However, such event was repressed and removed from memory, replaced by 'the harmless sensation of pressure on her thorax' (Freud, 1901: 24). Freud explained her fear of men as

something similar to the idea that her sexual arousal was acting like a phobia, 'securing itself from a revival of the repressed perception' (Freud, 1901: 25). In this case, Dora was trying to forget something she was not aware that she did not know – 'she had forgotten the origin of what she knew' (Freud, 1901: 25). To Freud, hysteria was sexual in origin, and was a progress that was gradual as time went on. He believed that Dora was already showing hysterical symptoms at an early age, arguing that her habit of thumb-sucking which continued to carry on as she grew up was a way of releasing her unconscious fantasy of penis-sucking, to which she repressed because it was not consistent with her seeming phobia of her own sexuality. Freud explained that the act of breast-sucking, experienced when she was an infant, activated the erogenous zone of the lips and tongue, allowing the infant to develop a desire for sexual satisfaction. Therefore, it can be said that Freud believed that hysteria was sexual in both nature and origin.

Freud also argued that hysteria was caused by family conflicts as a source of repressed sexual fantasies. In line with such interpretation is his theory of the Oedipus complex, and a lesser extent, the Electra complex, which he focused less on in contrast to the Oedipus complex. It goes without saying that Dora's case is best used to illustrate this unique interpretation of hysteria. Freud was fixed on the idea that her supposed distaste towards Frau K.'s affections, which Dora contended was the reason why she was suffering from hysteria (Freud, 1901), was largely connected to her rather complicated relationship with her father. To Freud, hysteria was the result of various repressed ideas constantly reinforced in the unconscious mind. He therefore connected her rejection of Frau K.'s courtship to her jealousy over his relationship with her father. Thus, Dora was suffering from an unresolved Oedipus complex by acting like a 'jealous wife' (Freud, 1901: 47) – her constant coughing was a reflection of her sexual fantasy regarding her father – she was sexually attracted to him unknowingly and had repressed such fantasy into her unconscious mind. According to Freud's explanations, these sexual fantasies towards the parent were key to hysteria because his patients could not accept these fantasies and thus unconsciously supressed them. In this way, the unconscious sexual attraction towards the parent became so intense and reinforced that it 'becomes something that resembles sexual love' (Freud, 1901: 47) and more importantly, 'makes demands on the libido' (Freud, 1901: 47).

The talking cure, coined by Bertha Pappenheim, or better known as Anna-O, was proof that 'hysteria suffered mainly from reminiscences' (Freud and Breuer, 1895: 47) – traumatic memories that were repressed into the unconsciousness, only to resurface 'with a vengeance years later in the disguised form of symptoms' (Scull, 2009: 138). To Freud, hysteria was a form of defence mechanism – the self seeks to protect the mind from ideas that are deemed repulsive and undesirable: such incompatibility of the self and the idea is thus converted to physical symptoms, paving the way to hysteria. Freud believed that hysteria was a means of defence to which 'the self pursues to free itself from this incompatibility' (Freud, 1895: 109), effectively forcing the idea out of the mind unknowingly. In Miss Lucy R.'s case, to which Freud chronicled her story in *Studies in Hysteria*, her undesirable idea would be her attraction to the widower whose children she cared for as a governess. Her depression and 'subjective sensations of smell' (Freud, 1895: 109), in which she suffered from recurrent hallucinatory smell of burnt pudding was her mind's reaction to her repressed attraction towards her employer. Her hysteria was thus a physical display of her mind's incompatibility with the undesired idea.

The idea was 'intentionally repressed from consciousness' (Freud and Breuer, 1895: 117) without the patient being actually aware of such unconscious repression. In Freud's view,

what made hysteria possible was this intentional repression – the 'one idea that is to be repressed cannot be tolerated by the mass of ideas dominant in the self' (Freud and Breuer, 1895: 117). However, such repression will only become physically visible after the triggering of a single traumatic event, as a sparking off when 'the contradictory forces itself on the self and the self resolves to expel the contradictory idea away' (Freud and Breuer, 1895: 118). In Miss Lucy R.'s case, as Freud had presumed, the traumatic event that triggered her emotional response of hysteria was when the widower kissed her children, to which her hysterical symptoms came into play after this event, as she did whatever she could to rid her mind off her hidden attraction towards him. Thus, to Freud, hysteria was the disease of a troubled mind and was progressive in a sense that the repression of an unwanted desire required time for a traumatic event to spark off hysteria.

In regards to the explanations of hysteria, I believe the extent Freud differed from his predecessors depends on the different approaches they take in contrast to him. After all, there are more than a few ways to explain hysteria.

Traditionally, it was commonly believed that hysteria was an exclusively female biological disease, thus the coining of the term, the female malady. In the past, the woman's body was considered as fundamentally inferior to that of a man's – indeed, as the Hippocratic text had read, 'the womb is the origin of all diseases' (Scull 2009: 13). Physicians were inclined to believe that women's reproductive system had made them more prone to various diseases and debility. It was this historical background that led to the common belief that hysteria was connected to gender and that the male malady did not exist. Edward Jorden, an example made in Scull's book, *Hysteria: A Biography*, attempted to justify one Mary Glover, convicted of witchcraft due to showing hysterical symptoms such as fits, and later, blindness and speechlessness, by arguing that her womb merely made her more susceptible to what he called the 'suffocation of the mother' (Jorden in Scull, 2009: 14). Perhaps even more famous was the claim of the 'wandering womb' (Gilman, 1993: 26), the belief that a displaced uterus in women led to various medical pathologies.

There are two important implications in the traditional notion of hysteria as the female malady – first, that hysteria is an exclusively female disease; and secondly: that hysteria is a biological disease. I will elaborate more on the premise of hysteria as a biological disease later in my discussions of Freud and Charcot. For now, it is important that Freud believed that hysteria was sexual in origin, rather than being gender-based. Unlike his predecessors, such as Jorden as mentioned, who were in favour of the notion of the female malady because of women's uterus, Freud instead insisted that hysteria was caused of unwanted sexual fantasies and was thus deeply related to repression. As Micale (1995) had explained in his book Approaching Hysteria, both Freud and Breuer, who co-wrote Studies in Hysteria with him, were quick to interpret Anna-O's hysteria as 'bodily expressions of repressed traumatic memories', echoing Freud's notion that 'hysteria suffered mainly from reminiscences' (Freud and Breuer, 1895: 47). In this sense, when compared to his predecessors who asserted that hysteria was caused by the uterus, Freud's explanations of hysteria differed from them to a large extent.

It is impossible to discuss hysteria without bringing Jean-Martin Charcot into discussion. Freud originally studied him and many of Charcot's theories of hysteria had influenced Freud's theories, especially the psychogenic elements of hysteria. Unlike Freud, who believed that hysteria was psychological in nature, Charcot could not locate any physical evidence as to why hysteria occurred – he then concluded hysteria was a disease of the nervous system. Thus, he did not approach hysteria as a psychological disorder of the mind

and only acknowledged the bodily reality of hysteria by identifying what he believed to be universal symptoms of hysteria (Charcot, 1890). To him, hysteria was 'a morbid state, evidently having left their seat in the nervous system, which leave the dead body no material trace that can be traced' (Charcot, 1890: 336), indicating that hysteria was a disorder of the nervous system. He also connected hysteria with his patients' medical history, explaining that it was a consequence of 'inherited physical inferiority' (Charcot in Scull, 2009: 109). While both Charcot and Freud saw the family as an element that led to hysteria, Charcot's explanations was more biological, whereas Freud's theory was related to family dynamics as the cause of hysteria due to unwanted sexual fantasies releasing themselves through physical symptoms.

Another difference between Freud and Charcot was that while Charcot believed that the working class was more prone to hysteria because of the stress of poverty, making them more subjected to the 'anxieties related to the material difficulties of physical forces' (Charcot 1890: 256), Freud asserted the opposite: 'hysteria of the severest kind is compatible with the richest and more original gifts' (Freud and Breuer, 1895: 95), arguing that the more advantageous ones in life were more susceptible to hysteria compared to those of a lower class. Therefore, Freud's theories differed from Charcot to a small extent, especially in how Charcot contended that his patients were not suffering from physical trauma, but from the idea they had formed of it (Scull, 2009) – this is quite similar to Freud's talking-cure, to which he found out that by allowing the patient to speak of the event that triggered hysteria helped to reduce hysterical symptoms as the arousal of powerful emotions experienced during that event was in itself cathartic.

Freud was not the first to suggest that hysteria was a disease of the mind. Robert Brudenell Carter, a British physician, argued that intense emotions, for example, fright or shock, could traumatise patients in a sense that these emotions produce 'the primary paroxysm' (Carter, 1853: 57) that trigger hysteria. He explained hysteria in regards to the social context of a patriarchal society that valued rationality and objective reasoning, especially the stereotypes of men thinking and women feeling, maintaining that sexual desires and emotions supressed by the unmarried, chaste women were underlying reasons for hysteria among them.

Similarly, Freud postulated the psychoanalytic view that hysteria was the result of repressed sexual fantasies, although his theory was more related to his theory of repression and the unconsciousness. While both Carter and Freud agreed that hysteria was caused by sexual emotions deemed as unacceptable by both the society and the patient himself, Freud went further to claim that his patients suffered from taboo incestuous sexual fantasies, Carter, in contrast, did not suggest an argument similar to Freud's focus on family as a main driving force behind hysteria. In this case, Freud differed from Carter to a small extent.

To conclude, Freud believed that hysteria was a disease of a troubled mind. As a psychoanalyst, he was more inclined to argue that hysteria had a sexual origin than his predecessors – he saw family as a source of repressed and unresolved sexual fantasies, which was perhaps a reflection of his patriarchal upbringing. However, despite the fact that his theories on hysteria may be considered as rather controversial, they are important to the study of hysteria in contemporary times because of his focus on the psychology aspect of hysteria, especially in the idea that hysteria is caused by psychological disorder converting to physical symptoms as an unconscious attempt to express the troubles plagued by the mind. In many ways, his theories of hysteria were centred more on the

irrational and subjective side of human behaviour, as his predecessors were more concentrated on a more neutral portrayal of hysteria, as seen by how their interpretations were more about the body rather than the mind.

However, I would argue that Freud differed from his predecessors to a small extent on the whole because he believed that only the therapeutic technique in curing hysterical symptoms was 'purely psychological' (Freud, 1895: 97) and that his theories of hysteria did not, by any means, neglect the 'organic basis of a neurosis' (Freud, 1895: 97); in other words, the biological aspect of hysteria. This is to say that, to Freud, hysteria was both psychological and biological. He highlighted that organic nature of sexual matters and argued that while hysteria did not follow the conventional pattern of an organic function, it was indeed not exclusively psychological. Thus, what Freud did was take his predecessors' theories regarding the organic nature of hysteria into account and explained hysteria as a disorder with both psychological and organic elements.

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With references to securitisation processes and risk management discuss the governance of transnational crimes.

Megan Davenport

This essay will begin by clarifying what we mean by 'transnational crimes' in order to guarantee a strong understanding of the term for the remainder of the essay, given that this is the main theme. It will then move on to discuss transnational crimes in relation to how states use aggressive and punitive risk management tactics to protect their borders against threats of human trafficking and unwanted migration, with reference to policies such as the Dublin II convention. The essay will show how these kinds of policies can have considerable consequences on the patterns of migratory flows and the lives of these migrants themselves. Then, moving onto a discussion concerning securitisation and the drug trade, with an exploration into the importance of both global and local elements of transnational crimes – especially concerning the ways in which they are governed in both spheres. Concluding thoughts will attempt to demonstrate the importance of the influence of both the securitisation processes and risk management used by the state in terms of how these transnational crimes are governed, and the complexity of the issues that come with this.

In order to successfully analyse the relationship between securitisation processes and risk management with transnational crime, we must first broaden our understanding of what transnational crime is. When discussing this form of crime, the notion of organized crime is often included, hence in this essay we shall explore these crimes as 'Transnational Organized Crimes' or 'TOCs'. As with many broad concepts, there are definitional problems. McLaughlin and Muncie provide a simple definition that is a suitable starting point;

> "Transnational organized crime (TOC) refers to certain types of criminal activity that transgress national boundaries" (McLaughlin & Muncie 2001, pp.305)

McLaughlin and Muncie also note the distinctive features of transnational organized crimes; they are usually associated with illicit markets, and that they are a product of criminal networks/ organizations that knowingly avoid criminal law enforcement by employing 'national jurisdictional boundaries' (ibid). Each state is different when tackling crime due to various historical, cultural and/or political factors that influence their take on the prevention and consequences of criminal activity. This has a big influence on TOCs given that they 'transgress national boundaries' – some of these boundaries (state borders) may be weaker than others which allows them to become a target of exploitation by illegal activity and organized criminal groups/networks. Although this is not to say that states which supposedly have stronger borders don't fall victim to transnational organized crime, it appears that these states are the ones who fear the threat of crime the most as we continue to see moves towards punitive forms of punishment and policy, and more aggressive forms risk management.

When discussing moves towards punitive approaches in governance of any crime, discussions about the increased use of imprisonment frequently arise as it often stands in contrast with other ideas about how to appropriately rehabilitate offenders so that they can become legitimate members of society. Between 1993 and 2012, there was a 98%

increase in the prison population in England and Wales. From 41,800 prisoners in 1993, to over 86,000 in 2012 (Ministry of Justice, 2013). However, there has also been evidence of a downward trend of crime since the mid 90's. For example, in the year ending 2015, there was an estimated 6.4 million incidents of crime against households and resident adults (16 and over) compared to the 6.9 million incidents of the previous year – this represents a 7% decrease in crime (Office for National Statistics, 2016). The important point to take away from these statistics is that crime statistically appears to be decreasing and yet the prison population continues to rise; suggesting that the use of imprisonment when sentencing is being used much more generously as part of this move towards more aggressive and punitive punishment of criminals, instead of rehabilitation or other types of sentencing that are available as an alternative.

Without looking at these statistics, it would be easy to believe that we were living in a crime-ridden society given the media's intense focus on crime as a constant threat and out-of-control societal problem. It is difficult to know whether to trust this information that is constantly fed to us by the media, given that they are most likely to be politically motivated and the information won't necessarily be entirely accurate or it may be manipulated in some way. A good example of this could be seen with the exaggerated management of the supposed risk in relation to refugees and asylum seekers as criminals and/ or terrorists. The possible strain on state resources is not the only thing that seems to worry the public when it comes to refugees; crime, or the potential of crime, is a key issue for many people. I present below two newspaper headlines which demonstrate a small snapshot of this enthusiasm towards labelling migrants as criminals;

> "Leaked German police report CONFIRMS surge in child rapes by migrants in swimming pools and admits: 'We have grave cause for concern'" (Hall & Davies, 2016)

> "SYRIA CRIME WAVE Hundreds of Syrians in UK arrested over string of offences including rape and child abuse" (Hamilton, 2016)

Note that these newspaper headlines concern very serious crimes (rape, child rape, child abuse), and are in two separate countries (Germany and the UK) – suggesting that this labelling of migrants is not just concentrated in just one place, but can be found in many places of the world. A study published in 2013 found that there was no significant relationship between immigrants and violent crime as these headlines may suggest (Bell et al., 2013). The only real significant increase of crime the study found was with property crime in areas with high levels of asylum seeking migrants. They acknowledge that this is most likely to be due to the limited labour market opportunities that many migrants face, and thus is more of a structural issue rather than one which would suggest that migrants pose a threat to society in terms of violent crime.

Following on from this, we can look at the ways in which states control their borders to protect against the external threats of Transnational Organised Crimes and of potential/ supposed criminal migratory flows. The transnational policing of borders can be seen as an expression of sovereignty which is generally understood in the ways in which the state attempt to secure the 'peace, prosperity and good order' of their borders (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001:306). States vary when it comes to their national policies, style and tactics of policing, and their available resources to deal with criminal activity, so it is inevitable that difficulties will arise when trying to tackle TOCs - especially as this involves numerous states, with different legal systems, having to work together effectively and coherently.

The policing and policy of migrants has sought to impose tighter controls on the borders by excluding the unwanted migrants, though questions have been raised about whether the measures in place are unethical and if they infringe on people's human rights and fundamental freedoms. The core principle of the Dublin II convention, adopted in 2003, is that "whichever state allows someone to enter or remain in their territory is responsible for examining that person's application for asylum – and that no other state need examine that claim" (Schuster, 2011:1394). This doesn't just place heavy burden on the countries of first arrival, who are often smaller and don't have the resources to deal with this, but it also means that the migrants themselves are left in a state of uncertainty where they can't settle in one place or make a life for themselves. These unwanted migrants are continually 'bounced' between the initial country of arrival and the perimeters of 'Fortress Europe' as they try to re-enter time and time again in order to find a place to settle (Lenart, 2012). Bauman compares the difference between Tourists and 'Vagabonds', noting how states welcome tourists through the borders, but will try to restrict the inward flow of undesirable migrants and attempt to keep them constantly on the move, because they do not feed our postmodern, materialistic consumer-driven society (Bauman, 2000). Migrants kept on the move are in a constant state of normlessness, whereby they are far removed from any sense of a community, and as they become more desperate they may find it difficult to self-regulate with the socially accepted standards as they have no real moral ties or social bonds within a community (or state). Durkheim describes this as being in a state of 'anomie', which can often lead to drastic measures such as Suicide (as Durkheim demonstrates in his study, 'Le Suicide') or here, in the form of crime; given that these individuals struggle to make sense of what the societal norms are as a result of their detachment (Durkheim, 2002).

The process of migrating to another country can take years, these migrants experiencing anomie can become increasingly desperate and this may push them towards crime, using illegitimate means to successfully gain access to Europe. This opens up the possibilities of numerous forms of crime; migrants in this situation often won't have any kind of stable job, they need money to be able to survive and for travel. Thus, they are pushed towards using illegitimate means for financial gain just to be able to survive. Not only does this encourage small-scale crimes like petty theft etc., but it can also encourage crimes on a larger scale such as trafficking.

Human trafficking is a type of transnational crime because of its transgression between national borders and because of its involvement with criminal organizations and networks. Migrants can easily get caught up in human trafficking, especially when desperate, as they are promised a better life by these criminal groups who exploit their vulnerabilities by smuggling them into Europe based on false promises. Human Trafficking was defined in the United Nation's Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, Article 3(a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, as the following;

> ""Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation." (United Nations, 2004)

As this definition states, trafficking can involve the coercion of people in a position of vulnerability – as can be seen in the case of many migrants and refugees. However, it is the states themselves that create this vulnerability by being so unaccommodating of people who are in need. According to data from Amnesty International, there is only a small number of high income countries (mainly Germany and the UK) that have offered support in accepting Syrian refugees. There are numerous other high income countries such as Russia, Japan, Singapore etc. that have offered zero resettlement places for these refugees, despite having the resources to be able to cater for these refugees in need (Amnesty International, 2016). Moreover, as a result of the aggressive risk management by states, the resistance to accept migrants could in fact be pushing more people towards committing numerous types of both national and transnational crime. It may also be important to note that these policies, whether they do or don't create more and different types of crime, do not stop illegal migration and human trafficking. Migratory flows just get concentrated in certain areas with easier access or weaker border controls; it doesn't solve the problem, it just displaces it (Kemp, 2016).

So far we have discussed TOCs on a large-scale with regards to policy and transnational policing of borders etc., but the governance of this type of crime can also be seen on a smaller scale too – especially where deterrence is concerned. Transnational organized crimes can have impacts both locally and globally; with the drug trade for example. The importation of drugs is a TOC as it involves criminal networks transgressing borders by moving the drugs from where they're made to where they'll be sold and consumed (i.e. from Columbia to the UK for example). However, the actual consumption of the drugs is often on a much smaller scale and for recreation purposes, not for the aim of achieving sizeable profits as part of an organized criminal network in the same way that the trafficking of these drugs is.

Increases in securitisation processes used by the state are clearly visible in many parts of our daily lives, so much so that we often don't even realize it's there; security cameras on every corner, the use of locks and alarms, high fences and gates, the increase of private security firms (i.e. bouncers at clubs and bars) etc. Securitisation processes are largely associated with crime prevention and deterrence which are targeted primarily at street crimes (Hughes, 1998). For example; the employment of private security firms, or 'bouncers', at venues are to deter people from fighting or from bringing banned substances into the premises. People are less likely to bring drugs into a venue if there is a risk they will be searched and have it confiscated, and with a possibility that they could then be arrested if the private security firm are to involve the police. By deterring drug use, this in theory could help towards reducing the demand for drugs as the risk of getting caught may be too high – the increase of imprisonment as demonstrated earlier can also contribute as a risk factor. Cornish and Clarke's rational choice theory is interested in the ways in which the circumstances around the individual can shape their actions – i.e. whether they will commit the crime or not (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). It looks at the motivations of the offender and the thought processes that could occur leading up to the crime which determine whether or not the individual chose to commit a crime; it can be described as a weighing up or the risks and rewards of a crime that effect whether or not it is worth committing – an emphasis on rational conscious thought, and not pathological assumptions (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001).

In his article, 'Going down the Glocal', Hobbs discusses the connection between global and local, and how we must be critical of models of TOCs that rely heavily on the transnational,

cross-border element and lack focus on the local street crimes at the other end of the spectrum (Hobbs, 1998). The state's use of securitisation processes and punitive approaches can be seen as their attempts of lessening the demand and desire for drug use, which in theory could (slowly) help to diminish the transnational drug trade; drug trafficking wouldn't occur if there wasn't a demand in the West for the consumption of these drugs. The term 'Glocalization', a merging of the words 'global' and 'local', was introduced by Roland Robertson. The term was derived from Japan, roughly translating to 'global localization', which was developed in relation to marketing (Robertson, 1992). This term is particularly useful in the discipline of Criminology as it encourages the study and acknowledgement of the relationship between these two separate, but greatly interlinked, spaces. Robertson discusses how many of the observations made downplay the complexity of this relationship, and how 'locality' is often greatly underestimated (ibid). Moreover, it is crucial to consider the local sphere when studying transnational organized crimes as this is where the demand exists; without this existing demand, it wouldn't be worth the risk and/or money for these criminal networks to pursue drug trafficking. This demand that exists locally has a huge impact globally; creating vast opportunities to capitalize in on drug trafficking, along with many other TOCs. This in turn means that states must experiment with different approaches, whether punitive or otherwise, in an effort to prevent an epidemic.

There is no doubt that the approaches used by states, such as the UK, have moved towards much more aggressive and punitive tactics when it comes to risk management and the increase in securitisation processes. With the growth of minority extremist groups such as ISIS causing such tragedy all over the world, it is not surprising that the public becomes fearful and the states feel as though they need to tighten borders and heighten security measures. If states didn't take these threats seriously, they would come under scrutiny for not acting accordingly. As mentioned earlier, one of the main issues here is that managing these threats and governing transnational crimes can lead to infringing on people's human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is difficult for states to strike a balance between successfully protecting individuals from these risks, whilst also enabling people to have their full freedoms without invasive securitisation measures such as the endless surveillance (CCTV) we experience as a normal part of our daily lives. As argued, it is also clear that these aggressive measures don't always solve these problems or prevent transnational crimes; we have discussed examples with migrants and refugees where these strict policies can end up pushing individuals towards crime, when illegitimate means become the only way to achieve a better and more peaceful life in what has been referred to as 'Fortress Europe' (Lenart, 2012). It can seem as though the strict legality of this governance lacks humanity, and can often forget that these are real people who get caught up in crimes because of their vulnerabilities. It is clear to see that the governance of transnational crimes is a complex issue where by securitisation processes and aggressive risk management is not necessarily the obvious solution; punitive policies may be successful in some instances, but tackling all transnational crimes as one is likely to be unsuccessful as every crime and every case is different and complex, and needs to be met in different ways.

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Outline and Assess the Concepts of Empiricism and Positivism and their Relevance to Sociology

Nathan Delwart

The influential French sociologist Émile Durkheim is often surprisingly referred to as an empiricist or a positivist. This description is wrong on many levels: to begin with, empiricism and positivism are two different, albeit not entirely separate, epistemological beliefs. Epistemology is defined as the philosophical branch regarding the obtainment and the study of knowledge. Therefore, both empiricism and positivism are in themselves philosophical concepts. To most contemporaries with limited philosophical knowledge, the notions of science and philosophy would at first appear entirely separate. The so-called scientific methodology of hypothesis followed by repeated experimentation is in fact deeply indebted to philosophical thought. This ideology of a rational methodology of experimentation, despite in truth being 'little more than a loose set of abstract, vague principles that offer limited guidance' (Neuman, 2014:96), is a very popular one. Its origins come from the period of the Enlightenment, a general shift towards rationalised thinking and away from the metaphysical and theological thinking by famous thinkers such as Beccaria, Voltaire and Hume. The core principal was the 'secularisation', or at least the rationalisation, of the way we think as humans. This generally meant the removal of deities from theses of causation. From the Enlightenment grew not only epistemological debates, but also ontological ones. Ontology is the philosophy of the nature of being. This is important because the nature of something affects how it can be studied, thus linking into methodology. In ontology, there are realists and nominalists (Neuman, 2014:94). The realist ontology considers the world as external to humans and their interpretations, whereas the nominalists consider that reality cannot be perceived without subjective forces impacting this knowledge. As will be demonstrated further, the empiricist ontology is aligned to realism. Empiricism and Positivism play an important part in the debate which has ravaged the social sciences. Both the term positivism and empiricism are considerably complex and nuanced, and so they will have to be considered in a generalised form in order to reach desirable explanations and assessments.

As mentioned, empiricist philosophy originated from the enlightenment and its struggles against metaphysical knowledge. It is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as the theory that all knowledge is based on experience derived from the senses. Ontologically speaking, knowledge has to be somehow observable or sensed in order for it to be considered 'true'. David Hume argued that sense data was the only thing one could be sure of and guarantee (Faruki, 1993:116). Again, even though it originated from the philosophical thinking of John Locke and David Hume, the empiricist philosophy was converted into the western scientific movement. Thus, empiricism in itself is at the foundation of 'scientific' knowledge despite being a philosophical movement at first. Sociological theory, and especially American sociology, has adopted this scientific approach to its own subject. On top of being the basis of true knowledge, empiricism argues that sensual experience and interaction with the world form human beings into the way that they are. In other words, human minds are born as a 'blank slate'. This notion is historically linked with empiricism, but modern empiricists have shifted away from it (Benton & Craib, 2011:14). Building from the sensual nature of true knowledge, the empiricist doctrine of science expects knowledge to be testable via repeated observation or experimentation. This also allows the possibility of verification of claims: peers can attempt to disprove certain data and it is through this that true knowledge can be ensured. The sensual nature

of empiricist data therefore renders knowledge claims surrounding beings or entities that are unobservable as ultimately false. However, Benton and Craib point to the law of gravity as an exception to this, due to the fact that even though gravity in itself is not an observable phenomenon, it can be observed via its physical effects (Benton & Craib, 2011:14). Otherwise this became very important for the natural sciences. It is also vital that this process of obtaining data remains value-free and objective, in order to avoid tainting with metaphysical notions or subjective theory (Benton & Craib, 2011:16). Following sufficient observations a generalisation can be induced, considering this observation has been repeated an acceptable number of times. The empiricist science endeavours to create laws about general recurring patterns of experience. To scientifically explain a phenomenon is to place it within a law or to create with it a new law. The ultimate objective, therefore, is to be able to predict future occurrences through these genuinely true laws. This makes the logic of explanation and prediction the same, creating 'symmetry' in the aims of science (Benton & Craib, 2011:14).

There are various obvious limitations to empiricist sociology, despite its importance in epistemological debates. As an ontological alternative, rationalism as proposed by Descartes is arguably more suited to the realm of the social sciences. This is because it focuses on rational truths as the foundations of knowledge: the belief that logical truths can exist without needing to be sensed or observed. The simplest example for this is geometrical: one can understand through mathematical reasoning that all the angles add up to 180° without necessarily ever having seen one. Secondly, rationalism claims that a purely objective empirical approach cannot exist, because humans are shaped by their previous sensual experiences and interactions. This then suggests that all the sensual observation and experiencing of a phenomenon as the subject of investigation will also be affected by previous experience. Furthermore, a mere statistical approach to social phenomena is unsatisfactory. What use is a number of correlations and quantitative data on its own? Numerical figures alone cannot provide explanations behind complex social matters. Furthermore, statistical correlations can be manipulated to produce certain rhetoric. The empiricist methodology therefore cannot grant us with truly useful information that can indeed be useful. There remains also the fundamental criticism of empiricist methodology's reliance on the inductive method of reasoning. Due to the aim of creating laws or generalisations following repeated observations, the main question becomes: *how many times must this be observed before this can be considered universally true?* One simple observation in the contrary of the previous countless observations would suffice to completely discredit the law, and therefore a 'true' law can never be certainly created.

The term positivism is indeed a very general one. Broadly speaking, one could describe it without being wrong as 'any approach which applies scientific method to human affairs conceived as belonging to a natural order open to objective enquiry' (Hollis, 1994:41). Via this definition, Marx, Durkheim, Weber and Comte could all be considered positivists. In reality they all have widely differing approaches and the term positivist applies to none but Comte, who was hugely influential in the setting up of positivism and sociology (he coined the term 'sociology'). Positivism is the 'oldest and most widely used approach' in social research (Neuman, 2014:96). It is related, yet different to, empiricism. The idea of positivism is that the empiricist scientific model be expanded and applied to human life in order to establish the social sciences (Benton & Craib, 2011:23). Comte's conception of sociology was that it would develop until eventually resembling physics as the most advanced of the natural sciences. Essentially, Comte envisioned sociology as being an 'evolutionary step' behind the natural sciences in the scale of knowledge progression

(Neuman, 2014:97). Positivism concurs with the empiricist standpoint on the importance of obtaining objective, value-free data as well as the verification of theses via repetition of testing and peer to peer regulation (Neuman, 2014:97, 102). However, positivism encourages the use of reasoning to establish the difference between truth and falsehood. It is considered that the human world exists in a (albeit complex) natural order and that humans are rational and independent, thus making them observable subjects awaiting analysis (Neuman, 2014:98 & Hollis, 1994:64). The human subject is studied with the quantitative scientific methodologies such as experimentation, surveys and statistics (Neuman, 2014:97), and importantly via a rejection of qualitative methods. The sociologist's aim is that of 'identifying regularities in the behaviour' (Hollis, 1994: 64) of his or her subject and going on to create generalised laws. These laws then interact with and aid each other as building blocks of theory: they are considered as axiomatic (Bishop, 2007:14). Once a sufficient theoretical basis is created through these laws, the aforementioned natural order of the world should reveal itself, similarly to physics. Once this order is uncovered, a sociologist should therefore be able to manipulate society into a more progressive one by 'social engineering' (Benton & Craib, 2011:23). Despite this objective of social progress, the positivists do not believe they can influence human agency or tell them what to do. However, it is important to note that the positivist conception of the world is atomistic: 'the world is divided up into indivisible unconnected components' (Baert, 2005:16), there are no underlying superstructures of forces that impact us.

I mentioned earlier how Durkheim has been mistakenly conceived as an empiricist or a positivist. Now that the difference between both has been asserted, an analysis on his epistemology in relation to the above can be made. Durkheim is important because he founded sociology as an academic discipline; by moving on beyond positivism, Durkheim posited his own methodology in *The Rules of Sociological Method* or *Rules* (1895), one which has certainly been controversial but also central to the development of sociology as a discipline. Despite some similarities to positivism, 'Durkheim was anxious throughout his life to distance himself from that label' (Baert, 2005:13). His approach is considered to be more a rationalist empiricist, where relationships of cause and effects are based off of observation. He was not an empiricist, because that would mean he relied on sense data, which as will be seen later, was far from the case. His methodology is called naturalism: he strongly believed that the social world could and should be studied in the same way as the natural sciences. In this sense of using naturalist methodology to establish relationships between facts he was positivist. Just as the natural world is made up of facts, physical, biological or otherwise, the social world is made up of social facts. To study these social facts in the guise of the natural sciences, the sociologist once more has to remain entirely objective and value-free throughout the experimentation. Despite these social facts not being physically perceivable, Durkheim was insistent that metaphysical or psychological reasoning would not work to uncover them (Bishop, 2007:35). These social facts are external and independent of the individual: we are born into a reality of constant and external structures that have external powers over us (Benton & Craib, 2011:25). Sociology in Durkheim's model therefore aimed to 'discover causal laws describing the links between social facts and human behaviour' (Bishop, 2007:35). Due to their nature as entities or external forces, social facts have to be considered via their effects. Despite apparent similarities of the positivist school of thought with these basic aspects of Durkheim's sociological thought, he in fact considered the positivists contemporary to him, to be insufficiently scientific and essentially philosophical (Baert, 2005:15). This is why he moved to distance himself from the label of positivism: he called it a 'new orthodoxy and a new religion' (Baert, 2005:14). As mentioned, Durkheim's conception of a social fact was that of an external, continuous and coercive force. He argued that human agency was

determined by these structural forces. They are 'external structures realised socially through individuals while remaining independent of them' (Bishop, 2007:64). In other words, these structures modify human self-interest via a collective consciousness that becomes internalised as a moral force (Bishop, 2007:35). Therefore, upon understanding the forces, we can know the rational human reasoning that will follow them (Neuman, 2014:99). This is not to undermine human agency. Durkheim simply wanted to unearth the social causes in societal cohesion. Durkheim's approach to the social is a two-level worldview: he attributed 'epistemological priority to a structural level that is less accessible' (Baert, 2005:15), but also considered sensory observations. Durkheim envisions the social system as an indivisible complex entity in which all is linked, which means that social facts are determined only by other social facts (Bishop, 2007:35). This is considered to be a holistic approach. Durkheim was obviously very inspired by the natural sciences, and this approach is derived from the discipline of biology. Again, Durkheim's methodology was aimed at social progress; but he (unlike the positivists) believed sociological studies could influence people's choices and agency (Baert, 2005:17). As has been demonstrated, Durkheim's sociological model is built upon both positivist and (some) empiricist values. He essentially linked the positivist social sciences to a naturalist sociological discipline.

Again, it is not difficult to recognise the underlying deficiencies of both the positivist epistemology and Durkheim's proposed methodology. Durkheimian and positivist problems will be considered similarly, for it is of no use to go into the depths of the limitations of Durkheim's method. The quantitative method with which the human subject is studied is misplaced: a human subject is very different than the subjects in natural sciences, such as a chemical or a microbe. To begin with, the researcher cannot be as objective with a human subject as with a subject matter of the natural sciences, a minimum of personal attachment will happen. Even if it does not occur, the external relationship with the subject cannot be as objective as in the natural sciences (Benton & Craib, 2011:28-9). Furthermore, in qualitative terms, human beings are self-aware and self-conscious, they can think and learn, they have free will and are therefore unpredictable, and also they can be aware of observations and thus impede both the objectivity of the results and their reliability. On top of this, the free will of the human subject inhibits the usefulness of correlative data, as one cannot correlate the personal desires of the subject via statistical approaches. Durkheim's ideology of external forces creating nudges to the rational individuals is also limited. These are even harder to study than an empirical version of humanity, and via modern scientific reasoning (or empirically) cannot be proven or disproven. Furthermore, in both positivist and Durkheimian epistemology, the human subject is placed as a secondary object of study. Positivists prefer to focus on correlative data, whilst Durkheim is focused on structural forces. There is another important epistemological thought in sociology (among many others): the interpretivist tradition. Sometimes called the Neo-Kantians, the notion of interpretative sociology can be traced back to Weber's *Verstehen*, which means to understand or interpret. Weber himself was influenced by philosophers Heinrich Rickert and Wilhelm Dilthey. Instead of quantitative research to understand the social life, interpretivists recognise the uniqueness of human interactions and choose to interpret them rather than measure them. Generally, interpretivism argues that data-obtention cannot be value free: both the academic and the subject have a self-interpreting nature that will necessarily impede this somehow. As has been mentioned, the subject of the social world interacts with its world differently than that of natural sciences. Obviously humans are self-aware, but we can also think and behave irregularly, change our minds or even act irrationally, according to Freud. The argument is then that intersubjective certainty is required (Bishop, 2007: 26). A good example to envision this is a baby crying because he lost his toy. An empirical approach to

this will be the notion of photons hitting the retina and sound waves reaching the ear. Objectively, one can see that a baby is crying, but without compassion one cannot understand why. Many correlations can be made about crying babies at certain ages, time periods, or whichever variable that comes to mind, without reaching an understanding of why it is crying. It is only via empathy and subjective understanding of the subject therefore, that a true analysis of human social life is made.

To conclude, I have attempted to demonstrate that even though empiricism and positivism were at origin philosophical questions, they have tied into what we consider the most respectable form of knowledge, the scientific method. I have shown how this scientific method was then applied to the social sciences by influential thinkers such as Auguste Comte and later Émile Durkheim, and how said approaches evolved over time. In relation with sociology, all of these approaches have their own limitations and advantages. Even the interpretivist approach, despite being more suitable for understanding the complexities of human life, is not the accepted method. As was mentioned earlier, the discipline of sociology still has not resolved its question of methodology, fierce debate remains today. An interpretative understanding of gender roles, for example, will have failings just as a positivist approach will. The question remains as to whether an adjustment of the existing methods is necessary in order to advance sociology as an academic discipline, or instead a brand new methodology built to complement the immense complexity of the social life we attempt to learn about. It could be that the answer to sociological methodology exists beyond what Comte understood as the scientific stage of knowledge, where physics and the natural sciences are accepted, as a fourth 'evolutionary step' of human knowledge.

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Outline and assess Bourdieu's key ideas with regard to social class. How relevant are they for analysing society today?

Shane Howe

'To exist within a social space, to occupy a point or to be an individual within a social space, is to differ, to be different' (Bourdieu 1998:9). In line with Bourdieu's quote, to embark on an analysis of class is therefore to acknowledge the social distance between ourselves, and the myriad of ways this expresses itself. Class is of particular concern to sociologists, as it enables a division between society, a classificatory system can aid in organising and analysing social artefacts of importance, ensuring this classification is valid is central to correctly reporting and understanding the social world. Bourdieu's (1984:95) outline can be simply, albeit misleadingly, outlined in his proposition that '[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice' an equation cannot help but appear overly deterministic, despite his work quite successfully negating the exclusive choice between structure and agency, so often conjured into analysis. The relationship amongst an individual's habitus, capital and the field they inhabit produces an individual's disposition.

Despite implanting Bourdieu's outline rather prematurely, assessment of these concepts can only be produced after a reminder of the more traditional analysis of class, followed by a much needed closer examination into the theoretical workshop left behind; followed by answering whether its application is still merited; a fair question to ask, as to some extent society has changed significantly, although as will be become illustrated, there is still value and relevance in Bourdieu's analysis, as we still strive for distinction between one another.

Bourdieu differs from Marx as economic relation or 'relationship to means of production' is not sufficient to pronounce the existence of classes, as Bourdieu notes their existence as 'nominal unities', their existence in theoretical leanings of sociologists, do not constitute real or objective existence (Bourdieu, 1996:212 cited in Weininger 2005:121). This questions the legitimacy of imposing theoretical models of class, based solely on income, or education, often invoked during research and proposed by traditional theorists. Additionally, classes exist beyond the binary opposition proposed by Marx; instead classification encompasses the entire spectrum of possible occupations (Weininger, 2005:125). A commonality can be established with Marxist thought, that class positions entail domination, and akin to Gramsci, Bourdieu injects an ideological spectrum.

Bourdieu latched onto Weber's notion of class, which segregated 'Class' with 'Status groups', the former being a material representation of their social position, and the latter symbolic or honorific, along with chances of having a similar lifestyle (Weber,1974:187)**.** For Weber, an economic relationship could be used to impose Class or classification of groups to facilitate research, nevertheless, Bourdieu's method of research requires an analysis of both economic and cultural capital for any meaningful research to be conducted, or classification designated; status and class are homologous with one another (Weininger 2005:121). Cultural capital for Bourdieu is a tangible resource which can become embodied, in both the physical and mental dispositions or practices on the inheritor or possessor; it is often objectified, as most items or activities have a cultural value, and lastly cultural capital can be institutionalised, the most obvious example being the existence of educational credentials (Skeggs, 2004:16).

In the study of France using empirical survey data, Bourdieu illustrated how to merge his theoretical knowledge, and transfer this to practice, through the use of three axes. The first connotes overall levels of capital - the most important are economic and cultural capital. The second axis corresponds to the specific ratio of cultural and economic capital, which defines class fractions. Lastly, an axis exists to view changes overtime, to the composition, or volume of capital (Bourdieu, 1984:257-259). Subsequently, this allows for mobilisation to be not only upward, but also horizontal, across differing capital, converting economic into cultural, or vice versa (Weininger 2005, 127-128). As noted with his critique against Marx and Weber, classificatory systems require a multidimensional approach, to map social space. Since these axes are continuous on all three directions, this allows for infinite divisions, which is often overly simplified in traditional approaches to class.

'Social space', or the position of groups or individuals, is based on a ratio between the *'two principles of differentiation'.* Bourdieu notes that these are the most efficient forms of capital, commonly economic and cultural capital, although these are historically and socially dependent on the society studied (Bourdieu, 1989:7). The closer proximity between individual's principles of differentiation will be more common in lifestyles and interests, closing social distance between them (Bourdieu, 1989:7). This allows for a surprising level of nuance, as individuals may share a similar level of economic capital but differ in cultural capital, causing social distance, or class 'fraction'; subsequently changing perception of the world, the lifestyle favoured, sought after, and preserved. An example being the distinction between a CEO and a professor, the former having much higher economic capital, and the latter having more cultural capital, that which is desired, and pronounced as desirable will differentiate. The inclusion of Class fractions, allows for the study of inter-class conflict, primarily between the varying ratios of cultural and economic capital contained in individuals and groups.

Whilst cultural and economic capital is a focus in Bourdieu's theory of class, it is not until the introduction of Habitus and symbolic power, does it truly distinguish itself. Habitus is also known as the 'principles of vision and division' between valued and unvalued, right or wrong; attached to this perception is a moral and symbolical element (Bourdieu, 1989:9). This distinction may be shared in groups, but often it causes different values and attitudes toward the same item, or practice, ranging from disgust, ostentation or esteem for the same item, activity, language, or dress (Bourdieu, 1989:8). Bourdieu's analysis is always relational, to elevate one item or practice is to demote another, its value is only found through what it is not, it is dialectical akin to a semiotic approach.

Class Habitus, to borrow Bourdieu's words: 'each class of positions there corresponds a class of habitus (or tastes) produced by the social conditioning associated with the corresponding condition' (Bourdieu, 1989:8). Habitus exists to account for the unity of taste or lifestyle in agents, in both their practices and their consumption, often observed and misconstrued as an artefact of economic position or education. There exists a primary Habitus, acquired in the socialising process of childhood, and a secondary Habitus, which absorbs the labour put into institutions, such as school, and experiences of the individual. (Wacquant, 2016:68). Therefore, it is both a historical artefact and also a continual process; the primary and secondary Habitus need not be in harmony with one another, nor does its implementation in situations necessarily harmonise or aid the individual, it can aid the possessor but also become debilitating.
This aesthetic, or appreciation, for similar tastes and practices, is what allows members to identify one another, to make visible the social distance between themselves; classification is not a static endeavour, but continuous and self-perpetuating, a proving ground for what

one is, and is not, made visible through consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). Thus far, it may appear that Habitus, is a rational or conscious practice, which would be highly deterministic, yet the Habitus is pre-reflexive, it is not conjured upon for aid like a script, but rather improvised, an always present companion, it is the 'organised without being the product of the organising activity of a conductor' (Bourdieu, 1980:256 Cited in Wacquant, 2016:67). It is therefore neither subject entirely to structures, nor rational actions of the individual, deftly avoiding the structure or agency argument which plagues most theory, acting as an alternative between objectivism and subjectivist approaches.

If Bourdieu left his analysis here, we would be left with a postmodern account of life where everything is relative. Bourdieu notes that Habitus is also inherently entwined with power, specifically the symbolic archetype. Symbolic power, is the power of 'constructing reality', imposing a subjective view of the world as legitimate and objective, to present lifestyles, practices and items as factually superior, it is the power to naturalise the historically and socially constructed (Bourdieu,1991:166). Lifestyle practices become hierarchically distributed, based on its proximity to that of the 'legitimate culture', which is universally valued; this is primarily contained to the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984:397). Items or practices become a part of the legitimate culture through a 'trickle-down-effect'. An item or practice is seized by those with the highest economic and cultural capital; which becomes diffused over time, forcing early adopters, or the dominant class to abandon this, and reassert their exclusivity of taste through the adoption of other practices or items (Weininger, 2005:96).

The legitimate culture is therefore constructed by the dominant class, through making their aesthetic choices appear no longer subjective, but objectively superior. This entails 'symbolic violence' as the practice or item that is rejected by the dominant class, and is a sentiment applied to the possessor or practitioner (Weininger 2005:98). This notion is similar to Barthes (1957: xi), who questions the naturalisation or myths in society, 'what-goes-without-saying the ideological abuse'; ideological abuse appears as a synonym for symbolic violence.

Through everyday consumption, and lifestyle choices, agents or actors enter a 'struggle for classification', a struggle for the right to 'impose a vision of the social world', this maintenance is when class becomes most apparent (Bourdieu, 1989:11). This vision, along with Habitus, creates a divided perception of social artefacts, objects, and practices; it inscribes a 'sense of one's place' a sense of expectations, aspiration, and an actor's limitations within the world, what is and is not possible (Bourdieu 1984:728-729).

The internalisation of economic and cultural disadvantages found within Habitus, are not only mental manifestations, but also physical. If we are examining why working class students perform poorly, we need not choose between agentic or structural origins for the existence of inequality; habitus allows for the combination of explanations (Swartz, 1997:104). Inequality or disparaging life chances in classes can be explained not only through material deprivation, but also the mental embodiment of limitations, questioning meritocratic ideology, as the starting point for classes is differed, despite a universally valued finishing line.

The moral aspect of class, as Sayer notes, involves those occupying the lower echelons, disadvantaged because they '…lack the means to live in ways which they as well as others, value' (Sayer, 2005:947). The legitimate way of life, that is lifestyles which have become universally accepted as valued, have been extended beyond reasonable reach, a reminder

of the shame or stigma, applied to class position and internal struggle for recognising other ways of life as valued. Weininger (2005:104) notes that the reserves of valued cultural capital are so low, that the working class are not able to represent their collective in noteworthy fields. Consequently, they live an objectified existence, where its classification is managed and produced by others. This is most notable in popular television productions representing classes. The symbolic connotation is almost palpable, and the normative framing of middle class values are omnipresent particularly in American media; however, representation of working class values are difficult to find outside of 'Can't pay we'll take it away'; or 'Benefits Street'; neither portray working class values in any meaningful way, as positive or valuable (Bullock et al, 2001).

The last variable in practice is that of fields. These are social spaces in which actors or organisations are located. Habitus is expressed in the field of politics, philosophy, and aesthetics, amongst others. These fields are organised around a specific type of capital; rather than merely examining groups or organisations, fields allow researchers to investigate specific settings (Swartz, 1997:118). Weininger (2005:35-36) offers a personal example in the field of sociology, the resources they struggle over is 'research grants, positions in prestigious departments, and publications in flagship journals'. Actors commonly exist in more than one field, however, the habitus they hold, is the same throughout their traversal, which can explain why some groups can dominate various fields. Fields allow researchers to examine class interactions in specific areas of society, and conflict over valued resources. We return to our earlier proposition that practices are reliant on the interaction between '[(habitus)(capital)] + field' - classes are interwoven throughout this model, allowing the researcher to interpret an action or practice through the mixture of these three central themes (Bourdieu, 1984:95).

A central theme in class research is mobility. Bourdieu may appear to concentrate more on class stagnation than movement or mobility, yet Habitus can change and social movement is possible, but habitus has a predisposition to favour that which created, 'movements [are] paid for in work, in efforts and above all in time (Bourdieu:1985, 726). The working class can move, but significant time and effort will be required to overcome their habitus of origin; arguably this is where Bourdieu's analysis suffers.

Another area of interest is that of class resistance. For Marx, resistance would occur through working class consciousness, and emancipation of the oppression was inevitable with the rise of communism. Resistance however, is enacted daily through lifestyle practices, although this is more likely to be seen between social fractions, as the social proximity is closer, allowing for greater conflict. Bourdieu remains rather pessimistic, as he perceives two forms of resistance, the first disregarding the legitimated lifestyles, and loyalty to self and the group, which would result into periodical experiences of shame due to the moral connotation applied to class, or to assimilate to the legitimised lifestyles, which is, 'the antithesis of the very ambition of the collective regaining control over social identify' (Bourdieu, 1984:394 as cited in Swartz 1997:172). Resistance, or freedom, must be gained through acquiring enough capital to represent the collective, in a valued way, rather than mobility and assimilation to the dominant habitus.

Bourdieu, like other theorists, is not without critique. For instance, Bauman proposes that social or class positon has become severed from identities and consumption practices. Bauman's specific proposition is that individuals are constantly deconstructing and reconstructing their identity, primarily due to the abundance of cultural items, coupled with the loss of 'jobs for life'; having forced individuals into this process, they have become

removed from their social origin, in a state of flux as to their identity (2001:147). It is undeniable that job security has been removed, or that consumption practices have expanded or changed in modern society.

Bourdieu's analysis can still be relevant even if we accept this claim, as the construction of identities, whilst more rapid, does not negate the need to inject value on items, as long as there still exists a legitimate culture, which can be observed in aspirations for homeownership, lavish holidays, and educational credentials. As Habitus is not only 'differentiated' between agents of different social positions, but also 'differentiating' from 'what a worker eats, but especially the way he eats it' (Bourdieu,1989:8-9). In line with both Bourdieu and Bauman's proposition, arguably the emphasis may need to be placed on the qualitative differences between types of property, holiday destination, and a particular university's credentials, or institutions being valued higher, as the dominant class still requires distinction, even in a society of rapid identity construction and deconstruction.

The relevance of Bourdieu's application is largely subjective; however the necessity to classify the world is a requirement unlikely to diminish with time. Most sociologists would agree that class is of particular concern, due to its omnipresent nature in various fields of enquiry; it is invoked in both qualitative and especially quantitative research. Pakulski and Waters (1996) propose that class is a historical artefact, they accept the existence of inequalities, but class is now an illusionary and archaic artefact. In a Bourdieusian reflection, to deny the existence of class, is to refute the existence of differentiation. We deny the distinction between good and bad, inscribed in not only items, but practices and values, we relegate the world into one homogenous state, social life is not so simple (Bourdieu,1989:11). Although other avenues of categorisation are important to consider, especially gender, ethnicity, and more commonly in political debates, nationality. Bourdieu often viewed these as secondary to economic and cultural formation of habitus, although later reformulations described gender as the prime example of symbolic domination (McNay, 1999:99). An example being the work of Skeggs (2004); similar reformulations and engagement have been undertaken by Wallace (2016), to include Race in a Bourdieusian analysis, and Thatcher and Halvorsud's (2016) work to include Nationality into this classification model.

Bourdieu's research in 'Distinction' studied French society in the 1960's; he does not claim universality in his analysis, it is more akin to an 'ideal' type in the Weberian sense, a generalisability to how classes are constructed (Schinkel and Tacq, 2004:55) Despite this, Calhoun (1993:66) fairly questions historical and cultural specificity of Bourdieu's theoretical tools, some more than others are questionably appropriate, for instance Habitus, whilst not quantifiable, nor subject to empirical testing due to its pre-conscious nature, if accepted, is hard to envision a subject without one. Fields are malleable but historically specific and subject to change, yet will continue as long as individuals contest over items. The legitimised culture is also historically dependent, and as Bourdieu notes, will undergo multiple revisions. Some items of cultural value are likely to remain more central however, such as educational credentials. Bourdieu's analytical tools appear flexible enough to account for changes in society but will require adjusting.

Bourdieu has left behind a theoretical and research framework that attempts to merge the most infamous dichotomies in social theory, namely objectivist and subjectivist, and agency and structure. Most predominantly, he reminds us that inequalities exist in, not only economic, but also, cultural resources, and the symbolic power levied by groups to construct and evaluate lives. Certainly, changes have taken place, which requires alteration,

as other sociologists have embarked upon, but revision does not equate to relegation. For social theory to have worth, it is not expected to be infallible, to assume so would be dangerous, to both our understanding and engagement. The changes in society invite sociologists to modify the tools presented, not abandon them. One social theory cannot encompass all aspects of social life, however for classification and unification, and the subsequent inequality which often accompanies social groupings, Bourdieu's tools remain a powerful analytical, and theoretical tool for researchers.

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What are the relationships between the global city, industrialisation, night time economy and patterns of crime, deviance and control?

Elliott Jones

The relationships between the global city, industrialisation, night time economy and patterns of crime, deviance and control have been debated amongst various scholars. This essay aims at thoroughly analysing the relevant secondary literature on these three concepts and examining how they are related to patterns of crime, deviance and control. However, an explanation of these concepts is required before we proceed. Firstly, 'the global city' was a concept coined by Saskia Sassen (2005) in order to help us understand the role of cities and how they are being impacted by cross-border influences and increasing globalisation. When referring to 'industrialisation' we are discussing the social and economic developments which have taken place over the past four decades. Furthermore, scholars such as Katja Aas (2007) have stated that these developments involve the shift from an industrial era to a post-industrial society and this has been defined by the resurgence of neo-liberal discourse. Neoliberal ideology advocates policies such as the 'privatization of state assets, deregulation and giving free rein to market forces, greater emphasis on individual responsibility' as well as 'the dismantling of welfare state systems' (Aas, 2007: 10). Lastly, the night time economy refers to 'economic activity which occurs between the hours of 6pm and 6am and involves the sale of alcohol for consumption on-trade' (Wickham, 2012: 3), for example, pubs and nightclubs.

This essay will begin with a discussion of the rising violence within the night time economy. It will be argued that this increase in violence is because of the loosened controls in post-industrial society, as economic interests are placed above crime and deviance. We will then consider how neo-liberal policies of privatisation have led to the increase in private policing and assess the impact this has had on policies of control in the night time economy. The next part of this essay will predominantly discuss Loic Wacquant and his work on the rise of crime control policies that are based on excluding the poor. We will investigate how the authorities are adopting harsher crime control policies which target the most marginalised sectors of society. A focus on the role of global cities will take place and we will discuss how they have been defined by tensions and conflicts due to rising inequality. Lastly, there will be a consideration of the shift from a 'society of producers' to a 'society of consumers' and how these new consumption habits in post-industrial society have impacted trends of crime, deviance and control (Bauman, 1998).

The night time economies of global cities have been linked to rising levels of violence and this has posed a serious problem for the authorities. For example, Hobbs et al (2000) have conducted a case study in Eastville which revealed that 66% of violent crimes in the city centre took place over the weekend during the evening. Subsequently, the result of this increase in violent crime has led many scholars to believe that society is witnessing a 'moral panic' over concerns about violence in the night time economy (Cohen, 1972). This is because many inner-city centres 'have become inextricably linked with visions of youth disorder, violence and inebriation' (Crawford and Flint, 2009: 406). This quote suggests that the growth of the night time entertainment industry has led to increased patterns of excessive drinking, violence, anti-social and transgressive behaviours within UK cities.

Furthermore, some scholars have pointed out that unlike the paradigm that preceded it, the post-industrial, night time economy has not been constrained by 'rigid, repressive, and sublimating codes of restraint' and this has meant that 'unruly and violent behaviour is a central feature of an economy yet to develop a full set of codes and protocols' (Hobbs et al, 2000: 705-6). This quote implies that the night time economy was policed by informal controls in the industrial era, whereas the post-industrial period has not yet established the required restraints. This has meant that 'unruly and violent' behaviour has become the norm.

It would be useful to explain this lack of 'restraint' in post-industrial society and we can do this by looking at some prominent tenants of neo-liberal discourse. Furthermore, this ideology's emphasis on 'free rein to the market' has helped the pub and club to grow and this industry now forms 3% of the UK's GDP (Hayward and Hobbs, 2007). From this perspective, patterns of crime and deviance within the night time economy have grown as a result of loosened controls in order to pursue economic growth. Some scholars have pointed out that global cities are continuously competing for the best night time entertainment industry (Hobbs et al, 2000). Therefore, in order to maximise profits they must place economics over potential patterns of crime and deviance. However, by claiming that crime and deviance is shaping the night time economies of cities we are inevitably assuming that these areas used to be well-ordered. This is certainly not the case, as many historians have pointed out that cities have a long history of violence within night time leisure centres such as pubs (O'Neill, 2007). This suggests that these relationships between violence and night time economies have always existed. Despite this, we have shown how the post-industrial, night time economy has not been restrained by the same informal controls as in the industrial era, as the pursuit of economy has taken precedence over the rising levels of violence within city centres.

One major development that has been linked with the growth of neo-liberal policies is the increasing privatisation of policing and governance within urban areas and night time industries. Many scholars have noted how the rise of neo-liberal discourse has changed the way society deals with crime control (Aas, 2007). These changes consist of the privatisation of crime control as it is increasingly offered by private companies and not the state (Christie, 2000). This suggests that a relationship has been formed between neo-liberal policies of privatisation and patterns of crime control, as many scholars have pointed out that the majority of 'developed economies' have 'more private than public police' (Braithwaite, 2000: 226). This quote is important because it shows how these trends are taking place globally. Many commentators have noticed how these developments are most prominent during the night and we must examine the impact they have had on policies of crime control in this arena.

The night time economy is increasingly policed by private companies who use bouncers as a way of regulating crime and deviance. For example, the Security Industry Authority has supplied over 380,000 active security licenses in 2014 and the majority of these were for door supervision which amounted to 58% (2014). When we consider that security guarding is the next largest at 24%, we can see how private security has become a large asset to the post-industrial, night time economy. Consequently, we must question the impact this has had on patterns of crime control. Hobbs et al (2003) have argued that the night time economy, which is dominated by disorderly youth, and defined by the consumption of alcohol and rising violence, has become the key indicator of an urban, post-industrial society. The authorities' inability to effectively police these developments within inner cities has meant that 'violence and intimidation become the blunt instruments of

social control' (Hobbs et al, 2003: 43). This suggests that rising patterns of crime and deviance within the night time industries have meant that crime control responsibilities have been passed onto private instigators who use force as a means of regulation. Additionally, gendered perspectives on bouncers have shown how females also use 'violence and intimidation' as a method to control deviant behaviour in the night time economy (Hobbs et al, 2007). However, by suggesting that neo-liberal policies of privatisation have led to the increased use of bouncers who use force as a form of crime control, we are ignoring how public and private police relations within the night time economy have become more 'cordial and professional' (Liempt, 2016: 130). For example, many agents within the night time economy have begun to improve their relations with local police forces and this is exemplified through their sharing of information with one another. This suggests that the collaboration of public and private policing in the night time economy is developing to cut down on crime and deviance during the evenings. Despite this, we have shown how a relationship has been formed between post-industrial policies of privatisation and policing. This has been most obvious in the night time industries where the increased use of private policing to prevent crime and deviance has led to a contradiction whereby violence is used as a crime control policy.

Many scholars have suggested that industrialisation has led to policies that are marginalising and excluding particular socio-economic groups from society. From this perspective, we are suggesting that neoliberalism 'excludes large social sectors, territories and countries' (Aas, 2007: 17) and we must assess the effect this has on patterns of crime, deviance and control. Some scholars have suggested that many people in the West have been excluded from the workforce as developing nations have become a cheaper source of labour (Bauman, 2004). Furthermore, while the industrial era was defined by stable employment opportunities, the post-industrial period is unstable with less job security and this is exemplified through the increase of temporary and zero hour contracts. In addition, in his book 'Punishing the Poor', Loic Wacquant (2009) has highlighted how post-industrial, neo-liberal economies such as the US have begun the shift to a more punitive system in order to control marginalized groups. This consists of a model of governance which combines policies that advocate less state welfare with an 'expansive, intrusive, and proactive penal apparatus' (Wacquant, 2009: 207). This suggests that patterns of crime and deviance have been linked to the most marginalised groups showing how a process of criminalising the poor is taking place.

According to Wacquant, we are witnessing the shift to an exclusionary society that targets particular 'problem populations' such as the 'black subproletariat' and in which authorities use prison as a way to contain them (2010: 198-9). For example, the US 2010 census has shown how blacks represent 40% of the US prison population, although they make up only 13% of the total population (Sakala, 2014). From this perspective, neoliberalism is a harmful ideology that has led to the adoption of control policies which are used to marginalise certain populations that are viewed as a nuisance to society. Therefore, post-industrialism is linked to patterns of crime, deviance and control, as crimes of the most marginalised groups are the central focus to law enforcement and this has led to further exclusion. However, some scholars have criticised Wacquant's work on contemporary penal policy by arguing that the growing trend of the penal state has been mostly within the US and cannot be applied to a global context (Mayer, 2010). Despite this, we notice how these developments are, in fact, taking a global framework as many states are adopting harsher controls which are based on exclusion. Therefore, we have shown how a relationship has been formed between industrialisation and patterns of harsher crime control. This is because neoliberalism has excluded particular populations by adopting

policies such as incarceration to intentionally contain groups that are viewed as problematic.

The global city has become an environment that maximises patterns of crime and deviance whilst accommodating further marginalization. Saskia Sassen is a leading scholar in contemporary global studies and coined the concept 'global city'. According to Sassen, the global city has become a highly conflictive zone as it provides an environment which situates the richest and poorest of society within one area:

> If we consider that global cities concentrate both the leading sectors of global capital and a growing share of disadvantaged populations (immigrants, many of the disadvantaged women, people of color generally, and, in the megacities of developing countries, masses of shanty dwellers) then we can see that cities have become a strategic terrain for a whole series of conflicts and contradictions (2005: 39)

The implications of this quote are obvious. The global city is a breeding ground for criminal and deviant behaviour because it possesses a 'series of conflicts and contradictions' that are formed by an unequal society. From this point of view, the global city situates the poorest and richest in one area causing conflicts which will inevitably lead to patterns of crime and deviance. To sum up, Sassen is suggesting that inequality and the disproportionate allocation of capital in global cities is a monumental factor in producing an environment which breeds crime and deviance. However, by adopting this approach, we risk taking a Marxist perspective and, therefore, place too much emphasis on global inequalities as a source for all crime and deviance.

Many commentators have suggested that the global cities ability to breed criminal and deviant behaviour has led to the rise of city officials wishing to regulate this transgression (Crawford and Flint, 2009). Consequently, these 'conflicts and contradictions' within cities have led to the development of exclusionary policies such as the move from black ghettoes to prison as a method of containment in the US (Wacquant, 2001). This suggests that a relationship has been formed between the global city and patterns of control, as the groups who used to live in city ghettoes are now being contained in the US prisons. Another control policy adopted by city authorities is known as 'policing through social housing' (Wacquant, 2001: 405) which entails the concentration of marginalised, low socio-economic groups in one area to regulate them more easily. As a result of increased tensions and harsh control policies, global cities have begun to be divided meaning that patterns of crime and deviance have rose due to conflicts and the authorities have responded with new regulatory policies that are simply increasing these divisions. One way in which we can link these developments within cities to the night time economy is through the concept of 'consumption'.

The post-industrial society has placed 'consumption' at the forefront of self-identity and this is most obvious within cities that have their own night time economy. During the industrial era, societal inclusion was achieved through one's ability to 'produce', whereas, an invitation to post-industrial society is based upon one's ability to 'consume' (Bauman, 1998). Therefore, we must examine how an inability to consume impacts upon patterns of crime, deviance and control. Keith Hayward (2006) has argued that the 'new underclass' lack the economic resources to be included within society and are, therefore, criminalised by certain parts of it. For example, Hayward (2006) discusses how many pubs and nightclubs have begun refusing entry to people wearing particular brands that have been socially constructed as products worn by 'chavs'. From this view, the 'new underclass' is

criminalised as they 'are increasingly understood as 'flawed consumers', unable or unwilling to make the 'right' type of consumer choice' (Hayward, 2006: 10). In addition, we can see how the night time industries have adopted control policies that are based upon one's ability to consume, meaning that particular groups are stigmatised as 'troublemakers' and excluded based on their inability to buy the appropriate products. On the other hand, Mike Collinson's (1996) study on male youth in a young offender prison has given us an insight into how these men cope within a society that rejects them. Collinson has argued that some males from working class backgrounds use drugs in the night scene to escape mundane life and may engage in drug-dealing as a means to obtain capital which they can spend on designer products. Some scholars have noted that these market forces have been particularly noticeable within global cities as they transcend important subliminal messages of 'consumption' through displays and advertisement (Featherstone, 1991). These arguments show us that a relationship has been forged between industrialisation and patterns of crime and deviance as some lower class youths are willing to engage in criminal and deviant behaviours in order to fulfil society's expectations of consumption. Therefore, we can see that the post-industrial era's emphasis on consumption as a method to construct self-identity has meant that those who cannot afford these goods may revert to criminal behaviour to find the capital to pay for them. In addition, we can see how patterns of control in the night time economy are increasingly based on one's ability to consume, as particular brands which tend to be those worn by the 'new underclass' are refused entry.

To summarise, the concepts of global city, industrialisation and night time economy have been linked to increasing patterns of violence, consumption and conflict, whilst the use of exclusionary and privatised control policies that are prejudiced towards the lower classes of society have been advocated. This essay began with a discussion of the increasing violence that is taking place within the night time economy. We argued that the night time industry has been linked with violence and disorder as a result of loosened controls deployed by neo-liberal discourse. This is because cities are forced to compete for the best night industry meaning that the authorities have placed more emphasis on economy than violent and deviant behaviours. This led to a discussion of how society has reacted to these developments with forms of crime control that are delivered by private agents. We have shown how the public police are unable to regulate these trends themselves and this has led to an increase in private regulators such as bouncers in the night time economy who use force as a means of control. In addition, this essay has shown that post-industrial society is defined by economic and social instability. Subsequently, these changes resulted in conflicts and particular 'problem' groups have been the victim of exclusionary policies such as mass incarceration.

We, then, linked these developments to the global city and showed how it has become a site of 'conflict and contradiction' due to the vast wealth gap. City officials have reacted to these conflicts with further exploitation by subjecting the lower classes to forms of control that make it easier to regulate them. We finished this essay with a discussion of the relationships between crime and deviance and post-industrial society's stress on consuming. We have shown how the 'new underclass' has been criminalised and regulated due to their inability to consume the right goods. In addition, some youths have engaged in drug taking in the night time economy and used drug dealing in order to keep up with the requirements of post-industrial society. Therefore, the loosened controls of post-industrial society and increased pursuit of profit have resulted in an increase in criminal and deviant behaviour which is most prominent in the night time economy. This has led to an increase in punitive policies against the poor and these are exemplified through the use of force in the night time economy and rising incarceration rates.

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Do Informal Social Controls Drive Desistence from Crime?

Eloise Keys

Desistance from crime is typically viewed as 'going straight' (Maruna et al, 2004); that is, individuals who commit crime, especially as a juvenile, will no longer be involved in committing crime later on in adulthood life. It is difficult to set a correct time frame which would help describe an individual as a 'desister' from crime, or when exactly desistance occurs (Carlsson and Sarnecki, 2016: 125). However, the emphasis concerning the effect of informal social controls on driving desistance from crime is typically associated with previous juvenile crime and whether or not there is a continued and consistent offending history into adulthood life. Most research which has been conducted on whether informal social controls drive desistance from crime has identified employment, family factors; for example marriage, social peers and self-identity, values as the main informal social controls which help to desist people from crime.

Informal social controls like marriage, employment and experience in the military are also seen as 'primary desistance processes' (Giordano et al, 2003: 320). Those informal social controls that help in assisting self-identity and values in desistance are 'secondary desistance processes' (2003: 320). Secondary desistance processes can prove more difficult to change as it involves changing a sense of self, however as will be discussed further in this essay, primary desistance processes can play an important part in changing the sense of self and driving desistance from crime. In this essay I will be discussing further these informal social controls and their effect on driving desistance from crime, especially the transition from juvenile delinquency to adolescence and adulthood. I will also be discussing Moffitt's dual taxonomy, a social-psychological approach in which individuals commit crime and desist from crime, combining this social-psychological approach with informal social controls and the effects this could have in driving desistance from crime. Finally, I will examine whether informal social controls are always useful in driving desistance from crime, and observe other factors that could assist desistance.

Hirschi proposes that 'control theories assume that delinquent acts result when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken' (Hirschi, 2008 [1969]: 16), therefore proposing that weak informal social controls between the individual and society leads to more crime, but strengthening these social bonds can help in driving desistance from crime. Hirschi put forward four different explanations from a classical social control theory, which arguably, can help explain desistance from crime. The first is attachment; 'if he is insensitive to the opinion of others – then he is to that extent not bound by the norms. He is free to deviate. (2008 [1969]: 18). If an individual has strong social attachments to their family, or gains a strong attachment for example, through marriage, it could drive desistance from crime. Hirschi proposes that commitment is also important: 'when or whenever he considers deviant behaviour, the risks he runs of losing the investment he has made in conventional behaviour (2008 [1969]: 21).

In relation to informal social controls, employment in which the individual is committed to could be at risk if they were to be involved in crime, so employment is then seen as an informal social control helping to desist individuals from crime. Involvement in conventional activities can also be argued to be an important factor in driving desistance from crime, as a person may be simply too busy doing conventional activities to find time

to engage in deviant behaviour' (2008 [1969]: 22). Linking this to informal social controls mentioned previously, people in employment are usually busy for the majority of the day, especially if the individual is employed and married the individual's evening and weekends would be filled with conventional activities concerning their spouse, therefore driving desistance from criminal activity the individual may have been previously engaged in. As control theories rely on the association between bonds of the individual and society, a common belief system within the society is also important (2008 [1969]: 23). If this belief system consists of strong norms and values and one was to violate them, then it would affect the society as a whole; having strong norms and values within a society in which the individual is a part of means a stronger drive towards desistance of crime.

Hirschi and Gottfredson collaborate in 'A General Theory of Crime' in which they emphasise not only the importance of strong social bonds in either persisting or desisting from crime, but also the importance of having high self-control in driving desistance from crime. Having low self-control not only means an individual is more susceptible to engaging in crime, but is also means employment opportunities and relationships are affected negatively, as 'people with low self-control thus tend to have unstable marriages, friendships and job profiles' (Hirschi and Gottfredson, 1990: 89). Low self-control, according to Hirschi and Gottfredson, is acquired at a young age 'in the absence of nurturance, discipline or training' (1990: 97), therefore low levels of informal social control as a child leads to low levels of self-control as an adult, which in turn leads to crime. Consequently, informal social controls in driving desistance from crime are important especially as a child, as inadequate socialisation as a child can lead to future crime, as an individual with low self-control finds it difficult to restrain from opportunistic structures of engaging in crime compared to someone with higher self-control. Due to this lack of adequate socialisation in childhood, desistance from crime may be more difficult later in life. Hirschi and Gottfredson differ from Hirschi in that they suggest informal social controls in adulthood such as employment and marriage have little effect on desisting from crime; just that as age increases, crime decreases (1990: 141).

However, and as I will discuss with reference to Sampson and Laub's research, inadequate socialisation as a child can have a probable effect on later criminal behaviour, and the crimes themselves can affect later life in the sense that having a criminal record can have prevent some employment opportunities. Nevertheless, strong informal social bonds as an adult regardless of childhood socialisation can help to drive desistance from crime. As Sampson and Laub proposed, 'adult social bonds not only have important effects on adult crime in and of themselves, but also help to explain the probabilistic links in the chain connecting early childhood differences and later adulthood crime (Sampson and Laub, 1993: 143).

Sampson and Laub investigated informal social controls and the effect they have on crime in the life course from childhood and adolescence to adulthood. This is not to say, like Hirschi and Gottfredson that inadequate childhood socialisation affects criminality in the life course, but that social bonds which are acquired from informal social controls help drive desistance from crime regardless of childhood socialisation. A trajectory is a 'pathway or line of development over the life span such as work life, marriage, parenthood, self esteem or criminal behaviour' (Sampson and Laub, 1993: 8). These trajectories can be diverted by a change of social bonds through informal social controls like marriage and employment. So in terms of desistance from crime, a criminal trajectory can be diverted by a change in employment or marriage. Sampson and Laub's work is influenced by Hirschi's four causes of delinquency; that social bonds are important in understanding why someone

may persist in crime or desist. However, they go further in explaining the importance of social bonds and informal social controls, which can explain desistance from crime. Sampson and Laub state that it is 'the quality or strength of social ties more than the occurrence or timing of discrete life events' (1993: 40).

Sampson and Laub agree with Hirschi and Gottfredson that marriage itself will not increase social control that in turn, drives desistance from crime, but it is the strength of the marriage or relationship that increases social control and drives desistance (Sampson and Laub, 1993: 140). Similarly for employment, if an individual is in a job that they may not particularly like, there is a lack of social control that may lead to involvement or persistence in crime. On the other hand, if the individual is in a job that they have a strong attachment with and enjoy, it means there is a strong source of informal social control and this can lead to desistance in criminal activity. Sampson and Laub's data, in which they conducted their research to test their hypothesis that strong adult bonds lead to desistance in crime, was gained from the Glueck's 1952 longitudinal study of delinquency in America; '1000 boys from deprived backgrounds in Boston; 500 matched pairs of delinquents and non-delinquents. (in Knepper, 2007: 111). Sampson and Laub continued the study of the same boys from the Glueck's study; their hypothesis was correct and they concluded: 'job stability and marital attachment have significant negative effects on later crime…despite vast differences in early childhood experiences' (Sampson and Laub, 1993: 203). Therefore, informal social controls do drive desistance from crime.

There have been a number of studies that have examined informal social controls and their effect on desistance and crime following Sampson and Laub's findings. Uggen found that work could be an important 'turning point in the life course of criminal offenders over 26 years old' (2000: 542). This supports a life-course explanation like Sampson and Laub, however Uggen's study suggests work, in this case, is most useful for those over 26. This could link back to the previous point; that there is no set time frame in which we can measure desistance, therefore early adulthood may be the best indicator of when desistance starts to occur in those who engaged in criminal acts at an earlier age.

Sampson and Laub followed up the same delinquent boys until age 70 and the findings from their previous research are consistent. The effect of marriage on desistance was highly prevalent in the later findings due to 'the direct social control effects by spouses' (Sampson and Laub, 2003: 136), meaning spouses were likely to be controlling of who their husbands would socially associate themselves with, hence leading to desistance of crime if their peers were deviant. Another important type of informal social control that has driven desistance from crime within this sample of men in the study is the role of human agency; that is, accepting responsibility and accepting past mistakes. Sampson and Laub identified that the men who desisted from crime gained 'a new sense of self and identity as a desister from crime, or, more aptly, as a family man, hard worker, and good provider' (2003: 146). This suggests that not only do employment and marriage drive desistance from crime and acting as informal social control mechanisms, but they also help to change self-identity and human agency; identifying themselves as someone who works hard conventionally and did commit crime in the past but has learnt from their mistakes. This also relates to my previous point that primary desistance processes can help change more challenging secondary desistance processes, and in my opinion once this change has occurred, it is harder to revert back to crime, and 'individuals can act as agents as their own change' (LeBel et al, 2008: 155).

Moffitt, on the other hand, proposes a 'Dual Developmental Taxonomy' theory in which she explains the differences between adolescent limited offenders (AL) and life course persistent offenders (LCP) from a social-psychological approach. Moffitt suggests 'the origins of the LCP offenders criminal actions are to be found in the neuro-psychological make up of the individual' (Moffitt [2001]2016: 36). She also emphasises not only the psychological aspect of crime, but also childhood socialisation, similar to Hirschi and Gottfredson, that some children already disadvantaged from their psychological make-up are also further affected by their family socialisation, as 'such children are often born into families with members who themselves have a history of disadvantages and deviance' (Carlsson and Sarnecki, 2016: 37), so these children will begin deviance by misbehaving in school and this will lead to a consistence in deviancy and criminal behaviour.

Moffitt's explanation for desistance in crime is limited, but from her point of view on delinquency onsetting early, an early intervention approach would be beneficial in driving desistance from crime at an early stage before it persists. The 'Troubled Families' programme is targeted at troubled families 'with the aim of 'turning around' the lives of 120,000 families with multiple and complex needs in England' (Bryson et al, 2016: 7). However, in the evaluation of the Troubled Families programme, it was suggested that during the time troubled families were on the programme and had been examined, 'there was no statistically significant evidence that participation in the Programme had an impact on adult offending over the period' (Bryson et al, 2016: 60), suggesting that more targeted interventions on 'troubled families' are not very successful in creating strong enough social bonds to drive desistance from crime.

A combination of Sampson and Laub's theory of informal social controls and the strength of these social controls being successful in desisting from crime, combined with Moffitt's social-psychological knowledge of disadvantaged families could be a better approach in helping to drive desistance from crime. Instead of targeted interventions of trying to drive desistance from crime, universal interventions could help to improve troubled families at an early age before the onset of crime begins, by combining Sampson and Laub's findings of strong social bonds in driving desistance from crime through community projects and employment opportunities. This way, the community having strong social bonds can replace the weakened bonds of the disadvantaged, troubled family, therefore leading to more advantaged families and hence desistance in crime. This is also known as 'collective efficacy', common values of the neighbourhood in preventing crime. Sampson suggests that a lack of collective efficacy begins not only in places with poverty but also 'family disruption, high residential mobility which bring about anonymity, the lack of relationships among residents, and indifference to community organisation' (Knepper, 2007: 22).
High collective efficacy, however, can bring about common values in the community, which lead to a reduction of crime due to higher levels of 'informal social control, cohesion and trust' (Sampson et al, 1997: 923). The town of Jaywick is known for being associated with a high number of people on benefits following it being shown on a TV programme, and is also known as one of the most deprived areas in England. However, it has recently been chosen for a coastal regeneration scheme where coastal teams will help to regenerate the area. 'The team will be made up of local people, councils and small businesses and will be able to bid for a share of the new £3million coastal revival fund' (Echo News, 2015) which helps disadvantaged families in the area on a universal level, promoting strong informal social controls and also leading to employment opportunities which will further strengthen informal social controls which, from looking at extant findings, will drive desistance from crime.

From observing research on informal social controls, we can argue that informal social controls play an important part in driving desistance from crime. However, some individuals will continue to offend even if they have strong social bonds with family or in employment. It could be argued that although individuals may have strong social bonds to employment or family, they may lack the human agency like previously mentioned which enables the individual to take responsibility and change their identity as a criminal. In the Liverpool Desistance study, Maruna et al found 'active offenders describe life in a very deterministic, almost mechanical terms (2004: 225). Therefore, without change within the individuals themselves, informal social controls may not always drive desistance from crime. A second reason could be that formal social controls may be more useful in driving desistance from crime rather than informal social controls, especially if someone is in the absence of strong informal social controls. Cusson and Pinsonneault conducted a study on why ex-robbers desisted from crime and being tired of prison life and becoming aware of the possibility of longer prison sentences were reasons to desist ([1986] 2006: 6). Prison, the police, and probation are segments of the criminal justice system which are types of formal social controls, and wanting to come away from the criminal justice system may be enough motivation in itself to desist from crime.

Looking at a combination of both informal and formal controls to drive desistance from crime is also interesting, and some studies have covered this combined approach of both types of social control. Farrall discusses Coleman's notion of 'social capital', a combination of social structures, which 'make possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible' (Coleman [1989] 2004: 59). Therefore, in regards to informal social control, a combination of social structures leads to a high level of social capital, in which the social structures that are employment, family and human agency help a person desist from crime, an end they may previously had thought they wouldn't meet.

However, some individuals may have lower levels of social capital, which is where formal social controls and criminal justice policy could step in (Farrall 2004: 71). Probation is a form of formal social control that helps to prevent the offender to re-offend, or desist them from crime, and is very crime focused. Farrall suggests that if probation work was desistance based rather than focusing on the offending of the individual (2004: 72), this could help to tackle wider informal social controls such as re-integrating with the family or, if there is no family, the community and employment which could then drive desistance from crime as opposed to just focusing on preventing crime. For many offenders, being in the criminal justice system means there is a negative stigma attached and this can mean offenders being alienated from their families. If probation was to tackle not only crime prevention in itself but also wider social issues then this could be a greater drive of desistance from crime especially in those life-course, active offenders who feel they are doomed. Kruttschnitt et al found that a combination of both formal and informal social control significantly declined reoffending amongst sex offenders, and when those 'with stable work histories receive sex offender treatment, reoffending declines significantly' (Kruttschnitt et al, 2000: 81). Therefore, we could suggest that informal social controls combined with formal social controls can also be increasingly beneficial for desistance from crime and can be a suggested policy implication.

Overall, informal social control has been found by an array of researchers to be successful in driving desistance from crime. Sampson and Laub's longitudinal research imply that it is the strength of the informal social controls that is important rather than the informal social controls themselves just being prevalent in an individual's life. It has also been noted that inadequate childhood socialisation can be a factor in onset of crime later in life, but early

interventions are not always successful and policies which are universal and cover inadequate socialisation combined with strong social bonds, such as community programmes are a better drive in desistance from crime. Informal social controls may not always drive desistance from crime and formal social controls may be more of a motivator in some people's lives. However, a combination of formal and informal social controls is an interesting approach to take in helping individuals desist from crime, especially in the absence of informal social controls, as formal controls can help to build informal controls. A combination of both formal and informal social controls could, especially in adult offenders could have important policy implications in helping crime desistance and helping to bring out change for the better in individuals regardless of their backgrounds.

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What are the relationships between the global city, industrialisation, night time economy and patterns of crime, deviance and control?

Amie Mills

In contemporary society, the impact of globalisation on local and global cities has transformed the nature of contemporary city life, leading to the emergence of new urban forms. Global cities are characterised as a commercial frontier within the night-time economy (NTE). This essay will discuss global cities in reference to how globalisation has led to industrial decline, social stratification, and exclusion; in particular, focusing on the regulation of the night-time leisure and modes of governance.

According to Saskia Sassen, the global city can be characterised as an 'international economy' that has emerged as a result of deregulation and privatisation, leading to an increase in flows of capital and mobility that reshape national and/or local cities (Sassen, 2005:27). As a result of globalisation, global cities can be best understood by the nexus of global flows in regards to political, economic and social policy and capital across urban settings, or across the world. In this regard, global cities act as 'communication hubs', operating as bases for financial, information and production chains, among other global actors and transnational corporations (Aas, 2007:57).

The changing economic and social frameworks of city life are intertwined with the global transformation of deindustrialisation. The shift from industrialisation to the emergence of post-industrial political economies has significantly affected the socio-economic parameters of life. The demise of industrial production and manufacture which was arguably the lifeline of many working class neighbourhoods gave way to the development of the provisions of the service industry. This has led to a significant restructuring of modes of economies, work and labour. For example, 'today, more Americans work in laundries and dry-cleaners than in steel mills […] More work for Wal-Mart than for the entire U.S. automobile industry' (Reich, 2005; Cited in Aas, 2007:55). This structural evolution has led to what Giddens (1991) coined, 'ontological insecurity', which has led to a fear of economic uncertainty. Shifts in labour as a result of deindustrialisation have meant the end of lifetime employment for most. This has been depicted by Mike Davis who suggested that the structural transformations of Los Angeles in the 1980s meant that 'young black working class men saw their employment opportunities substantially diminished' (1998:305).

On the other hand, whilst it has been suggested that the emergence of post-industrialism has led to economic insecurity, the NTE offers new opportunities with regards to types of labour and employment. For example, types of labour have changed to flexible and casual means of work; jobs can often be part-time or even temporary. As suggested by Byrne, 'working in a bar on a part-time basis can be combined with part-time daytime employment, which is far easier to find than full-time labour' (1993, Cited in Hobbs et al., 2000:702). This is significant in suggesting that the NTE offers greater opportunities for employment, especially for those who have commitments in the day-time, such as students. Garland's *Culture of Control* exemplifies how these transformations in the context of late modernity have changed labour markets and social structures (2001a). This can be

emphasised by the privatisation of night-time services and the proliferation of security services in the regulation of nightlife, which will be discussed further subsequently.

The economic redevelopment of urban spaces emerged as a means of attracting international capital and investments. Governmental policies at the time, therefore, endeavoured forms of 'urban entrepreneurialism and market liberalization' as a way of exploiting global markets. The NTE, in particular, marked a convergence of cultural and economic developments based on neoliberal ideologies and policies and governance. In fact, the rampant growth of the NTE is often thought of as a means of entrepreneurial exploitation of time and space. This can be exemplified by the development of ancillary industries that operate at night-time to exploit the market opportunities of nightlife within city centres. For instance, there has been a proliferation in night-time commodities and services such as fast-food outlets and taxi-cab services. For this reason, Bianchini has claimed that the promotion of the NTE has created a 'colonization of time through constant production', thus leading to the formation of a 'twenty-four-hour city' (1995; Cited in Rigakos, 2008:33). The conception of a twenty-four-hour city has therefore been regarded by other scholars as a 'time shift in socio-cultural policy' that encourages consumption and facilitates economic growth through increased business hours (Comedia, 1991:22). The changing spatial organisation and the political economy of the city marked a shift in legality and regulation to accommodate for the developments of the night time economy. Therefore, the deregulation of Licencing Acts has led to a growth of 'chameleon bars' that function as pubs or café-bars during the day and transform into dance-bars by night (Hobbs et al., 2003:26). Such bars are often held as a contemporary feature of city centres that emphasise shifts in policy.

As a means of cultivating international capital, the NTE has been marketed as a culturally vibrant space that fosters as a 'European' lifestyle. According to Hadfield:

> These ambitious and romantic visions looked forward to a time when British cities had shed their dour industrial pasts to be re-born as fully 'European'; relaxed, cosmopolitan and urbane (2006:6).

In this regard, it can be suggested that the NTE has placed an emphasis on 'European' leisure as a means of drawing in international consumption and tourists. This can be exemplified by the city centres such as Manchester which is known as a nightlife hotspot, characterised by its 'Gay Village'. The significance of this is that consumer capitalism has led to competition in the local and global markets that attempt to create niche zones of liminality by exploiting and commodifying forms of culture and identity. Alternatively, consumption offers the idea of forging new identities and is a reaction to the changing local and global conditions which have led to burgeoning opportunities within the NTE. Bauman's conception of 'liquid' post-modernity further emphasises this point (2000). This is due to the interplay of liminal roles, identities, and spaces which suggest that the normative social world of the day is distinct from the hedonistic enablement of the night. Consumers of the NTE, therefore, regard urban city centres as liminal zones; 'within which the familiar protocols and bonds of restraint which structure routine social life loosen and are replaced by conditions of excitement, uncertainty, and pleasure' (Turner, 1967; Cited in Hobbs et al., 2003:43). For this reason, it has been suggested that individuals are seduced by the NTE's carnivalesque and consumer-orientated world due to the notion that 'going out' is a time of release from the mundane responsibilities of work and family life and offers 'something of an adventure' (Simmel, 1950:243-6 ; Cited in Hobbs

et al., 2003:45). The significance of consumption within these contexts is that new forms of identity can be accomplished, or bought.

While the NTE can be thought of as a liminal zone of opportunity offered by the global, neoliberal markets, the NTE is also defined by its burgeoning incidences of exclusion and fear- of which borders that of a moral panic. For this reason, it has been suggested that the global cities within the NTE are dual and/or divided cities. This is due to the notion that the global cities are typically marked by social stratification and segregation in relation to being 'globally connected and locally disconnected', physically and socially (Castells 1996; Cited in Aas, 2007:58). The conceptualisation of the dual city relates to the marginalisation within urban city centres, whereby social stratification and exclusion are born out of the neoliberalist notions of consumption. Furthermore, Rose has argued that as a result of neoliberal governance and politics:

> We are locked into circuits of inclusion and exclusion based around an ability to conform to behaviours that will allow access to mainstream consumption. Those who are unable to translate into the circuits of inclusion are pushed into the 'underclass' (2000, Cited in Talbot, 2007:25).

The significance of this is that if one is unable to consume then they are deemed as 'disconnected', and this can lead to forms of criminalisation of poverty. In the context of neoliberalism, as suggested by Wacquant, society tends to marginalise the 'problem' population (2009). Such notions not only lead to forms of exclusion but can lead to forms of fear of the 'Other'. Similarly, the pressure to consume can, therefore, lead to illegitimate means of 'consuming' goods, thus suggesting that the exclusionary processes of the NTE can lead to crime.

Alternatively, nightlife spaces can be markers of 'the construction of stylistic, cultural and economic hierarchies' (Measham and Hadfield 2009; Cited in Hadfield, 2009:340). This can be demonstrated by the proliferation of 'VIP-only lounges' that exemplify how the consumer night-time experience is that of stratification. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the social divisions of nightlife resemble that of wider society to the extent that groups or individuals are discriminated against by racist door policies. For example, the Soho nightclub 'DSTRKT' has recently been accused of racism after refusing the entry of four women to the club for being 'too dark' and 'too overweight' (Osborne, 2015). Often, problems of exclusion and spatial division manifest from the NTE are thought to have emerged partly as a result of the rise of privatized public spaces. For example, it has been suggested that many people tend to avoid the urban city centres at night due to the perceived threat of 'drunken youths' (Hobbs et al, 2003). This not only discourages a wider participation in nightlife, but rather leads to a ghettoization of nightlife city centres that are typically characterised by deviant forms of youth hedonism. The significance of this, as suggested by Thomas and Bromley, is that the 'fear of crime [is] now presenting a 'formidable barrier' to the development of more diverse and inclusive nightlife' (2000: 1425; Cited in Hadfield 2006). The notion of exclusion can be further extended to those citizens who are not characteristic of the target or core consumer group of the NTE. For example, the NTE is typically characterised by alcohol-consumption, therefore forms of abstinence (typically demonstrated by religious groups or minorities), may lead to forms of social and cultural exclusion.

Neoliberal policies and styles of governance have refocused power away from industrial authority and have led to a framework of 'responsibilisation' (Garland, 2001a).

Responsibilisation is a form of self-regulation that encourages which private businesses, local communities, and individuals are to take precautions to reduce their risk of becoming a victim of crime. The NTE has become reliant upon new forms of social control due to the notion that 'deindustrialization has created a breakdown in those taken for granted codes and cultures of constraint that during the industrial era', which kept violent crime down (Currie, 1997a; Cited in Hobbs, 2003:29-30). It is thought that these informal social controls derived from the clear structures of class and work-based life patterns within the division of labour that promoted strong communal bonds.

The growth in mass private property means that the privatisation of security plays a vital role in the NTE. The privatisation of social control has formed as a response to the unregulated zones of the NTE, often, working alongside local police to provide local solutions to globally produced problems of crime and disorder. This emergent system has led to an interconnected network of governance, compromised between the public and private sector. This coalition is essential to the NTE and urban politics, as the new economy has become reliant on new forms of social control that impose systems of regulation and discipline. This, therefore, suggests that concerns about local disorder are intertwined with global transformations of the NTE within city centres.

Today, the numbers of private security outnumber state police forces to the extent that bouncers or door-staff are perhaps the primary policing agent of the NTE. Bouncers are a form of aesthetic consumption within the NTE; their mere presence can be enough to establish dominance and prompt compliance of the public. Door-staff typically have the responsibility of controlling who enters a venue. The role of door-staff is an age-old idea; in fact, it dates back to the notion of porters, and the 'sociology of the door-closer' (Johnson, 1988:300). The significance of this is that the role of door-staff as gatekeepers to liminal zones has become banal in the NTE, as a construct of inclusion or exclusion. Rather, door-staff offer opportunities for the surveillance and assessment; for example, bouncers may be able to spot known 'troublemakers' and prevent them from entering the premises. Significantly, it has been found that 'ninety-eight per cent of door-staff' are male (Rigakos, 2008:47). While this may be due to the occupational risk of violence, it highlights that there may be a gender issue among night time employers which suggests a form of 'bouncer culture' similar to that of policing. For example, Monaghan has suggested that 'body language […] an essential part of their work, […] is grounded on masculine stereotypes, such as bodybuilding and toughness' (2002; Cited in Graça, 2008:137). This emphasises another reason as to why the NTE is considered as an exclusionary economy, specifically for women who seek part-time employment at night-time and are subject to jobs as barmaids. It has been suggested by Hobbs et al. that, 'while the police are mere gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, bouncers are gatekeepers of liminal zones' (2003:49). The significance of this is that bouncers represent the inability of the state to function in the new economy of the night-time due to a lack of resources. Significantly, while the police enforce the law, bouncers operate under ambiguous rules, codes and protocols based upon personal discretion which is underpinned by what is 'good for business' (Hobbs et al., 2003:15). However, this does not suggest that bouncers have the same powers as the police. Through the Licencing Act 2003, the state has regulated venue-specific restrictions such as ensuring that bouncers have a 'Security Industry Authority (SIA) licence' (Home Office, 2012:11). The Security Industry Authority license plays an important role in preventing crime and disorder and ensures that security staff are not involved in, or operate as fronts for organised crime such as drugs. This represents the ways in which the state attempts to regulate the private sector within the NTE.

Forms of formal police intervention to reduce disorder and violence within the NTE are often 'Penalty Notices for Disorder' (PNDs) of the Criminal Justice and Police Act by which officers have the power to issue 'on the spot' fixed fines for public disturbances (Home Office, 2011). Under the Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 (Section 27), police officers can request any persons aged above sixteen to leave a locality if they are judged likely to have caused or contributed towards a crime and/or disorder in that area relating to alcohol (Home Office, 2006). Nonetheless, multi-agency initiatives have led to an increase in social control at the local level and provide a means of crime prevention initiatives. This has been discussed by Feeley and Simon in their conceptualisation of actuarial justice (1992). For example, they have suggested that interventions such as hot-spotting, in regards to the managing of populations ranked by notions of risk are a crucial development in the NTE. Similarly, Situational Crime Prevention is essential to the regulation and governance of the NTE due to the ways in which it includes strategies that focus on opportunistic crimes. This has led to the reliance upon target hardening in nightlife. Alternatively, another crucial agency of social control within the NTE is the increase in SOS buses that voluntarily operate in many city centres, acting to protect and prevent harm to those whose well-being is threatened. The significance of this is that the NTE as a global transformation is thought to rely on a range of multi-agency initiatives that attempt to combat crime and deviance on a local level. In addition, the proliferation of CCTV surveillance further reveals the transformation of urban city centres to global cities that are dominated by consumption and tourism.

Violent behaviour is regarded as a central feature of the NTE. According to Babb, reports of violent crime, disorder and criminal damage have increased since the introduction of the 'Licensing Act 2003' by which offences among violent crime and harassment occur 'as a result of alcohol misuse and night-time disorder' (2007; Cited in Hadfield, 2009:29). Incidents of violence have been identified in urban centres to occur at 'hot times' (Felson, 1997; Cited in Hobbs et al., 2003:39). In particular, it has been noted that violence and disorder in public occur between '9pm and 3am' on Friday and Saturday nights, (Hobbs et al., 2003:37). These forms of violence frequently result in injuries that are 'often facial, some of which are 'glassings'' (Allen et al., 2003; Cited in Finney, 2004:1). Forms of violence that occur in public spaces are often associated with the intoxicated congregation of people surrounding available night-time commodities and services such as taxi bays and food outlets. Due to the increasing violence and disorder of the NTE, it has been suggested that such behaviours have produced a 'chronic drain' of the resources and services of the NHS, and more importantly, the police.

In conclusion, while the idea of the NTE is promoted as a culturally vibrant realm of adventure, it is important to remember the dark side of the NTE, in particular, nightlife. Therefore the national and local government as a commercial frontier within the NTE can be regarded as an instrument of consumer capitalism within the post-industrial era that arguably poses a great threat to public order within global cities. Ultimately, this has led to the industrial decline, social stratification, and exclusion for many citizens within urban city centres and has contributed towards the escalation of violence, anti-social behaviour and disorder. 'The reality is that the night-time economy is a largely unregulated zone of quasi liminality awash on a sea of alcohol', that has called into question the techniques of governance throughout contemporary global cities in how they control and prevent forms of criminality (Hobbs et al., 2000:710).

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To what extent is the recent trend towards Native American cultural revitalization a response to the serious health and alcohol problems experienced by American Indians today?

Peter Murrells

From the sixteenth-century onwards, the circumstances experienced by Indigenous people within the United States have provided one of the most evident refutations of the myth of American Exceptionalism. In the present day, though the nation continues to style itself as one of the most advanced and powerful in the world, conditions facing the descendants of its original inhabitants are often far more characteristic of much less developed countries. For example, the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota is second only to Haiti in having the lowest life expectancy within the Western Hemisphere (Wetherholt, 2015). Elsewhere, in the Southwest, one in three Navajo are either diabetic or pre-diabetic, constituting an incidence rate that is four times higher than the national average (Navajo Relief Fund, 2015; Partners in Health, 2015). Within the country as a whole, statistics published by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2008) conclude that 11.7% of Native Americans deaths are attributable to excessive alcohol consumption as opposed to just 3.3% of deaths within the general population.

These troubling statistics, being illustrative of the failings of the U.S. government, have necessitated a cultural revitalisation movement that seeks to reassert Native identities that prospered for millennia prior to colonisation. As a wealth of evidence connects the arrival of European settlers to North America and the onset of disease and illness among Indigenous populations, activism related self-determination is often inextricably linked to improving health standards. However, as shall be discussed in this essay, these epidemics do not exist within a vacuum. On the contrary, poor Native health in the contemporary era is a consequence of centuries of political, economic, cultural and spiritual dispossession, and cannot be fully understood as an isolated issue. To do so would not only focus on the symptoms of dispossession rather than the root causes, but reinforce the harmful historic myth that profound genetic weaknesses separate Native from White America (Dunbar-Ortiz and Gilio-Whitaker, 2016: 132; Thatcher, 2004: 117-118). As such, this essay argues that revitalisation efforts concerned with seeking better Indigenous health outcomes often represent a pushback against a broader historical injustice.

Contextualising the health issues affecting Native Americans in the present day within a history of oppression can be a problematic task. As Vine Deloria Jr. discusses in *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, the white writing of Native history is so frequently informed by stereotypes that it is 'impossible to tell truth from fiction or fact from mythology' (1969: 1-2). Nevertheless, if such high frequencies of alcoholism, tuberculosis, diabetes and suicide were viewed as purely the fault of each individual sufferer, a far greater injustice would have been committed. This attitude effectively validates disinterest in tackling problems facing Native groups by emphasising a level of personal autonomy that, within poverty-stricken and politically disenfranchised communities, seldom actually exists. As recently as 2013, the calamitous effect of this mindset could be witnessed in the $800 million budget cuts forced upon the Indian Health Service at the behest of anti-'big' government Republicans in Congress (New York Times Editorial Board, 2013). Although evidently deemed inconsequential enough by the federal government, the National Indian

Health Board predicts that the long-term consequences of these cuts will be 'devastating' reductions in both health centre staff and disease prevention services, thereby exacerbating many pre-existing epidemics (2013: iii, 22).

If the legislators who are intent on dismantling the Indian Health Service took into consideration the often-ignored darker side of white conquest, one would hope that they would think twice about perpetuating a long history of mistreatment. Indeed, many of the most harmful health issues facing Native Americans in the present day did not exist within the 'New World' before colonialism. For example, it is well-documented that obesity, diabetes and heart disease only flourished among Indigenous people after the systematic removal of whole communities from their ancestral homelands, a practice that took place on a huge scale throughout the nineteenth century (Edwards and Patchell, 2009: 32-34). Before this, native diets were known to be rich in sustainably-sourced natural produce that, with the advent of American capitalism, were eventually made impossible to maintain (Edwards and Patchell, 2009: 32-34; Hormel and Norgaard, 2009: 352-355). While the United States government initially framed the movement of communities to reservations as being beneficial for the country's first people, land 'granted' to Native Americans was purposefully barren and of little use to white settlers (Frantz, 1999: 14). Thus, in the twenty-first century, limited opportunities for self-sufficiency and high levels of poverty have engendered a junk food diet that is high in calories yet low in nutritional value. Recent legislative attempts to challenge this epidemic within the Navajo Nation have served to highlight the complexity of the issue. Although the Tribal Council was praised for implementing a tax on 'little-to-no nutritional value food items' in November 2014, increasing the cost of goods while providing few affordable alternatives unfairly penalised the disproportionately high number of unemployed and impoverished reservation residents who have little choice but to pursue an unhealthy lifestyle (Morales, 2015). This situation thus attests the notion that there are rarely easy solutions that depend solely upon a change of individual behaviour for the issues facing poor Native communities. As such, it is necessary to look beyond the traditional model of upward mobility central to the mythical 'American Dream' narrative. Indeed, transcending one's circumstances through personal efforts alone is too often a luxury afforded only to those with the requisite economic and social capital to do so.

Like junk food, the health and social problems associated with alcohol dependence among Native communities can also be traced back to the actions of European immigrants. Western movies pushed the unflattering stereotype of the "drunken Indian" onto a mainstream audience throughout the twentieth-century, yet Hollywood was less forthcoming in documenting the fact that before colonisation, alcohol was non-existent within all but a small minority of Native groups located in the American Southwest, where its consumption was reserved for purely ceremonial purposes (Abbott, 1996: 3-5). It was not until white settlers learned that the drunkenness of Indigenous people could be exploited for trade and treaty agreements that cheap high-concentration spirits flooded Native groups and began to devastate communities that had harmoniously existed for thousands of years (Perrin, 2011: 442-443).[1] Today, alcohol dependence among Native Americans is an enduring legacy of this era, which, like the concurrent junk food epidemic,

[1] It should be noted that *not all* Native American tribes were ravaged by alcohol use following contact with Europeans. Indeed, many looked upon White offerings of alcohol with rightful suspicion or drank only in moderation. As Coyhis and White assert, alcohol consumption only became 'increasingly disruptive' for Native groups when it was 'modelled on the frontier drinking patterns of soldiers, trappers and traders' (2002: 2). Nevertheless, this cannot exonerate European settlers for encouraging excessive Native drinking and welcoming the damage it caused to many individuals and communities.

is intertwined with high levels of poverty and a perception of few worthwhile prospects. Once again though, finding solutions to this issue requires careful consideration of a range of factors. For instance, the outright prohibition of alcoholic substances on reservations has been condemned by scholars such as Christine Bolt (1987) and Richard W. Thatcher (2004: 10-11) for perpetuating the 'firewater myth' that Native Americans have a 'biological predisposition to alcohol dependency…. [and] cannot learn to moderate their use of alcohol'. Certainly, when the historical characterisation of the Native as a savage is considered, one can understand why the necessity of 'dry' reservations may be viewed as being detrimental to perceptions of America's Indigenous people. However, if alcoholism is treated as the illness of the individual as opposed to a wider societal problem, attempts to reduce the dire consequences of binge drinking (such as chronic liver disease, cirrhosis, foetal alcohol syndrome, domestic violence and suicide) will be rooted in medicalisation, which serves to remedy the personal symptoms of alcohol dependency rather than challenge the underlying environmental factors that cause people to drink (Duran & Duran, 1995: 112). As funds appropriated to Native nations by the U.S. federal government are continually inadequate, this practice of medicalisation, which constitutes a cheaper and simpler short-term measure, indeed often takes precedence, maintaining an endless burden for tribal health care that 'cannot afford a single dollar lost' according to experts (Duran & Duran, 1995: 112; National Indian Health Board, 2013: iii).

If it is possible to recognise any positives from this situation, it is that the revitalisation movements made necessary by the systematic disenfranchisement of Indigenous people have highlighted the resilience of groups once dismissed as weak and inferior by colonisers. Though these projects purposefully challenge the idea that Native American identities are defined in relation to the actions of White America, any examination of these efforts that does not acknowledge the conditions that made them a necessity would be insufficient. For instance, had assimilation programmes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries not forced young Native Americans to abandon their cultural practices, the need to reassert traditional languages and customs in the present day through such events as the Miss Navajo Nation pageant would be mitigated. The existence of the latter certainly does not justify the former, but does provide the strong message that Native groups cannot quietly be consigned to history by those with a Eurocentric worldview.

As the aforementioned chain of events that has caused epidemics associated with alcohol and poor-quality food consumption appears so entrenched, revitalisation efforts in these areas that work solely within the confines of the prevailing political and economic systems are destined to have limited success. For instance, it would seem that so long as Native groups are assimilated into capitalism, unemployment will remain high as a result of communities being isolated, in turn leading to high rates of poverty and thus a dependency on cheap foods known to cause health issues (Hormel and Norgaard, 2009: 357). Though the belief that capitalism naturally produces positive outcomes for all in society continues to be propagated by elites, it is undermined by the continual ceding of power from governments to large corporations in the name of the free market (Gigoux and Samson, 2010: 302; Hormel and Norgaard, 2009: 356). Consequently, effective efforts to improve Native health often symbolise a broader grassroots rejection of the mechanisms that have been used to legitimise and maintain Indigenous dispossession.

The campaign to remove six dams that prevented the flow of Spring Chinook salmon to the upper basin of the Klamath River exemplifies a movement that goes beyond attempts to retain good health and instead represents a larger rejection of Western capitalism. For ten-thousand years prior to the arrival of white settlers, the Karuk tribe fished sustainably on

the northern Californian river and, like their counterparts throughout the Americas, possessed a healthy lifestyle as a result (Hormel and Norgaard, 2009: 358). However, the advent of capitalism in the nineteenth century prompted a new system of land ownership that brought with it extensive overfishing and environmental degradation, causing a subsequent decline in salmon numbers and the criminalisation of historic fishing practices (Hormel and Norgaard, 2009: 355). Today, members of the formerly healthy Karuk Tribe are four times more likely to suffer from diabetes and three-times more likely to suffer from heart disease than the average American citizen (Hormel and Norgaard, 2009: 357). Similarly, through being involuntarily subsumed into capitalism, 90% of Karuk that reside on the tribe's ancestral homeland now live below the poverty line (Homel and Norgaard, 2009: 345).

Considering these impediments, the enormity of the tribe taking their fight to Scottish Power, a company that at the time had a revenue exceeding one billion pounds (GBP) should not be underestimated (Scottish Power, 2009). As the principle of economic prosperity at the heart of the United States teaches us that money equals status and influence, conventional wisdom suggests that Karuk activists would be doomed to fail. Indeed, interviews undertaken by Hormel and Norgaard affirm that even members of the tribe initially found the idea of success implausible (Hormel and Noorgaard, 2009: 360). However, in persevering with the 'Bring Home the Salmon' campaign and taking their case directly to the company's headquarters in Edinburgh, campaigners worked to refute the notion that those marginalised by capitalism possess no voice. In April 2016, these efforts were rewarded by the Klamath Hydroelectric Settlement Agreement, which arranged for the removal of four dams by 2020 (Kershaw, 2016). Though it may be easy for critics to dismiss arrangements such as these as being inconsequential given the larger burdens facing Indigenous communities, incremental victories demonstrate that when Indigenous narratives of oppression are vocalised and understood, change can occur in conditions that many would have us believe are unchangeable.

Just as the attainment of a healthy diet depended upon resistance to capitalist integration for the Karuk people, so too must Native American attitudes towards alcoholism reject the treatment models that prevail in the U.S. and instead emphasise a reassertion of traditional customs and principles. In the *The Red Road to Wellbriety*, a guide published for Indigenous Americans suffering from addiction problems, the justification for this revitalisation process is succinctly described using the metaphor of the 'Healing Forest': 'When a tree gets sick and is removed from diseased soil, treated, and returned and replanted in the same diseased soil, it will get sick again' (White Bison Inc. as quoted in Coyhis and White, 2002a: 18). Clearly, in the case of alcoholism, the 'diseased soil' represents the societal conditions in place that encourage individuals to self-medicate through excessive drinking: poverty, unemployment, poor education standards and an encroaching mainstream culture that fosters low self-worth. Thus, unadjusted Western programmes that de-emphasise the role of society and stress the importance of the individual (i.e. 'Admitting *you* have a problem') are destined to be culturally inappropriate. As is the case for many Native American health epidemics, these practices ignore the 'diseased soil' thereby leaving communities vulnerable in the long term. It is therefore understandable that 'Indianized' Alcoholics Anonymous courses constitute a far greater celebration of Native community (with family members often present) than their U.S. counterparts, while Indigenous organisations such as The Red Road (based in Franklin, Tennessee) seek to pre-emptively challenge 'hopelessness [that] has manifested itself in [alcohol] abuse' by teaching the younger generation traditional 'languages, artwork, music [and] dancing' (Coyhis and White, 2002b: 3-7; The Red Road, n.d.). Like the activism of the Karuk tribe, both these

techniques recognise the importance of systemic change in improving Indigenous health standards, and accordingly, both seek to do much more than just address rates of alcohol-related illness. Indeed, by asserting the importance of cultural traditions, these projects replace the alienation engendered by Euro-American integration with a sense of relevance and pride.

If the dominant methods of treating alcoholism are inappropriate for Native groups, it is also conceivable that Western attitudes towards drinking may altogether be incorrect. Taken to its extreme, this belief goes beyond scholarship that suggests Indigenous drinking patterns are overemphasised to perpetuate stereotypes ('the firewater myth') by entirely rejecting the premise that alcoholism is an undesirable affliction (Thatcher, 2004: 23-25; May, 1999: 231-232). This has manifested itself through a trend of 'protest drinking' purposefully intended to disrupt the conventions and expectations of White Americans. It is by no means a practice as commonplace as the anthropologist Nancy Oestreich Lurie implies through her dubious theory that 'Indian drinking is an established means of asserting and validating Indianness', but nonetheless exists and deserves examination in relation to cultural revitalisation projects (Lurie, 1971: 315). On the one hand, protest drinking can be understood as a legitimate reaction to the conditions that have caused so much strife among Native communities. By criticising this practice or attempting to implement change, outsiders may (albeit unwittingly) perpetuate the historic stereotype that the backwards Native American requires 'saving' by the civilised colonisers. However, though cultures are seldom immune to change, the legitimacy of protest drinking as a form of cultural revitalisation is compromised by the fact that excessive alcohol consumption was introduced to North America by European settlers. Hence, by appropriating this, protest drinkers repeat the same practices that have facilitated white conquest for centuries.

Irrespective of which of these philosophies is the more appropriate, the fact that the need to protest drink exists at all attests the difficulty of conditions facing Native Americans in the twenty-first century. While poor health is clearly a major concern for Indigenous people within the United States, high rates of illness and disease are themselves symptomatic of the continual political, economic, cultural and spiritual dispossession that has also engendered widespread poverty and community displacement. With these factors being so interwoven, medicalisation efforts reliant on individual change are destined to be ineffective. Consequently, as both the campaign to remove the dams on the Klamath River and 'Indianized' alcoholism treatments illustrate, long-term strategies in improving Native health standards must reject broader Western practices that have only served to entrench Indigenous hardship. In doing so, traditions that prospered for millennia prior to colonialism are reasserted and celebrated, thereby proving that Native Americans are not simply a historical population. With the incoming presidential administration in the U.S. expected to accelerate private sector growth at the expense of regulation, revitalisation projects are likely to remain necessary for the foreseeable future. However, as this essay has shown, change through activism can be possible even in the unlikeliest of circumstances.

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Sandra Walklate (2007) asks 'are we all victims now? What is your response and why?

Ellie Yasmin Sannerude

Grasping the global aspect of the recent Paris attacks of 2015, substantial media coverage informed the world on the brutal massacre and terror of ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and the Syria), which left 130 dead and 368 injured (Chow and Kostov, 2015). This traumatic attack not only affected citizens of Paris, but was also perceived as a global threat by ISIS terror, encouraging 'us to place ourselves next to the victim, for after all, are they not just like us?' (Walklate, 2009: 5). Walklate elaborates how the incredible influence of the media on global attacks is inescapable – whether experienced directly or indirectly – with the difficulty 'to escape an appreciation of pain and the impact they cause' (Walklate, 2009:6). Placing criminal victimisation in a global context reveals an understanding of how it affects vulnerable victims on a local level (e.g. UK increased security and tightened border controls), as 'urgent public issues and insistent human troubles' in the words of C.W. Mills can be seen as interlinked through empathy at a broader level (Mills, 1959:21).

Within the criminal justice system (CJS), victims play a crucial role in initiating the process. Without victims, much of its work would come to a standstill (Carrabine et al, 2014). Victimisation is a vast, complicated field, however this essay aims to explore Walklate's (2009) discussion of Furedi's (1997) statement that 'we are all victims now' and how victimisation transcends locality. Firstly, the concepts of 'victim' and 'profile of victimisation' will be outlined, amongst brief discussion of Mendelsohn (1974) and Hentig's (1948) contribution to the study of 'victimology' (in Walklate, 2007a :50). Developments centring victims within the CJS will be explored, alongside how the introduction of British Crime Surveys in the UK (1982), allowed large scales of victimisation to be produced (in Carrabine et al, 2014: 160). The first half of the essay will be devoted to how we cannot all be considered victims, due to crime/victimisation being localised. Arguments will pinpoint the stereotypical profile of the victim and the ways in which local aspects, such as poor neighbourhoods and high deprivation, can be contributing factors towards criminal victimisation. This will be supported by statistics on rates of burglaries and muggings in deprived areas, in relation to the broken windows theory and 'hot spot policing' as a prevention strategy. On the other hand, criminal victimisation and types of crime will be explored through hate crime, as an example of victimhood transcending beyond locality. Also, Walklate's (2007a) argument of victimhood reasserting its power over citizenship, will draw in the normalisation of victims and secondary victimisation. Social and political responses to victims, such as 'Victims Support' and 'Victim Personal Statements' will be outlined, revealing how victims are centred in the CJS process, proving how victimisation is tied to empathy, whilst allowing them to claim rights.

The term 'victim' possesses a highly problematic status for academics, criminologists and those working within the CJS. Various scholars discuss its relevance to French gendered assumptions, whereby 'la victim' is denoted as female, deriving passivity and powerlessness (Walklate, 2007b). Radical feminists are highly critical of these gender assumptions and prefer to use the term 'survivor' when referring to women as victims (Walklate, 2007b). However, what complicates this term is 'that an individual at different points in time, in relation to different events, could be an active or passive victim/ survivor' (Walklate, 2007b:27). Recently, the Victims Code introduced how individuals who

experience physical, mental or emotional harm, or economic loss caused by a criminal offence, are entitled to claim victimhood, alongside relatives of a direct victim (Ministry of Justice, 2015). The theory of 'victimology', first introduced by Hentig (1948) (in Walklate 2007a: 50), explores patterns of offence and place of incidence to understand the relationship between victims and offenders (Scott, 2014). The two US 'lawyers-cum-criminologists', distinguished between victims and non-victims, much of which Lombroso (1876) focused upon, however they used the model of a 'normal' individual (white, heterosexual and middle class) to distinguish between the two (in Walklate, 2007b: 146). The 1960s and 1970s saw victim studies take a new direction in centring the victim within policy making and the CJS, partly due to the influence of 'Criminal Victimisation Surveys', the first 'British Crime Survey' being carried out in 1982 (Walklate, 2011). Victim surveys allowed for 'area victimisation rates' (offences against a specific group) to be used in comparison with 'areas offence rates' in a given space (Carrabine et al, 2014). As a result, ideas that demographic factors and 'space' impact rates of victimisation evolved, with the 'Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW)' (2013) creating a 'profile of victimisation'. This profile involved victims who were aged 16-34, unemployed, living in urban areas and living in 20% of the most deprived areas (Crime Survey for England and Wales, 2013). These attributes reinforce a link with locality and victimisation.

In response to Walklate's disputing of the statement 'are we all victims now', it can be argued that we are not, due to criminal victimisation being highly localised. When employing the term 'localised', consideration goes towards understanding how crime can be restricted to a particular space (Carrabine et al, 2014). Oberwittler, when studying deprivation in the UK and US, stresses that observing economic disadvantage in connection with networks such as parents, friends and schools, is highly important as these networks are what constitute a 'neighbourhood' (2005). Consequently, the profile of the victim (aged 16-34 and unemployed) can be caused by the space around them. Dixon et al's use of of data from several years of the CSEW proves that individuals living in the most deprived neighbourhoods are, on average, 2.5 times more likely to be burgled or mugged and 2.6 times more likely to be worried about being a victim of physical attack, when compared to those living in less deprived neighbourhoods (Dixon et al, 2006). In consequence, Walklate states that 'it is the poorer members of society who are likely to be the least well-equipped to deal with loss of pension funds, or long term loss of work as a result of some accident or disaster', by which they can find themselves in a constant cycle of victimisation (Walklate, 2007a: 72). Miers' concept of 'the delinquent victim' is applicable to poorer neighbourhoods. Disadvantaged individuals in society experience material deprivation, and as a result, the CJS is less sympathetic towards their victimhood due to them being perceived as 'deserving victims' (Miers, 2007). Goodey (2000) points out how these particular victims are known as 'non-citizens' in society and attitudes towards victimisation are shaped by stereotypes, such as migrants being 'scroungers' who rely on the economic system.

The phenomenon of 'hierarchy of victimisation' also supports the cause of victimisation being localised. Low-status, powerless groups dominate the lower end of the hierarchy, and the police specifically attempts to control and segregate such individuals, affecting victims and their identity (Carrabine et al, 2014). One strategy supporting the view that criminal victimisation is localised, is the use of 'hot spot policing', which involves the targeting of certain areas by the police, in an attempt to prevent crime (Bottoms, 2012). This shows a demand for understanding the offender's use of space and the specific locations where victimhood is likely to be obtained, through the use of predictive policing (Bottoms, 2012).

Also relevant to the localisation argument is the concept of 'repeat victimisation'. This involves victims being subject to multiple/serial offences, often experienced within domestic violence, with 'approximately 42 % of domestic violence victims being victimised more than once a year' (Women's Commission, 2010). The Women's Commission also found that 'domestic violence has a higher rate of repeat victimisation than any other crime' (2010). Maguire and Bennett contribute to this concept by putting forward that those who have currently been victimised (with their given example of 'divorce') and are experiencing criminal victimisation on further occasions, are automatically vulnerable to be victimised in the future (1982). This proves that not everyone in society cannot be categorised as a 'victim', although those who do, are more likely to experience repeat victimisation. The 'broken windows theory' introduced by Kelling et al (1996) can also support how repeat victimisation is bound to happen in particular settings. The theory explains how the failure to control minor incivilities (e.g. vandalism, graffiti, rowdy behaviour and begging), will prompt a series of linked social responses by which neighbourhoods can tip into fearful ghettos of crime (Bottoms, 2012). Therefore, if a neighbourhood appears deprived with little 'collective efficacy', trust, crime and victimisation have an appropriate setting to inflict fear (Carrabine et al, 2014).

Mendelsohn (1974) and Hentig (1948), as noted, made significant contributions to the study of victims and attempted to make sense of the events around WWII (e.g. the Holocaust), through the use of victim typologies surrounding 'choice' (McGarry and Walklate, 2015). Consequently, these perspectives allowed for certain assumptions to be made around 'victim blaming', which is closely tied with Miers' 'positivist victimology' (2007) which involves the concern that some victims actively contribute to their own victimisation (McGarry and Walklate, 2015). Hentig's (1948) typology of 'victim precipitation' refers to 'actions by the victim that encourage a response in the offender that increases the chance of victimisation' (Walklate, 2007b). Locality and space, again, is applicable here as 'prevalent rape myths involve victim blaming beliefs such as that women provoke their victimisation by the type of clothing they wear' or by walking alone at night (Korkodeilou, 2015: 266). Amir was one of the first scholars to controversially report on rape. Using Philadelphian police records, he noted how the use of alcohol, seductive actions and revealing clothing encouraged offenders to misunderstand the victim's intentions and accounted for 19 % of rape incidents (Amir, 1968). In other words, the woman was to blame for the attack, as 'she will be available for sexual contact if he will persist in demanding it' (Amir, 1968:493). 'The situational aspect contains the elements of vulnerable or risk situations which, together with victim's behaviour, become aggravating circumstances', reinforcing that locality can determine our likelihood of becoming a victim, with many rape incidents reportedly occurring on the streets (Amir, 1968: 493). As a result, the statement that we are all victims can be disregarded with evidence showing that victimhood, to an extent, depends on self-management.

However, radical feminists highly criticise victims' apparent 'conscious' role in crimes such as rape, due to the gender stereotypes surrounding 'innocence' and 'vulnerability' as used to blame women (Carrabine et al, 2014). In addition, they would point to the role of patriarchy in a male dominated world that reinforces such negative assumptions towards women. Also, Korkodeilou discusses how Burt (1980) would regard victim blaming as 'false belief' (Korkodeilou, 2015: 266). On the contrary, with regard to crime, men and gender power dynamics appear to be hidden from the 'victimological gaze', as they tend to be seen as offenders (Walklate, 2007b). For example, Messerschmidt highlights that when legitimate resources are unavailable, crime provides a way of 'doing masculinity' and exerting power by subordinating women through normative heterosexuality (2000).

Examining gender relations through victim blaming shows that we are not all victims due to the demographic role of gender and locality impacting the probability of becoming a victim. Also, self-management and regulation can determine the likelihood of victimisation.

Alongside gender and locality, risk factors such as employment and marriage can determine victimhood. Daigle et al examined the association between marriage, employment and victimisation (2008). Using data from three waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, they found that employment decreases desistance from victimisation, in other words, employment increases the likelihood of victimisation (Daigle et al, 2008). Employment was seen as a risk factor as the victim's household would be unoccupied (allowing burglary/theft) and the victim's journey to and from work would expose them to crime on the streets. The relationship between domestic violence and the increased risk that employment brings can also be applied here. This again supports the idea that we are not all victims, due to self-management and 'responsibilitisation' of life choices, however domestic abuse usually involves victims not being responsible of the violent situations they find themselves in. Carrabine et al (2014) discusses how Foster and Hope (1993) pinpoint that pockets of high unemployment in public housing estates reveal very high rates of victimization, demonstrating how crime and victimisation can be tied to locality (Carrabine et al, 2014: 162).

On the other hand, it can be argued that we are all victims now because everyone in society tends to empathise with global acts spread throughout the media. Empathy involves the 'ability to identify with and understand others' on an emotional level, in a sense 'walking in the shoes' of the victim (Scott, 2014:210). Nils Christie's (1986) conception of the 'ideal victim' stresses that certain assumptions are attached to the label 'victim' and the connotations of 'vulnerable' in need of compassion, by which society sympathises with (Walklate, 2007b: 144). The impact of empathy and victimisation is highlighted in Walklate's article with the interview she conducted with an elderly lady who appeared distressed by the theft of her son's watch in a house burglary (Walklate, 2009). Walklate discusses distress in connection with the disruption of the elderly lady's daily routines and habits that had been taken away from her coping routine (Walklate, 2009). She uses this to argue how the capability of individuals to resolve their own troubles has been increasingly lost, and that victimisation cannot be fully prevented, but only managed (Walklate, 2009). Karstedt has underlined how harm and crime beget one another and offers space for giving voice to the other, whereby the normalisation of victims acts as a permanent feature in social life, which remains unquestioned (Karstedt, 2002). With the empathetic suffering of victims transcending locality, C W. Mills believes that personal troubles cannot be solved as troubles, instead they need to be understood with regard to wider, public issues (e.g. transnational crime) and their historical context (1959). By virtue of empathy towards global threats, Walklate claims that victimhood reasserts its power over citizenship (the given rights and duties of a state), through which she believes that to be recognised as a victim (of these and other harms), is to exert claim to citizenship and by recognising 'new victims' in this way, it creates new rights and services, reinforcing how we are all victims now (Walklate, 2009).

We are all considered victims now, whether directly or indirectly. Secondary victimisation relates to the 'additional negative impact resulting from the way others (especially criminal justice agencies) respond to them and the crime' (Carrabine et al, 2014: 493). Victims of CJS itself often experience complex court cases being prolonged, leaving them feeling distressed. In addition, families of homicide victims can also be classified as secondary victims due to their involvement in court procedures (Walklate, 2007a).

Contemporary developments present a new form of victimisation - hate crime. Hate crime can be used to support the argument that we are all victims because it transcends locality and allows victims to claim rights and seek justice. Hate crime is motivated by a perpetrator who violently targets victims of particular social groups, enwrapped in ethnicity, disability, religion and sexual orientation through discrimination (Green, 2006). The Home Office data set recorded 52,528 incidents of hate crime reported in 2014/15, 82% of them related to race, 11 % to sexual orientation, 6 % to religion, 5 % to disability and 1% to transgender (Home Office, 2015). This is significantly important in highlighting how hate crime has become a vast issue in society due to the high number of incidences reported and this provides victims a reason/purpose to report these types of crime. Green analyses the murder case of Jody Dobrowski in June 2006, whereby, according to the judge, if the offenders 'had voiced no hostility towards the victim's sexuality, the sentence would have been halved' (Green, 2006: 7). The offenders ended up being sentenced to life imprisonment with a minimum of 28 years to be served (Green, 2006). This murder case had a substantial effect in Britain, as it utilized Section 146 in the Criminal Justice Act 2003, allowing victims a route and claim to citizenship and justice (Green, 2006). The example of hate crime relates to Walklate's comment on how victimhood reasserts its power over citizenship as it redefines 'old norms' surrounding racism, homophobia and gender-based violence, allowing 'new harms' of hate crime to be called out and given a platform to stand upon (Walklate, 2007a).

As an attempted political solution to centring experiences of criminal victimisation within the CJS, various social policies have been emplaced. Seemingly, victims of crime have been used as a symbolic reference point in policy making (Walklate, 2011). This is apparent through 'Victim Personal Statements' (VPS) and 'Victim Impact Statements' (VIS) involving the invitation of victims 'to formally state what physical, financial, psychological, social or emotional effects the offence had on them and the wider impact of the crime including upon their family' (Davies, 2007: 271). Statements are collected by the police and used in response to victim's procedural rights, alongside the use of the 'victim contact scheme' through which the police ensures that the victim is supported and informed on the releasing of the offender (Davies, 2007). Furthermore, charities such as 'Victims Support' provide support to victims affected by traumatic events surrounding crime in England and Wales (Davies, 2007). Walklate supports the charity by arguing that it is 'one of the most successful voluntary organisations over the last 25 years, now having a central place in informing the policy process in relation to crime victims' (Walklate, 2007a: 19). Radical feminists would praise such charities, as they provide women with a platform and an opportunity to gain 'voice' in crimes such as domestic violence (Walklate, 2007b).

Linking back to the opening of the essay on terrorism, the UK 'Prevent Strategy 2011' aims to 'intervene to prevent vulnerable people being drawn into terrorist-related activity' (HM Government, 2011:55). This strategy aims to prevent terrorist recruitment for the purpose of protecting not only the victim itself, but also the whole community which is open to radicalisation (HM Government, 2011). Such strategies/policies are constructed to address the asymmetric power struggles that victims face. As a result, it can be argued that victimhood transcends locality, as those who are 'vulnerable' are supported by various social policies that may appear to be solely directed towards the victims, but, in fact, they are implemented to avoid radicalisation (such as terrorism) and, thus, in order to prevent harm to the wider community.

In conclusion, a substantial amount of research has been undertaken on victims. However, a discussion of whether we are all victims, in association with locality, has allowed exploring how space, neighbourhoods and victim precipitation can impact the likelihood of becoming a victim; disregarding that victimhood can be regarded to everyone. Despite this, examination of criminal victimisation transcending locality, through hate crime and individuals empathising with traumatic, global events (such as terrorist attacks) through secondary/ indirect victimisation, has allowed almost any individual to lay claim the victim's discourse. Therefore, we are all victims because empathising with public threats allows victimhood to be asserted over citizenship, creating new rights in the CJS and a platform to stand upon. This is guided by the justification of new crimes such as hate crime redefining old norms. Additionally, developments such as the interconnectedness brought by globalisation, has allowed for global issues to be felt and experienced beyond locality. This is stressed by C W. Mills for whom public issues and personal troubles are inextricably linked. Policies and strategies that have been put into place to prevent threat from transnational crimes such as terrorism, are considered to be located towards the recruitment of vulnerable victims. However, in reality, it can be argued that these policies are an attempt to avoid radicalisation so that communities can avoid experiencing harm both locally and globally. Overall, evidence has proven how global crimes can impact victims both directly and indirectly, for example through ideological messages attached to terrorism, allowing us to empathise and share the identity of 'victimhood'. However there still appears a gap in the study of victimology, whereby an intersectional study on criminal victimisation is required, that recognises the need for society to challenge rights in accordance with harms.

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Are people too ready to define personal and behavioural problems as mental illnesses?

Hannah Snelling

'Psychiatric disorders are unlike other medical disorders in one important respect: there is no objective way of confirming the diagnosis' (Reznek, 1998: 215). It is statements like this that bring about questions of whether people are too ready to define personal behavioural problems as mental illness. Personal problems tend to impact the individual differently to behavioural problems, as behavioural problems consist of actions as opposed to events. It is in the nature of mental illness that it is difficult to get a clear diagnosis, as a lot of symptoms need to be self-reported by the patient – they are not always visible. Many see the recent prevalence of cases of mental illness as a reason to support the claim in question; however it could be argued that it is the increase of medicalisation and boundary expansion that has caused more people to be diagnosable as having a mental illness. This is an idea presented by Busfield who explains how 'the expansion in the boundaries of mental illness makes it seem as if mental illness must be increasing and mental well-being declining' (2012: 588). One case study that looks at both sides of this argument is ADHD, and how diagnoses of this disorder changed once adults could be diagnosed with it as opposed to just children – and this will be examined in-depth in this discussion. Stigma and mental illness will also be looked at in all cases of mental illness. It will be deliberated whether the recent rise in the use of antidepressants is something that supports the question, or whether it is to do with the decrease in stigma - allowing people to ask for help. The discussion of stigma will also introduce the argument that it is very unlikely people would wish to use such a label as schizophrenia, for instance, to cover up personal and behavioural problems as the repercussions would be too great; all of the facts need to be examined, to properly assess the question.

One of the divides in the argument over whether people are too ready to define personal and behavioural problems as mental illnesses is whether an individual takes the sociological or medical view. Shaw explains how, in terms of distress, the medical approach argues that it 'reflects an underlying illness which merits treatment' (2000: 1420), whereas the 'sociological perspective argues that it is the consequence of a failure to respond adaptively to social challenge' (2000: 1420). Shaw identifies the existence of '"subthreshold" mental disorders (2000: 1421) which 'are not identified through specific diagnostic symptoms or signs but simply on the basis of a level of distress above a certain subjective threshold' (2000: 1421). The example for this used is the 1995 Office of Population Censuses and Surveys household survey where 'nearly a third were described as suffering from mixed anxiety and depressive disorder, a condition defined by the absence of signs and symptoms that might fulfil criteria for either an anxiety disorder or a depressive illness' (Shaw, 2000: 1421). Such treatment of general distress could be seen as too vague, and therefore a way of attempting to make excuses for personal and behavioural problems by gaining a label to explain them away. On the other hand, disorders, such as social anxiety, were long dismissed as simply being shy. For there to be progress in terms of disorders such as anxiety – including generalised anxiety – the medical view would be to treat where possible. This could be seen as not just explaining personal problems away as being mental illness, but a positive action in terms of acknowledging something is wrong and actively trying to treat it. This highlights how the two sides of the argument point to

different conclusions when it comes to mental illness, and whether people are now too ready to use it to define their personal and behavioural problems.
With this in mind, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is an excellent example of how mental illness has been seen as being used to account for personal and behavioural problems as opposed to attempting to change them for oneself. Conrad and Potter detail the change from ADHD being considered a childhood disorder to the emergence of the 'notion of what we call "adult hyperactives," hyperactive children who did not "outgrow" their symptoms and still manifested as adults' (2000: 563). This later changed from just adults who had shown symptoms as a child keeping the label of ADHD, to adults who had *not* been diagnosed as a child seeking a diagnosis for the disorder. This happened by the early 1990s where, for example, psychologist Lynn Weiss 'identified her adult subjects as those who were diagnosable with ADHD, not merely grown-up hyperactive children having remnants of the symptoms' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 565). Many books were published during this time but one with the 'provocative title of, You Mean I'm Not Lazy, Stupid or Crazy?!' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 565) highlights how it could be seen that many took advantage of this new found adult diagnosis to make up for their personal failings – due to the excitement shown in the book title at the prospect of having an excuse. Other instances of this include Dr Timothy Johnson on Good Morning America who was 'quoted as saying that experts estimate as many as 10 million adult Americans have ADHD' (Vatz and Weinberg cited in Conrad and Potter, 2000: 566), meaning that ADHD now caused many adults to 'reinterpret their current and previous behavioural problems in light of an ADHD diagnosis' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 566). This particular statement may indicate that people are in fact too ready to define personal and behaviour problems as mental illness due to the 'vast amount of self-diagnosis of ADHD among adults' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 569) who would 'encounter a description of the disorder, sense that "this is me" and go on to seek professional confirmation of their new identity' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 569). The idea that this diagnosis was a 'new identity' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 569) indicates that many saw this as a way of explaining away the aspects of their personality that they did not like so much. Conrad and Potter detail the letter from one psychiatrist to another who explains his fear that 'the condition allows a patient to find a biological cause that is not always reasonable for job failure, divorce, poor motivation, lack of success and chronic depression' (Shaffer cited in Conrad and Potter, 2000: 570). This shows how even medical professionals have stated that people may be too ready to define personal and behaviour problems as mental illness. In terms of ADHD, this kind of behaviour made it very difficult to confirm as self-diagnosis meant a physician 'may have difficulty establishing the existence of symptoms in their childhood' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 570), yet it is this self-diagnosing that 'fuels the social engine medicalizing certain adult troubles' (Conrad and Potter, 2000: 570). Conrad and Potter argue that 'without it, the spread of Adult ADHD would be seriously limited' (2000:570), which shows how this willingness of the individual, to define behavioural problems as mental illnesses, has had a noticeable impact on this particular disorder. Bromfield acknowledges that 'certainly some people diagnosed with ADHD are neurologically impaired and need medication' (cited in Conrad and Potter, 2000: 57), however, ADHD is 'also being named as the culprit for all sorts of abuses, hypocrisies, neglected and other societal ills that have nothing to do with ADHD' (cited in Conrad and Potter, 2000: 57) This seems to perfectly sum up the argument in question – not everyone seeking an ADHD diagnosis are looking for a way to define their personal and behavioural problems, but enough are, to make it an issue worth examining.

One argument in favour of the claim that people are too ready to define personal and behavioural problems as mental illness is the idea that people are now also too ready to take medication for a problem – seeing it as a quick fix. This may be supported by the

evidence that 'the United Kingdom and other Western countries have seen a substantial increase in antidepressant prescribing over the past 20 years' (Moore et al, 2009: 956). Those who criticise the rise in use of this particular medication see it as a tool to numb the individual from their emotions – not always to treat genuine depression. This stems from the idea that 'there is no objective way of confirming the diagnosis' (Reznek, 1998: 215) of illnesses such as depression, and the argument is that many people abuse this fact to define their personal and behavioural problems. This leads to the idea that feeling sad has become medicalised. One study by Moore et al, however, claims that this rise in antidepressant use is mostly due to the 'small changes in the proportion of patients receiving long term treatment' (2009: 956), and not, in fact, just GPs prescribing the medication frivolously. General practitioner Des Spence, however, wrote in the British Medical Journal, that this type of explanation needs to be criticised and evaluated to work out whether it is in fact 'part of the ever growing medicalization of mood' (2012: 47). Spence states that 'we have produced a culture of quick fix, reductionist medicines, where the expectation of pills is the norm' (2012: 47), which provides a clear support for the idea that people are not willing to look to themselves to fix their personal or behavioural problems, but are looking for a quick medical fix – one that requires the definition of mental illness to obtain. Nevertheless, there are clear criticisms to this claim; this idea is just looking at medicalization, but it is necessary to evaluate in terms of attitudes towards mental illness in recent years. It could merely account for the reduced amount of stigma surrounding mental illness and an increased willingness to seek help when it is needed. The NHS supports this claim by stating that it 'may partly be down to the fact that mental health conditions such as depression and anxiety are no longer seen as taboo and are more widely recognised' (NHS, 2012), meaning 'more people are prepared than in the past to go to their GP for help' (NHS, 2012). With this idea in mind, it could be claimed that, to assume that people are too ready to define personal and mental health problems as mental illness is restricting the decrease in stigma attached to mental health. To claim that someone is not truly mentally ill, but is just looking for a quick fix, is contributing to the fear of seeking help. There may be people who exploit the use of definitions of mental illness, but it would be unfair to assume that this is the norm, as it could cause a new generation of people unwilling to ask for help for fear of being told they are just trying to seek a definition for their own personal and behavioural problems.

Considering attitudes and stigma concerning mental health, it would also be difficult to see why someone would actively search for the label of a *severe* mental illness in order to define their personal and behavioural problems. Corrigan explains how 'epidemiological research has consistently shown that the majority of people who might benefit from mental health care either opt not to pursue it or do not fully adhere to treatment regimens once begun' (2007: 31). This is because, according to research, many people 'do not want to be labelled a "mental patient" or suffer the prejudice and discrimination that the label entails' (Corrigan, 2007: 31). This shows that people who do have a severe mental illness are not happy with such a label, and it would be very difficult to claim that there are many people who would try and define their personal and behavioural problem as a severe mental illness. This is where the question under discussion needs to be qualified – people may look to define their personal and behavioural problems with less stigmatised mental illnesses (such as ADHD and anxiety, as discussed), but it is unlikely they would look for a schizophrenia diagnosis, for instance. If anything, a label of a severe mental illness would potentially lead to more personal problems. Behavioural problems, such as a lack of 'social and coping skills' (Corrigan, 2007: 32) contribute to the worsening of personal problems, such as being 'unable to obtain good jobs or find suitable housing because of the prejudice of employers and landlords' (Corrigan, 2007: 32). Again, this leads back to stigma and

supports the claim that no one would look to define their personal and behavioural problems as a severe mental illness for fear of their already existing problems worsening. It does seem that the question under evaluation really points towards metal illnesses that have considerably less stigma attached to them. A diagnosis of schizophrenia, for example, does not tend to help an individual feel more understood or comfortable in the world, but – according to the epidemiological research presented by Corrigan – the exact opposite (Corrigan, 2007). In this case, patients do not wish to seek such a label and actively deny themselves the help they need as a result. To claim that people are too ready to define their personal and behavioural problems as mental illness, it should be qualified that the mental illnesses in question would not be severe in nature, due to the stigma attached and personal problems that happen as a result of this label.

The idea that people are becoming too ready to define their personal and behavioural issues as mental illness is a complicated one. On the one hand it could be seen as true, due to the fact that so many adults sought an ADHD diagnosis once the diagnostic criteria allowed for this to happen. Many in the medical profession were worried that this label was being sought for in order to compensate for personal failings and this reflects the concern regarding this discussion. This is further strengthened by the idea that people are becoming too ready to use medication as a quick fix. The rise in the use of antidepressants may be a sign that people are defining their personal and behavioural problems as mental illness and are having this definition reinforced by their GPs. However, the study by Moore et al concluded that this was in fact a result of long term treatment for mental illness (2009: 956). It also begins to highlight the change in attitudes towards mental illness. This rise in use of antidepressants – when looked at in a sociological sense as opposed to a medical one – can be accounted for by the decrease in stigma about mental illnesses, which subsequently leads to an individual being more willing to seek help. If this is in any way correct, it would need to be considered whether the idea that anyone would seek a mental illness label unjustly is unfair, as it could lead to many people's legitimate claims of mental illness not being taken seriously. It also brings the severity of the mental illness people could *potentially* use to define their problems under question. It is very unlikely anyone would seek a diagnosis of schizophrenia, for instance, because of the issues associated with this. In summary, it is clear that there is the potential for people to attempt to define their personal and behavioural problems as mental illness, but it is unlikely for them to seek a label of a very severe mental illness due to the repercussions that would entail. In terms of continuing to decrease the levels of stigma attached to mental illness, ideas like this need to be thought about very carefully. To assume people seeking help are just looking for an excuse for personal failings or behavioural issues, is what contributes to claims of mental illness not being taken as seriously as it should be, and the stigma surrounding mental ill health to thrive.

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Outline the main advantages and disadvantages of the feminist position which argues that all women share common experiences

Nancy Wilkinson

The primary concern with disputing the position that claims women have a common experience is that it has the potential to heavily undermine the entire feminist movement. Founded on the strength of the common identity, first wave feminism brought women to the legal equal status to that of a man. Second wave feminism too relied on this position, shifting the focus to recognise that rather than striving for women to be treated the same as men in society, there is a shared identity between women in the way they are discriminated against. Despite the advantages to the position, I will argue that the experiences between women differ greatly, due to the number of identifiable qualities in a person, primarily focussing on 'race' changing women's experience. Due to this number of differences between women, there is a necessity for different feminist groups to adequately represent different experiences. Rather than undermine the feminist movement, I will suggest that this shows its continual development and adaption to include all members of society.

The premise that all women share the same experience was extremely advantageous to first wave feminism. With all women being unable to access the same education as men, hold the same marital rights as men, and remaining totally disenfranchised, the earlier forms of feminism took its strength from the position that women were unified in their experience of oppression. Bringing a sense of legitimacy and authority to the feminist movement, the earlier forms of feminism took off to implement social change. As Judith Newton described, the immediacy and entirety of social practices experienced by women all came from one universal voice, creating an indisputable authenticity to the need for the movement (Scott, 1992:31). The powerful sisterhood equated 'the personal with the political', with the earlier forms of feminism drawing on the strength of a common identity (ibid.). Scott goes as far as to claim that political representation is dependent on the fact of it being a shared experience, where 'the lived experience of women is seen as leading directly to resistance to oppression, to feminism. Indeed, the possibility of politics is said to rest on, to follow from, a pre-existing women's experience' (ibid.). Feminism and all the progress that has been achieved because of it is sourced in the presumption of all women holding a common identity.

In the 1950's, there was a shift in the nature of the feminist movement. Rather than women demanding to be treated as equal to men, they began to question instead what it is to be a woman. Simone de Beauvoir was central to this reorientation of thought, describing how, while man is the 'Subject' and the 'Absolute', woman has become recognised as his 'Other' (de Beauvoir, 2011:6). She is defined purely in her relation to man, earning her meaning only through difference. While de Beauvoir maintains there is no intrinsic quality that is essential to being defined a woman, she does assert that all women have the common experience of understanding the world differently to men.

This development in thinking transformed the feminist movement into taking a 'fluid form', celebrating and defending what it is to be a woman rather than trying to universalise the experience of men (Walby, 2011:55). For example, while first-wave feminism contained

clear objectives from organised groups, fighting for women to have equal treatment to men in regards to suffrage, access to employment with an equal pay, access to education and the implementation of property rights, second-wave feminism concentrated on validating the experience of women as something in its own rite. Walby noted the efforts to politicise sexuality with the 'take back the night' demonstrations, as well as the move for 'woman's right to choose' in regards to abortion (Walby, 2011:54-5). This more informal wave of feminism recognised that women have a common experience of being something different to men, and began to branch into different groups to explore and defend these differences. Women were unified in celebrating all that they were, rather than what they were not. Despite the advantages, the position that all women share a common experience comes from a very specific presumption. For example, Simone de Beauvoir based her arguments from a middle-class, heteronormative, 20th century framework, whose Parisian understanding of the world may be very different to that of a working-class woman living in Asia decades later. Just because they both identify themselves, or are identified as women, does not necessarily infer that their experience will be the same. Gender is not 'universally constitutive' to the subject (Marshall, cited in Brooks, 1997:23). That is, there is far more to a person than their gender that forms their identity, namely, their social position based on race, class, sexuality, age, ability, or something else. The individual is formed by their experience, and their experience is dependent upon multiple different attributes to their identity. As Teresa de Lauretis summarised, experience 'is the process by which, for all social beings, subjectivity is constructed' (de Lauretis, cited in Scott, 1992: 27). There is no singular 'women's experience', but different experiences encountered by different women. To speak of women having a common experience almost discredits all other forms of self-identification.

Furthermore, the experience one receives from one's self-identification is relative to time and place. For example, Scott opens her text by introducing the black homosexual writer, Samuel Delany (1992: 23). Delany accounts the representation of homosexuals in 1950's New York, after visiting St. Marks bathhouse. The room was dimly lit, with the naked, homosexual men represented as 'isolated perverts, subjects gone awry' (ibid). The representation of homosexual men has shifted; while members of the LGBT community still face forms of repression today, the extent of which has significantly decreased in Western society. The identity of a person acts as a signifier to society, which shapes their experience of the world. While identifying as a homosexual has always existed, the experience that follows is not consistent throughout time and location. The same can be said for a female experience. Being a woman in the 1920's is not the same experience as being a woman in 2017, justifying the claim that women do not share a common experience.
Being a woman is not one descriptive quality, it is a 'volatile collectivity in which female personal can be very differently positioned' (Riley, 1998:1-2). Even when exploring the single category of 'race', it is clear how complex the term 'female experiences' is, and how much they vary. bell hooks described the feminist movement in America, and how white women can have no understanding of the oppressed experience of black women. The extent of their victimisation results in white women viewing the world in a completely different way. While white women were repressed because of their gender, black women faced a duality of discrimination due to their ethnicity: 'Although they were both subject to sexist victimization, as victims of racism black women were subjected to oppressions no white woman was forced to endure' (hooks, 1982, p. 122-3). The accounts of discrimination are incomparable.

The initial promise of progress such as the implementation of women's studies classes was an 'all-white faculty teaching literature almost exclusively by white women and frequently

from white perspectives' (hooks, 1982, p. 121). The feminist movement mainly extended to only white women, feminist ideology serving only white woman's needs, with 'women's rights' being synonymous for 'white women's rights' (hooks, 1982, p. 137-8). For example, while white women nationally obtained the right to vote in America in 1920, black women were not granted the same liberation and remained disenfranchised in most southern states until the 1960's. Just as Simone de Beauvoir labelled woman as the 'Other' of men, black women became the 'Other' of white women. They experienced the world defined as being something different to white. This feeling of exemption is neatly summarised in the title of hooks' book, *Ain't I Woman?*, illustrating her feeling of her skin colour excluding her from the shared female identity.

By rendering black women as practically invisible, it is arguable to suggest that the entire feminist movement is undermined. Literature such as *Women's Life and Works in the Southern Colonies* by Julia Cherry Spruill is entirely focussed on the experience of white women, despite its misleading title, while Helen Hacker's *Women: A Feminist Perspective* distinguishes between 'women' and 'Negroes', as though a person cannot be a combination both female and black (hooks, 1982, p. 137-9). To claim that all women share a common experience is problematic, as in the past, 'women' has only referred to white women. As Dorothy Bolden asserted, '[you] can't talk about women's rights until we include all women. When you deny one woman of her rights, you deny all' (Bolden, cited in hooks, 1982:148). The unity and solidarity expressed within the first and second waves of feminism are destabilised when investigating the use of terms.

Rather than the characteristic of 'sisterhood' that first and second wave feminism encompassed, where a common experience unified and united woman, hooks gives an opposite account. When it appeared that white men might give black men the vote before white women, suffragists expressed 'anger and outrage' of men's commitment to 'maintaining sexual hierarchies [over] racial hierarchies in the political arena' (hooks, 1982:127). Rather than all women bonding based on their sex, '[racism] took precedence over sexual alliances' (hooks, 1982:122). When white women talk about 'women as Niggers', 'Third World of Women', or when John Lennon sings how *Woman is the Nigger of the World,* they reinforce the segregation to demonstrate how bad their suffering is (hooks, 1982:141-2, and stoobee09, 2013). That is, ethnic minority groups are so badly disadvantaged that they have become the lowest of standards to compare to. As hooks summarised, 'the white woman's legal status under patriarchy may have been that of "property," but she was in no way subjected to the de-humanization and brutal oppression that was the lot of the slave' (hooks, 1982:126). Women do not share a common experience, as the treatment of white women and black women have been so vastly different.

To claim that women share a common experience is disadvantageous to the feminist movement, as it discredits the heightened oppression of black women. Regardless of the suffering women have faced throughout history, black women have faced a worse form due to their being attacked on two sides of their identity. Feminism has predominantly focussed on white, middle class equality, with the path to liberation far more accessible to white on this specific group. For example, conversations concerned with sexism usually talk of the 'housewife', college-educated and suburban (hooks, 1982:146). However, this position is one largely dominated by white women, as racial discrimination throughout society has prevented black women from taking the same space.
The fact that not all women share the same experience due to factors such as race may initially seem that it should hinder the feminist movement. The fact that the strength of

feminism seems to come from the united source of all women banding together over their shared experience of patriarchal oppression suggests that it should be somewhat undermined if this is found to not be the case. However, as explored above, female experience differs greatly between distinct divisions in society, particularly racial divisions. If feminism is primarily concerned with fighting for and protecting the rights of white women, black women may feel that they cannot support a cause that not only doesn't speak for them, as it has traditionally been a movement 'whose majority participants were eager to maintain race and class hierarchies between women' (hooks, 1982:149). Taken literally, women do not share a common, universal experience; raising the question of what is feminism fighting for? Without a universal patriarchy providing a universal basis for feminism, can it carry the same authority?

This disparity between types of female experience called for the necessity of a sub-division of feminist groups. The introduction of black feminism united black women in their more specific struggle, fighting both racism and sexism simultaneously. Similarly, women of differing sexual orientations have found likeminded people in LBGT feminism, or women facing oppression from their social class in Marxist feminists. As Gerda Lerna (2001) highlighted, the advantage of smaller feminist groups is that the social bonds between members are further strengthened, united in a solidarity between their community. In the case of the black community, she wrote how 'Black history is serving Blacks in a somewhat different sense by arousing pride in a legitimate past, enhancing self-respect and providing heroes and leaders with whom black people can identify' (Lerna, 2001:45). Due to the different challenges faced from groups within different social divisions, it is logical for there to be different focuses within feminist groups.

A concern may arise in that this may destabilise the unified form of feminism, or the more dispersed nature of feminist groups may lead for them to become less visible, 'feeding the false impression that feminism has faded away' (Walby, 2011:52-3). However, as Lerna (2001) continued to explain, smaller groups do not necessarily mean separatism or a narrow particularistic vision (Lerna, 2001:46). It simply means that women are seeking a more specified means of support within a more similar community. As Walby (2011) explained, feminism has become a 'transnational, sometimes global, practice', with new forms of feminist organisations taking the forms of non-governmental organisations (NGO's), national and transnational feminist bodies, with coalitions and alliances between the networks (Walby, 2011:64-4;52). These coalitions and alliances work together towards shared goals when appropriate, as is the case within the UN. For example, the vote for women and demands regarding opportunities within education and employment were passed through the UN, while the International Labour Organization enforced Convention 100, which demanded equal pay for equal work by men and women, was taken up by most membered states thanks to the continuous united forces of feminist groups (Walby, 2011:65). Furthermore, the EU facilitated the spread of feminist practice preventing violence against women, when campaigns spread internationally from the West, to Canada, to Malaysia, to India (ibid).

To conclude that there is no universal basis for feminism would be extremely problematic for the movement, as it takes away the strong sense of legitimacy that founded the organisation. Domination and exploitation takes different forms depending on time, location, and social division. Judith Butler questions if there is 'a specificity to women's cultures that is independent of their cultures that is independent of their subordination by hegemonic, masculine cultures?' (Butler, 1990:7). That is, is there something that unites women together outside of oppression, or is it oppression itself that unites them? Through

the implementation and organisation of different feminist groups, women are able to recognise both their differences and commonalities. Overall, despite the fact that women do not share the same universal experience, this does not undermine the entire feminist movement. The wealth of feminist groups enables women to fully strengthen the social bonds within their more specific groups, while good relationships between groups still makes for a unified feminist position. The potential disadvantages to taking an anti-essentialist position are avoided when we appreciate the need for diversity within feminism, but continue to uphold a harmonious and beneficiary relationship.

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