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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 including: crimes of the powerful, the relevance of class (versus income), racism and 'cimmigration', domestic violence and childhood development, decriminalizing recreational drugs, policing urban disorders, feminist sociology, Foucault and 'bio-power', poverty and educational achievement, criminological versus biological explanations of violence, the social factors determining music choice...

It contains both essay assignments and social research projects.

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

We would also like to give credit to those other students – not published here - whose work has attracted a high grade more than once. Details of their assignments are given immediately beneath *Contents*.

Best wishes,

The IDEATE Editorial Team

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Great credit is also due to those students listed here whose work - although not published in this edition - has attracted a grade of 80% more than once. They are as follows:

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Is grouping individuals according to their 'social class' still an important distinction? Or is it better to focus on income differences?

Olivia Bailey

'Sociology may have been born of eighteenth-century revolutions, but now it dwells in a world of transformations' (Plummer, 2010: 182.) Since there are constant shifts in the social world, it is important to continually reconsider sociological concepts and explore their relevance in modern society. According to Marshall et al. it is widely argued that 'fundamental shifts in the structure of social hierarchy have created new forms of sectionalism that replace earlier solidaristic class struggles' (2005:1), showing the manner in which social class has altered, due to the way the structure of society itself tends to change. 'Social class' is a distinction which is still used to group individuals in current society, not only sociologically but politically and economically, and yet, its importance and relevance can be questioned. Mendieta argued that although all people in modern civilization are divided into classes, 'we find it impossible to determine in an accurate way their essence or their characteristics.' (1946:166) which identifies the struggle of the individual within their division, highlighting the issue that they are overlooked within their social class. Having said this it is also important to consider the importance of grouping as it is how we, as humans, attempt to understand things. Drawing upon the work of other sociologists on these concepts, in this essay I will further discuss the issues surrounding the stratification of social classes, how they have changed over the years and its relevance in modern society.

To explore the importance of grouping individuals by their 'social class', one may need to examine the process of grouping and how we determine what group an individual is placed in. Bordieu identifies the four key elements of social class as economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital (1987:4). The economic capital refers to the aspect of wealth, regarding the income of the individual. Perhaps the reasoning behind the idea of grouping through income as opposed to social class is that aspects like cultural and social are particularly subjective. Mendieta observed that culture was 'the determining factor of social class' due to the fact that 'individuals devoted to the same kind of trade actually belong to different strata of society because their culture separates them' (1946:168)

Originally the main groups that people are commonly divided into are upper class, middle class, working class or working poor and lower or underclass. 161,000 people took part in what was called The Great British Class Survey. The study claimed that the traditional categories (upper, middle and lower) only fit 39% of the population. (Savage et al, 2013) The recent piece of social research revealed that there are now supposedly 7 different types of social class within the UK. The survey assessed traditional qualities of class along with new, modern features, such as ones online activity. Following this research, the BBC uploaded a short online quiz that sorted you into one of seven social classes. The quiz contained questions based on social life, exhibiting a tick list of people you may know socially of varying professions, from electrician to university lecturer. It further asked of musical preferences which one could argue is particularly subjective - who is to say a member of the 'Elite' class does not listen to rap music? Who is to say that a 'Precariat' doesn't enjoy opera? Perhaps these sorts of categories are too restrictive, it is not accurate

to define someone's social class by their interests and one might even argue that this has negative social effects, feeding into stereotypes and close-mindedness within social classes. Of course, these are educated and revised categories, however it may exclude the cultural interests of individuals and therefore alienating them from the idea of 'social class' which could cause one to argue its importance as a method of grouping.

One might argue that the internet has a significant part to play in the confusion of social classes. With social networks such as Facebook having such a presence throughout many communities, it can be hard to distinguish between different classes when online profiles can give such a false perception of somebody. It is perhaps the freedom to create your own identity online that confuses social class. Touching upon the falsities of social appearance, Mendieta states that 'persons of humble means can often be seen to dress, live, and act like individuals of the middleclass' (1946:168) Furthermore, for those with internet access, there is access to any information, any films or television shows, music and so on. Since majority of people have got internet access, it means that the lower classes have much more at their disposal in terms of culture. It could be argued that, where in the past a working or lower class family had limited resources and it would be the upper classes that, for example, visited the theatre. Where internet may have little effect on the lives of the upper, it may allow other classes to explore higher culture or even social capital. These elements perhaps give argument to the importance of grouping by 'social class', as its categorisation is complex, not necessarily reflecting the specifics of the individual.

Furthering the importance of accessibility, it may be important to consider how 'social class' effects ones education, and how accessible are the keys to success for those at the lower end of the scale. In the past it was generally those from the upper classes that went to university and those in the working class went into areas of manual labour, their participation in higher education remaining 'persistently low' (Archer et al, 2005:1) However, nowadays working class are far more likely to go into higher education. The idea of social mobility is that a person can move from one class to another. For example a working class person in modern society who has access to higher education can receive a degree, end up in a better job than that of a typical working class person. They then interact with people of higher class, their social circle expands and they move up the social scale. On the other hand, Mendieta uses the example of an aristocrat who, after his income diminishes is left ruined, continues to belong to the aristocracy because of his connections, customs, ideas and prejudices (1946:168.) Additionally, there are questions as to on what scale social mobility is really possible for the majority of the lower classes. The new government in the UK has already risen tuition fees and the recent cut of maintenance grants means graduates have an even larger amount of debt on their shoulders, which may potentially discourage those who do not come from well off families, as they see no hope of paying it off. Seemingly the structure of the social system means that opportunities are still far lower for those of the underclass, however higher education is still more open to those of all backgrounds now with some showing the ability to advance in social class. The people that manage this however, may still identify as working class because of their values and beliefs, which puts the categorisation through the four main variables of social class under scrutiny.

Although 'social class' appears to have a number of flaws as a way to categorise people, this isn't to say that grouping via income alone is a better way of making distinction between members of society. In his article, Charles Schaninger refers to the work of (Coleman, 1960) who stated that 'social class is linked more closely to consumption patterns than to income' (Schaninger 1981:192) which would suggest that it is not the importance of a

person's income, rather what they chose to do with it in relation to cultural differences. For example a person with a low income might save their money for something that one might associate with a high class. This could perhaps be evidence of the irrelevance of grouping by income, since Schaninger goes on to state 'social class variations are variations of lifestyle' (1981:192) which highlights that, of the two grouping methods, social class bears more relevance to the social world.

In summary, it is evident that the way we view 'social class' is changing. Though its design is not perfect, it seems the preferable form of grouping for many people, even in today's complex society.

In this essay I have highlighted the need for social class as a way of grouping individuals. Although one may argue that grouping by 'social class' cannot count for every individual in terms of taste and culture, grouping by income looks at people simply as their value in money, rather than social beings. In my opinion, though an arguably less important distinction than it has been, since society is ever changing, for all its flaws and inaccuracies, we still, as humans, have an innate need to group things and in this case, people, in order to understand them. This is why social class is still an important distinction.

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‘Crimes of the powerful are fundamentally ignored by the criminal justice system’. Discuss.

Neave Beard

One issue that needs to be addressed when contemplating this statement is the breadth of concept that rises when discussing ‘crimes of the powerful’, an umbrella term encompassing state crimes, white-collar crime and corporate crime typically involving those in positions of power; high status professionals with economic clout. This issue of definition is a theme when considering the coverage and punishment that crimes of the powerful receive, as it’s not always easy to determine responsibility, locate the offence within the law or recognise a solid victim. In this essay I will review why crimes of the powerful appear to be ignored by politics, the media, and the criminal justice system. I will also offer reasons as to why street crimes tend to be more prominent in the scope of the law, as this is fundamental when discussing the nature of the relationship between crimes of the powerful and the criminal justice system.

Carrabine et al provide us with a broad definition that we can use as an initial point to locating crimes of the powerful within the criminal justice system, outlining them as ‘forms of crime originating with or enabled by the organisational and professional frameworks and status that perpetrators can draw upon’ (2014:237). This phenomena, then, encompasses any crime committed within or by an organisation, legitimate or illegitimate, and even individuals who are in a position of status and trust within the society. This abuse of trust is one reason as to why the costs of crimes of the powerful are so great and have arguably a more detrimental effect on society than street crimes, heightening the need to discuss this issue.

Box theorises that law enforcement is a mystification process that works to conceal the crimes of the powerful by exaggerating the crimes of the powerless and their effects on ‘everybody else’ (1983:5). It is argued that crimes of the powerful far out weight the costs to society than the costs of street crimes and yet it is crimes committed by the powerless, as Box describes, that remain within the scope of the criminal justice system and the public eye. The role of the media comes into special significance in this argument as it is responsible for the communication of information for the public and complies with news values (Steel et al, 2009:119), it is controlled and written by journalists and editors according to news values, and constructs what is in the fore front of the public’s concern. These generally report crime as separate events, over-represent violent or sexual crimes, underrepresent property crime, present homicides as calculated and sex offenders as psychopathic strangers. This method of reporting manages to simultaneously manipulate the representations of crime against the working class whilst ignoring crimes of the powerful, as they do not fit into the framework of ‘news worthy’, theorised by Felson and Boba (2010). They argue that the reporting of crime adheres to specific crime fallacies which govern the way in which they are reported, this process is responsible for informing the public’s opinion on crime; this in turn influences how different aspects of the law are enforced and crimes are tackled. For example, the dramatic fallacy is a technique used by the media by reporting ‘horror stories’, jealous lovers and rape cases for example, to capitalise on the public’s fear through 24 hour news channels and online outlets (Felson

and Boba, 2010:1-2) as these stories tend to attract the most attention. This then accumulates to what the public want to hear about, and see evidence of the police and criminal justice system combatting. As crimes of the powerful are difficult to locate and punish, as previously mentioned, they tend to be hidden from the scope of the media and the response is therefore less hostile and aggressive within the criminal justice system.

As mentioned earlier, when dealing with crimes of the powerful from the criminal justice perspective we face many obstacles in detecting it. First we can consider the question of intent. For a crime to be convicted the state requires the courts to be able to prove mens rea, that the state of mind of the offender shows criminal intent, there are three levels of this: intent, negligence and recklessness (The Free Dictionary, n.d.). We can see then how difficult this process is when the criminal act could be perpetrated by an entire business or fronted by legitimate activity, as Quinney (1964) theorised. Sometimes occupational crime occurs because the legitimate and illegitimate overlap in the business model, so just by adopting a certain occupation white collar workers could be presented with criminal opportunities that are the norm in that specific social group. One case study that embodies this obscurity is that of the Harold III Enterprise capsizing in 1987 (BBC home, 1988), not closing the front door of the ferry entirely before setting off was common practice within the company to be able to complete more trips in the same time and increase profit. So where would the blame lie? The door operators, the head of the company, the risk assessment teams or any number of the crew on board who didn't stop it. In such a large and complex division of labour who's intent needs to be proved? It could be argued that the employees had to partake at risk of unemployment or weren't aware of the risks. This demonstrates how within the scope of the law finding and prosecuting the 'guiltiest' parties becomes increasingly complex, as the diffusion of responsibility and complexity of crime (Croall, 2001) within large corporate companies is hard to grasp from an outsiders perspective, and supports the image of crimes of the powerful as 'sins with no sinner'. Croall (2001) outlined components that are present and categorise corporate or white collar crimes. By dealing with these we can establish the complexities of why crimes of the powerful appear to be ignored by the criminal justice system. One is trust, crimes that are committed by those who are in positions of trust like doctors or lawyers. By undertaking criminal activities under the guise of a trusted professional occupation perpetrators escape initial suspicion, as they don't conform to the typifications (Steel et al, 2009:247) of 'the offender', fundamentally resulting in lower rates of detection as law enforcement agencies aren't orientated toward the prosecution or investigation of people who don't conform to this image. According to Sutherland, this element is more important than any other in explaining why crimes of the powerful are so detrimental to society, even more so than the perceived dangers of street crime, as a loss of trust results in damage to social relations which produces social disorganisation (in Carrabine et al, 2014: 247). From another perspective there could be a conscious decision within the courts to deemphasise these types of crimes to actively oppose the dangerous results Sutherland outlines. As Capitalism is criminogenic (Steel et al, 2009:87) and fundamentally causes crime and always will, it is a possibility that the political agenda to hide crimes of the powerful is not to let them escape prosecution due to their power, but to minimise the risks of social anarchy and distrust in the system to ultimately improve the lives of the working class. Although this viewpoint demonstrates how the criminal justice system acts as an ideological tool, serving a specific function, used by the upper classes to manipulate, control and subdue the lower the lower classes.

Another aspect is the relative invisibility of the act, corporate and white collar crimes, as previously mentioned, tend to be conducted under the cover of the normal occupational

routine; unless someone within the organisation reports the crime there are no witnesses who can understand the complex process that leads to an actual crime being committed. This ties in with another one of Croall's (2001) components, the need for technical or insider knowledge. This is the opposite of street crimes, as can be understood by reviewing Right Realists proposed solutions to crime. The 'Broken Windows' policy (Wilson and Kelling, 1982) aims to combat crime by ridding the streets of the signifiers of crime like graffiti and vandalism, this is evidence as to why street crimes attract more attention from the criminal justice system compared with crimes of the powerful on a pure visibility to the public basis.

Another component that affects the difficulty of crimes of the powerful being prosecuted is that of the patterns of victimisation. In many case studies corporate crime results in death, for example the capsizing of the Herald Of Free enterprise (Gov.uk, n.d) and the Ford Pinto scandal (The Ford Pinto case, n.d), so recognising victims appears uncomplicated but with offences that don't result in death defining the victim becomes more difficult. As in the case of Sir Robert Maxwell, who 'committed a massive fraud by plundering his employees' pension funds in order to shore up his companies' (Greenslade, 2011). The extent of fraud was only realised after his mysterious death in 1991, but he had been suspected of manipulating profits since the 1970s (Sikka, n.d.). By abusing his position of status and connections with well-respected peers Maxwell masked his crime and the 'victims' were unaware of any loss of money as it happened. In cases like this it would take investigators an incredible amount of time and money to locate blame and calculate compensation, which adds to the little attention crimes of the powerful receive within the criminal justice system. On the other hand, if victims never become aware of their victimisation the crime will be less likely to emerge and may escape investigation entirely. All of these components accumulate to what we have already established as a low rate of detection or prosecution. It is estimated that more than 88% of white collar crime incidents are never reported to law enforcement agencies despite more than 50,000 people dying on the job every year because of occupational hazards that are known by an employer, but not addressed (Gaille, 2014), these statistics however need to be taken cautiously as, as this essay is arguing, the real rate of crimes of the powerful are unknown. As previously mentioned, when the media report on crime they follow fallacies which can turn into moral panics, social constructions that are designed to nurture the fears of the public surrounding a prevalent issue (Cohen, 2002). Moral panics tend to surround 'wars' on drugs, violence, drinking or immigration, as a few examples, and this demonstrates how crimes of the powerful appear to escape media attention despite overwhelming statistical evidence showing the prevalence of this category of crime. Due to the theory that 'the mass media are the primary source of the public's knowledge about deviance and social problems' (Cohen, 2002, xxviii) the fact that crimes of the powerful attract little attention means that they become less significant in the public eye which retracts pressure on the criminal justice system. So even if a prosecution was possible the lack of attention may potentially reduce the need for an investigation or arrest, as the current government will be less concerned with developing the image of 'cracking down' on a crime that is not in the interest of the public.

Another factor that adds to the concealment of crimes of the powerful from the public and criminal justice system is the effects of globalisation. As societies become increasingly interconnected the world becomes 'smaller', previous geographical obstacles to business can now be overcome with the development and proficiency of instant communication. In a postmodern world companies are expected to expand internationally to be able to compete in the aggressive marketplace. Transnational companies can now do business in multiple countries, with excessive ease, which all enforce different laws which presents a problem

for the criminal justice system as crime is displaced. Questions of 'which country is the act actually committed?' and 'Where are the victims of the crime situated?' all need to be considered when processing these crimes and the answers are frequently too ambiguous or time consuming to act upon.

When considering the statement of 'crimes of the powerful are fundamentally ignored by the criminal justice system' we must consider who makes the law. In order for a law to be made it begins as a proposal or bill which is then considered by both houses of parliament, if approved it requires the assent of the Queen and then will be considered an act of parliament or law (Parliament UK, n.d). This appears like a democratic process but a recent survey showed 26% of new MP's in the House of Commons are Oxbridge graduates with a further 28% attending other Russell group universities (Times Higher Education, 2015). As shown crimes of the powerful generally require criminals to possess one or more of the following qualities: high status, professional, have large social networks and economic wealth. These attributes are commonly associated with the upper classes, so it stands to reason to question the motives behind certain law creation. David and Brierley (1978: 151) theorise that 'law is only a superstructure; in reality it only translates the interests of those who hold the reins of command in any given society' the laws reflect the interest of the minority in control even in supposedly democratic systems. It is evident then that if in postmodern Britain 54% (Times Higher Education, 2015) of those responsible to represent the public attended elite universities, that law creation and enforcement will reflect this and decriminalise corporate and white-collar crime.

There are two responses to the clear disparity in the handling of crimes of the powerful versus crimes of the powerless, one being compliance. Hawkins (1990) theorised that in order to effectively combat crime there must be a pre-emptive solution rather than a reactionary one, and Pearce and Tombs (1990) support this by saying sanctioning needs to be utilised, the criminal justice system needs more severe forms of regulation that can act as advice. It is Pearce and Tombs' (1990) theory that has been reflected in legislation as in 2007 The Corporate Manslaughter and Homicide act was passed. The act:

'criminalizes only an organization whose gross negligence has resulted in death...the new law will apply not just to the UK's 2.3 million companies but to partnerships...the new law will now also be applicable if the death of someone in custody resulted from gross negligence in the prison service or from those controlling police cells' (Carrabine et al, 2014:255).

Although this act demonstrates a significant advancement in the divergence between the detection and prosecution rates of crimes of the powerful and the powerless, it faced multiple difficulties in coming to be made law. The initial report that drew light on the short comings of the criminal justice system in this area was published in 1997 under the conservative party but it was heavily opposed by the Confederation of British industry and some critics said it would focus all punishment on companies rather than individual actors like directors (Carrabine et al, 2014:255). This criticism supports the previously mentioned difficulty faced by prosecutors as the diffusion of responsibility. Despite serious calls for laws on corporate killings since 1965 (Carrabine et al, 2014:255) it took those in power, despite changes in government, 42 years to support and implement an official act.

It is clear from the available research and theories that there is overwhelming evidence supporting the argument that crimes of the powerful are ignored by the criminal justice system. From the perspectives of the courts there are a multitude of factors that make crimes of the powerful difficult to prosecute. Proving intent or Mens Rea, a necessity of the

prosecution, is made difficult by the diffusion of responsibility and the invisibility of the act which are both made more complicated by the effects of globalisation. A further issue is with the role of the media in the image of deviance, directing the attention of the public onto street crimes, which has a knock on effect on what law enforcement agencies focus on. From another view point the issue could be from within, as this essay has evidenced the institution responsible for creating the laws is comprised mainly of the elite which proposes that the criminal justice system is fundamentally shaped to evade the powerful members of society. Despite these arguments there have been major, albeit slow, advancements in the law directed at crimes of the powerful demonstrating that there has been an important change in the attitudes towards this category of crime, but there are still fundamental flaws in the law that need to be addressed.

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How does childhood exposure to domestic violence negatively impact a child's development? Does it impact their development in adulthood?

Jessica Bertenshaw

Introduction

For a long time, domestic violence has made up a large part of what is considered the 'Dark Figure of Crime' with many cases going unreported. This is likely due to "embarrassment, fear of retaliation, economic dependency" (Gracia, 2004: 536). This is best expressed in the statistic that 25% of women in western countries are estimated to have been victim to domestic violence, yet between only 2.5% and 15% report the violence (Gracia, 2004: 536). As a result, domestic violence, in particular the victims of the violence, have been found at the centre of much sociological debate and research.

I feel that it is important to recognize that the abused individuals are not the sole victims of domestic violence. It is estimated that "at least 750,000 children a year witness domestic violence" (Department of Health, 2002: 16), this is a staggering statistic that promotes the need for investigation. Despite this figure, research in this area is scarce, with Audrey Mullender and Rebecca Morley suggesting that it was "even more neglected than the impact on women themselves, yet it is of major proportions both in scope and severity" (Mullender and Morley, 1994: 2). Exposure is sure to have a negative impact on a child's development and with so many affected it is clear that this area needs addressing and investigating.

My research will be focusing on a number of potential impacts; behavioural problems, intellectual development, relationships with other children and trauma symptoms, all of which I believe would have a drastic effect on a child's development. I feel that if we could identify such impacts and bring them to public attention, the main focus could then be on a child's exposure to domestic violence.

Although research does exist in this area, I have found that often it is based on short-term investigations. If research was undertaken into whether the impacts exist in adulthood then perhaps more would be done to prevent children's exposure in the first place.

Literature review

The best way to consider the potential impacts of childhood exposure to domestic violence is by studying the prior research that exists in this area.

Intellectual functioning

A focus of my research will be on the potential impact exposure has on intellectual functioning. This was explored in Alissa Huth-Bocks, Alytia Levendosky and Michael Semel's research *The Direct and Indirect Effects of Domestic Violence on Young Children's Intellectual Functioning*. In a sample of 100 women and their children aged 3 to 5, they found that children who had "witnessed domestic violence had significantly poorer verbal abilities than non-witnesses" (Huth-Bocks et al., 2001: 269). Thus supporting the

hypothesis that exposure to domestic violence can have an adverse impact on intellectual functioning.

The study is flawed in its approach to this investigation. Firstly, it fails to study the long-term impact of childhood exposure on intellectual functioning, which would likely cause more interest in the area. Secondly, the former study's sample appears to be a bias one, in that they used mothers and children from low income families. This variable was not controlled in the testing of their intellectual functioning and may have been shown to have had a significant effect on the results. This effect was explored by Paul Gregg, Carol Propper and Elizabeth Washbrook who found that "many aspects of growing up in poverty are harmful to children's development" (Gregg et al., 2008: 1). Thus, having a sample that represents a number of income levels would prove beneficial.

Koenen et al also investigated this impact in their research, *Domestic Violence is associated with environmental suppression of IQ in young children*. They aimed to test the hypothesis that "domestic violence had environmentally mediated effects on young children's intelligence" (Koenen et al., 2003: 297). "IQs were assessed for a population sample of 1116 monozygotic and dizygotic 5-year-old twin pairs in England." (2003: 297) and it was found that children exposed to high levels of domestic violence possessed IQs 8 points below that of the average child who is not exposed to domestic violence. Thus supporting the hypothesis that domestic violence evidently, can have an impact on a child's intellectual development.

However, the study only investigates the IQ of the children at the age of 5 with a cross-sectional design. If research was extended into adulthood, the results would have a bigger impact. Therefore, I will be implementing the use of a longitudinal design to conduct my research.

Behavioural problems

Another impact I will be focusing my research on is an increase in behaviour problems, which I feel would affect many aspects of a child's development. This impact was investigated by Subramaniam Jeevasuthan and Zulkarnain Ahmad Hatta in their research *Behavioral problems of Children exposed to Domestic violence in Rural Villages*. Through data collected from fifty married women with children, they found that children exposed to domestic abuse displayed behaviours such as stubbornness, irritability, arguing, and crying (Jeevasuthan and Hatta, 2013).

Similar findings were reported in Sternberg et al. study *Effects of Domestic violence on Children's Behaviour Problems and Depression*, where children exposed to domestic violence reported behaviours that revealed they may feel "sad, unwanted and less healthy than their peers" (Sternberg, 1993: 49).

Both findings support the hypothesis that exposure to domestic violence can have harmful impacts on a child's development.

However, the research fails to consider long-term impacts that these behavioural problems may have on the child's development. No time is spent on furthering their investigations into the child's adulthood, despite how informative it would have been to know if these behavioural problems followed the children into their adult life.

Furthermore, Jeevasuthan and Hatta's research lacks external validity, it only studies a rural village in Sri Lanka which is unlikely to apply to the greater population and thus it would prove to be inaccurate to suggest that all exposure results in behavioural problems for children. Therefore, a research study that covered a wider variety of cultures and communities would provide a more generalizable sample.

Peer relationships

I feel that another crucial impact of childhood exposure to domestic violence is the disruption of their relationships with peers.

One study that investigated this relationship was Scott Carrell and Mark Hoekstra's research study *Externalities in the classroom: how children exposed to domestic violence affect everyone's kids*. They conducted an observational study of students in the 3rd, 4th and 5th grades from 22 public elementary schools (Carrell and Hoekstra, 2009) They found that increased exposure to children who are linked to domestic violence caused a decrease in math and reading ability, and an increase in misbehaviour within school. From these results, they estimated that adding one 'troubled' boy (exposed to domestic violence) to a classroom of twenty students, reduces boys test scores by two points and increases incidents of misbehaviour by forty percent. (Carrell and Hoekstra, 2009).

This prediction is eye-opening to the potential impacts that exposure to domestic violence can have on a child's life. This impact is arguably more worrying as they are suggesting that childhood exposure to domestic violence does not just impact the individual exposed. This study lacks investigation into the long-term impact childhood exposure can have on peer relationships. Furthermore, it only provides data for male children which means that the results cannot be accurately generalized to the entire population of children exposed to domestic violence. I feel that a better research study would provide data for both male and female children, so the findings can be generalized more accurately and also to eliminate the possibility of external variables; such as gender, influencing the result in turn reducing the internal validity of the study.

Another study that investigated the relationship between childhood exposure to domestic violence and relationships with peers, is Anna Baldry's *Bullying in schools and exposure to domestic violence*. Baldry found that in a sample of 1059 middle school students, a relationship existed between exposure to domestic violence and direct bullying (Baldry, 2003). This supports the hypothesis that exposure to domestic violence has an adverse effect on a child's relationship with their peers.

However, it fails to consider the long-term implications exposure may have on an individual's relationships with others around them, which I feel could prove very important; therefore, I will consider this in my study through the use of a longitudinal design.

Traumatic symptoms

My research will also investigate traumatic symptoms as an impact of exposure to domestic violence.

James Spilsbury studied this impact in depth in his study *Clinically Significant Trauma Symptoms and Behavioural Problems in a Community-based Sample of Children Exposed to*

Domestic Violence. Using “a socio-economically and ethnically mixed sample of 687 children” (Spilsbury, 2007: 487), he found that children exposed to domestic violence possessed a greater chance of displaying significant levels of several trauma symptoms (Spilsbury, 2007).

This study provides an ethnically rich sample of children, which means that the results gathered from these children can be generalized to the overall population. A diverse sample is important when conducting a study into the impacts of domestic violence exposure on children, because experiences of domestic violence vary so widely across cultures; thus, I will try to achieve this in my research.

However, this study neglects the long-term traumatic symptoms that occur as a result of domestic violence exposure. Furthermore, this research fails to provide a comparison group of children not exposed to domestic violence which was mentioned in the study’s discussion. It was concluded that if they had included this comparison group it “would have permitted more accurate assessment of the associations between study outcome measures and domestic violence” (Spilsbury, 2007: 496).

This encouraged me to include a comparison group within my study to limit external factors that may influence the results of my research and thus increase external validity as a whole.

Peter Lehmann also investigates this impact in his work *The Development of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in a Sample of Child Witnesses to Mother Assault*. He found that in a sample of 84 children, 47 met the criteria of PTSD (Lehmann, 1997).

Lehmann’s sample originates from a refugee centre for women and children affected by domestic violence. I feel that this is a convenient way to gather a sample for this kind of research and more ethical than extract a sample from an unsafe setting. Therefore, I will be collecting my sample from a number of refugee centres.

Methodology

Research design

For my research, I have decided to implement the use of a longitudinal design. It will form a cohort study, which Bryman categorized as being “made up of people who share a certain characteristic” (Bryman, 2012: 63), which in this case would be the experience of domestic violence. In the study, I will collect data on the impacts of childhood exposure to domestic violence at two separate occasions, when the children are young and when they are adults. Despite the obvious limitations of this design, such as attrition between the two parts of the study, I feel that it will provide an informative take on the impacts of childhood exposure that has otherwise been lacking in research of this type.

Research strategy

My use of longitudinal design would be an extension of qualitative research where I would be using a survey to collect data, in this case two interviews. It would therefore be a form of ethnographic research, with the aim being to, as Bryman expressed it, “interview and re-interview people on several occasions to capture social changes and shifts in people’s life course and thoughts and feelings” (Bryman, 2012, 66).

My research will be divided into two parts. I will begin by using a self-completion questionnaire and giving this to mothers of children exposed to abuse. Questions would

include whether the parents had noticed any traumatic symptoms in their child's behaviour, difficulties with school work and problems with their peers for example.

In this case, I feel approaching the mother would be more appropriate than making contact with a young child to answer the questionnaire. However, I feel that it is important to consider when to establish contact with the Mother. Gina Higgins gathered children's accounts of domestic violence and found that it "would not have felt appropriate to do this work with children who had just arrived, or who had been in the refuge for less than about two months" (Mullender and Morley 1994, 17).

Thus, my research would be aimed at residents of the refuge centre who had been there a significant amount of time, two months or over seems an appropriate time length.

In the second part of the study, I will make contact with the children who were in the study ten years after the initial data was collected and request for them to partake in an interview to discuss the long-term impacts of exposure to domestic violence.

In my study I will also include a control group of children who had not been exposed to domestic violence as a source of comparison. I feel that this will be useful in addressing some of the possible external variables that may affect the results of the research study.

Sampling

For this study I will collect two samples of mothers and children pairs. Both will be collected using convenience sampling:

- *Experimental group:* I will request the permission of refugee centres to approach mothers residing there with young children of the age of ten. If permission is granted, I will ask the mothers whether they would be willing to fill in a questionnaire on their child's behaviour, relationships with others and their school experience. I would ask the mother to provide their child's details for a follow up study, with the assurance that details will be kept within the parameters of this research study. A sample of 50 mother and children pairs would be the ideal sample size; it would leave room for attrition between the two parts of the research study.
- *Control group:* I will conform to the same procedure as above but within primary schools. Again a sample of 50 mother and children pairs would be the ideal sample size; it would leave room for attrition between the two parts of the study.

I feel that convenience sampling is the most appropriate sampling technique because of the sensitive nature of the research. Random sampling would be inappropriate because many mothers are unlikely to want to participate in the research if their name was chosen.

Strengths and limitations

Strengths

- *Good external validity-* I plan to use 5 different refugee centres to provide my sample, which will hopefully be fairly representative to the overall population.
- *Choice of longitudinal design-* I plan to implement the use of a longitudinal design. I feel that this fills a necessary hole that seems to exist within the previous research in this area. If more was known about the long-term impacts of childhood exposure

to domestic violence then I feel that more would be done to prevent the exposure occurring in the first place.

- *Use of a control group*- I plan to use a control group of mothers and children who have not been exposed to domestic violence. I feel that more information could be gathered from the results as we're able to eliminate some of the possible external variables which would reduce internal validity.
- *Interviewing children*: Marianne Hester in her work *Making an impact: Children and domestic violence*, saw that many studies collected data about children through the child's mother which "may ignore differences between children's and adult's perceptions of the impact of living with domestic violence" (Hester, 2007: 65). In the second part of my study I will be interviewing the children who were exposed to domestic violence, which will give the research a first-hand perspective.

Limitations

- *Attrition*: Like all studies that implement a longitudinal design, I run the risk of losing participants in between the two parts of the research. In particular, the second part of the study will involve participants who were young children in the first part of the study. It was their mothers who agreed to take part in the study and thus, they may be less willing to participate.
- *Ethical considerations: Confidentiality*- it is important for this study to gather personal details about the children in the sample so that contact can be established with them for the second part of the study. Many mothers may be unwilling to provide such details about their children particularly if they have just come out of a violent relationship.
- *Convenience sampling*: Convenience sampling is unlikely to provide a representative sample nature of the sample used in the study. Many mothers will be unwilling to take part in the study and it is possible that these mothers will have suffered the most severe domestic violence, which would have the biggest impacts.
- *Refugee sample*: Marianne Hester saw that refugee samples ignore the fact that "most children do not come to the attention of any services" (Hester, 2007: 65). Thus, I may find that my sample cannot be generalized to the population, as the sample fails to represent mother and children pairs who are still within the environment of domestic violence.

Conclusion

Despite the potential limitations that could arise from my research study, I feel that the data I gather could prove highly influential in the ongoing debate on the impacts of childhood exposure to domestic violence.

Although research exists within this area I feel that my research into the long-term impacts of exposure could provide an interesting and innovative take on the debate. If it is found that the impacts do exist long-term, more attention may be focused on preventing this childhood exposure in the first place thus helping to reduce the shocking figure of 750,000 children exposed to domestic violence.

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Have social attitudes towards the decriminalization of recreational drug use changed in the UK over the last 20 years?

Scott Carey

Introduction

The topic of the legalization of the use of recreational drugs has been debated for nearly a century now, with cocaine becoming banned in 1920 and subsequently other drugs being criminalized in later years. Recently however, it has become a significant subject of debate due to the legalisation of cannabis in some US states. This has raised questions of whether recreational drugs should be decriminalized in the UK. The topic is highly politicalized and diverse with different types of drugs having different effects and some drugs in the UK, such as alcohol already being legal. This interest in the legalization of recreational drug use in the UK deserves attention due to its prevalence in the media and culture.

I myself am a white, English, atheist male studying Criminology in the UK. This is necessary to point out because it may affect my own opinions towards the debate. My view on the topic is that recreational drug use should be decriminalized, as it ought to be someone's personal choice what they do in their private life. The liberty to indulge in recreational drug use should not be taken away, especially when alcohol is allowed which is just as harmful as some illegal drugs. I seek to explore the social attitudes on the matter to see what the population's views are on the topic. I will look at the reasons why people hold their views on the topic and how technological advances in the last 20 years have changed social attitudes and experiences of drug use in the UK.

Literature Review

The research will use existing literature on the topic of decriminalization and drug use to identify a range of themes and concepts which will be used to inform the research question. In doing this it will allow me to learn what is already known about the topic as well as finding out if there are any areas of the subject that have not yet been researched. The literature review will also let me know what research methods and strategies have already been used in similar studies. Furthermore, the literature review will involve looking at the history and context of drug criminalization in the UK, as well as research already conducted on social attitudes towards recreational use of drugs, such as through the use of the British Crime Survey. The literature review will also provide me with current arguments for and against the decriminalization of the use of recreational drugs in the UK.

History/Context of drug use

The history of the criminalization of drugs in the UK is covered widely in existing literature. Anti-drug legislation has been in place in the UK since the 1920 Dangerous Drugs Act which banned cocaine, with cannabis being criminalized later in 1928 and LSD in 1966 (The Observer, 21st April 2002). In earlier history, Britain was involved in opium exports to China in the 19th century. The economic gain that came from this led to limited control of opium in Britain (Carrabine et al, 2009), at this time recreational use of opium was acceptable. The legal status of drugs being affected by economic gain can also be seen today with the alcohol industry. Alcohol produces £14.6 billion in tax revenues per year in the UK (BBC, 3rd September 2010). Despite the health problems associated with drinking it is still

legal. One reason why recreational use of drugs has been criminalized today is the Government's fear of public opinion. There is a fear that influential press may accuse the government of being soft on crime if they decriminalize drugs, however there may be grounds in believing public opinion favours easing some punishments for the possession of drugs (Taverne 2010).

Arguments for Decriminalization

Some research already conducted suggests that there can be positives to decriminalising the recreational use of drugs. The first argument for decriminalisation is that the government could save money on law enforcement and make money from taxation. The Home Office estimated the scale of the drug trade in the UK was between £4 billion and £6.6 billion in 2003-04. They believed that the amount spent on drugs each year was equivalent to 33% of the tobacco market and 41% of the alcohol market (The Guardian, 21st November 2007). This financial benefit does not include the amount of money that could be saved on law enforcement, an estimated US\$100 billion is spent across the globe each year on the 'war on drugs' (The Guardian, 28th September 2013). The Guardian also reports that an estimated £3 billion a year is spent on tackling drug problems and much of this money has no evidence of being put to good use (The Guardian, 15th October 2012).

Another argument is that currently illegal drugs can cause less harm than the current legal ones, this does not just include health related problems but also social problems. It is argued that their illegality is responsible for harm that comes from them (Inciardi, 1999). This line of argument suggests that the criminalization of drugs actually causes more harm than good because it leads to the development of criminal networks to protect profits, and associated with these networks are more serious crimes like extortion, trafficking and even murder. This further adds to costs to do with law enforcement. It is also suggested that some people commit illegal acts in order to obtain drugs (Inciardi, 1999) as after an individual has been labelled as a drug user, opportunities such as finding a job will become harder to find. In turn they will have less disposable income but still continue their addiction (if they have one) and will resort to further crime to continue their habit. Furthermore, there is evidence that the criminalization of drugs does not actually solve the problem of drugs and the potential negative consequences of them, for example, banning one drug will instead lead to the popularity of a new drug, all it does is displace the problem. This was the case with mephedrone's surge in popularity in Europe. Fleming suggests the rise in popularity was due to the success of crack downs on ecstasy and cocaine supplies. Another argument for decriminalization is the fact that there was a drop in purity of cocaine seized by English and Welsh police from 60% purity in 1999 to 22% in 2009 (Fleming, 2010). The drop in purity leads to further potential health risks associated with drug use. Substances mixed with drugs such as cocaine to reduce the purity may have their own health risks. Regulating drugs and knowing exactly what is in them is safer than the individual not knowing what they are consuming. The Guardian also explicitly shows changing attitudes to the decriminalization of drugs. Using the results of the British Social Attitudes Survey they reported a change in social attitudes to the decriminalization of cannabis. In 1993 67% of people believed cannabis should remain illegal, however in 2007 this number had reduced to 58% (The Guardian, 26th January 2010).

Arguments against Decriminalization

Despite the positives outlined, there are obvious drawbacks to the decriminalization of the use of recreational drugs. It is fair to assume that criminalisation of drugs results in a

reduction of their use. Unarguably drug use does have serious consequences such as to do with health. Health issues are a big argument against decriminalization. Already an estimated 2,000 drug-related deaths occur in the UK every year, with another 400,000 people estimated to have a serious drug problem. This accounts for an annual cost of £15 billion to society (The Guardian, 15th October 2012). A study by The UK Drug Policy Commission, who conducted research using a survey on people living in private households, found that two out of five people reported knowing someone who has or has had some form of dependence on drugs (Singleton, 2010).

Other arguments against the decriminalization of the use of recreational drugs comes from the idea that the current policies are working and do not need changing. Responding to the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee in 2012 which had said that 'Now, more than ever there is a case for a fundamental review of all UK drug policy'. Prime Minister David Cameron stated "We have a policy which is actually working in Britain. Drug use is coming down" (Carrabine et al, 2009: 260). However, this perception of a working policy could be due to changes in police attitudes and the police force itself not focusing on cannabis users as much as they used to, instead of policies actually working. A senior police officer likened drugs in the UK to the US prohibition on alcohol in 1920 and said that it should be decriminalized (The Guardian, 28th September 2013). If other police officers share this view this may lead to verbal cautions being issued rather than incidents being recorded when dealing with small cannabis related issues. This results in a perceived drop in drug use when in reality there is none.

Social Attitudes and Data

In the book *Illegal Leisure: The Normalization of Adolescent Recreational Drug Use* by HJ Parker, J Aldridge and F Measham the authors identified different sources of data relating to drug use. One source is Official Statistics from treatment agencies, police and Criminal Justice System records and Customs and Excise records. These official statistics are produced annually which make them useful to identify trends in data. However, this data has numerous problems. Drugs such as cannabis that do not harm the body, will not be as highly counted for in medical treatment centres, whereas more dangerous drugs like heroine will cause medical conditions that are identified in treatment centres and will therefore dominate this data presenting a skewed view. The police data may also be unrepresentative. Due to targeted policing as well as changing attitudes in the police force, possession of cannabis may only result in confiscation and a warning issued to the individual, and may not lead to them being reported whereas before it may have always been reported. Furthermore, it is impossible for Customs and Excise to intercept all drugs coming into the country so the data they present are essentially estimates and have no idea how accurately they represent drug use.

Another source of data on the use of drugs is self-report surveys, such as the British Crime Survey, which have been conducted since the 1980s. These surveys provide large sources of data. Despite this there are still problems with the data. There is likely to be an underestimate of drug use rates in these surveys. For example, under 16's need a parent's consent to participate in the survey which will make it unlikely that the young person will admit they have tried drugs due to the interaction between the researcher and parent. Also, some individuals may not trust the guarantee that the data they provide will be confidential and anonymous, and as a result they will not disclose the truth. Despite this, Exeter's Health Education Unit has conducted self-report surveys on school children aged 11-18. They found that between 1989 and 1994 the proportion of 15-16 year olds who

reporting having tried any drugs had tripled from 10% in 1989 to over 30% in 1994. The Southern Health and Social Services Board in 1993 also found in Northern Ireland that over half of 14-19 year olds had been offered drugs and over a third had tried them. Research also found a wider range of other drugs are now available than in the 1990s (Parker et al, 1998).

Definitions

In order for my research to have any meaning I have to define certain concepts so that they will be able to be scrutinised by other sociologists. I will define different terms such as deviance, crime, decriminalization and recreational drugs. The first, deviance, will be defined as a “concept intended to designate the aggregate of social behaviours, practices, acts, demeanours, attitudes, beliefs, styles or statuses which are culturally believed to deviate significantly from the norms, ethics, standards and expectations of society” (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2012: 134). The term crime will be defined as “behaviour defined and sanctioned by criminal law” (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2012: 85). Furthermore, decriminalization will be defined as “a process that refers to a removal of the labelling of social problems or deviant behaviours as crimes” (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2012: 118). Finally, recreational drugs will be defined as ‘a drug taken for pleasure rather than for medical reasons or because of an addiction’ (Collins Dictionary, accessed 03/12/2015).

Research Strategy

The study will adopt an inductive approach to research due to the nature of the study being focused on understanding people’s attitudes. I do not want to limit the participants to a frame of reference when conducting the interviews. Each individual’s response will be subjective and likely different with complexities involving why they think what they do. A deductive approach will not be suited to this research as it will not be able to identify these complexities within the data. In order to have any use in policy debate it is important to understand the meaning behind why people hold certain attitudes about the topic which an inductive approach allows. As I am attempting to find out the attitudes of others, I am trying to find the deeper meanings of why people believe what they do, and a purely statistical approach would not allow this.

The research strategy also follows the interpretivist epistemological view trying to understand why the participants think the way they do. The ontological stance of the research follows that of constructivism, based on the belief that social phenomena and their meanings are created socially rather than being intrinsic. I have taken this position because the history of legislation of drug use indicates that this is influenced by social and economic factors, due to history showing crime and what is criminalized as not being static. As a result of the adoption of these epistemological and ontology stances I will initially use qualitative methods to gather data as to not limit the participant’s responses.

Research Design

The first part of the research design will be conducting secondary analysis of data from various sources. I will be analysing the current data on social attitudes towards the use of drugs and how technology in the last 20 years has affected the experience/use of recreational drugs. I will also look at the historical, social, and economic contexts of changing attitudes to recreational drug use as well as the arguments put forward for and against the decriminalization of recreational drug use. The secondary analysis will be used

to develop an understanding of the already available literature and will help develop research questions such as 'What proportion of people think cannabis should be legalized?' These research questions will help guide my research and what I aim to discover.

The research design itself will be a longitudinal study attempting to use the same people (for the interviews) over a 10-year period, interviewing them once every five years. This is due to cost and time restrictions as well as allowing technology to advance and political debates to develop during these times. A five-year period also guarantees there to be a new general election in-between interviews which may bring with it a shift in political ideas. This will be used to try and see how people's attitudes change over time.

Data collection

In order to try and prevent my own values affecting the research I will first conduct unstructured interviews using purposive sampling. I will attempt to interview participants from as many different backgrounds (age, race, religion, gender, class) to try and gather the widest range of opinions possible. The purposive sample is necessary in order to achieve the most variation among the different backgrounds between participants. Each participant will participate in an unstructured interview to allow the researcher to gain as much data as possible about their response to questions relating to the decriminalization of recreational drugs, and how technology in the last 20 years has changed how they experience/interact with drugs. Hopefully this first stage of research will identify themes that can be used to inform later stages of research. Due to the nature of these interviews they will be expensive and time consuming, resulting in a lack of generalizability due to only a limited number of interviews being conducted. They will also lack reliability due to the open questions that will be asked, however they will provide highly valid data. The data and themes gathered from the first set of interviews will then be used to construct an interview guide that will be used in semi-structured interviews with different participants. This second set of interviews will adopt a probability sample using stratified random sampling to try and represent a microcosm of the UK. This sample size will be higher than that of the sample used in the first set of interviews as the questions will be more focused due to the interview guide which will make them cheaper and quicker. These interviews will probe people's opinions on specific/common themes identified on the decriminalization of recreational drugs and the effect of technology found during the initial set of interviews. These interviews allow for a collection of more in depth data which will hopefully support the data from the first set of interviews. This set of interviews however still share the same problems with the unstructured interviews in regards to generalizability, reliability and representativeness.

Due to drawbacks associated with unstructured and semi-structured interviews I will adopt a mixed methods approach and also include a closed-question survey in the research. The questions in the survey will be centred around questions like 'how far do you agree' and will be centred on the themes identified within the two sets of interviews. The sampling technique used to conduct these surveys will be simple random sampling using a sampling frame such as the electoral register that will provide a diverse set of potential participants. The surveys are important to conduct as they help negate the negatives associated with using only in-depth interviews. The use of a random sample and closed-questions allow for a large sample and cheap data analysis. This in turn will greatly increase the external validity of the research. As well as this closed-question surveys are reliable and replicable so can be repeated in future.

Advantages

- The use of mixed methods allows different types of evidence to complement one another
- Different perspectives will be identified due to the mixed methods approach. Each perspective tests the validity of other perspectives (because findings should be consistent), and provides a more rounded picture. This is sometimes referred to as triangulation
- Mixed methods approach means that each method compensates for the disadvantages of other methods
- Interviews will provide a lot of in depth data on social attitudes
- Results could be used to provide discussion to the current debates
- Data will have high validity due to use of in depth interviews
- Use of British Crime Survey can provide a lot of data relating to drug use
- University lecturers already have knowledge of drug related topics
- Surveys can provide a large sample, which interviews on their own would not be able to provide
- Quantitative survey data can be compared easily to other secondary quantitative data
- The effects of technology have largely been ignored when researching social attitudes towards recreational drug use, this research may provide some insight to this area

Disadvantages

- Interviews will have a small sample and are expensive and time consuming
- Data may be affected by social desirability in both interviews and the survey
- Ethical considerations have to be considered such as anonymity and confidentiality as the topic is sensitive and involves asking about an individual's illegal activity
- Due to being a longitudinal study using the same people may prove problematic at a later date, e.g. due to death or health problems, especially when dealing with drugs
- Despite my precautions my own values may affect the data and the themes I identify
- Response rate may be low for the survey due to the sensitive issues being addressed

Conclusion

Although there are evidently drawbacks to the study, I have designed the research in such a way to try and reduce the risk of each disadvantage. For example, through the use of mixed methods, the lack of reliability and generalizability associated with qualitative interviews are compensated by the use of closed-question surveys that have high reliability and generalizability. The data that the interviews and surveys collect will provide me with both quantitative and qualitative data which will provide a lot of detail on the current social attitudes towards recreational drug use and if it should be decriminalized. The data to do with technology and recreational drug use has largely been ignored by the current major studies. The research attempts to fill this void and provide some insight into how technology has affected drug use and experience in the last 20 years. The data that the research finds could be used in policy debate for either side, depending on the results, and can identify potentially new areas of debate due to the lack of research on the technological side of the topic. The main sets of data which will involve social attitudes to

decriminalization will be very useful in that it will contribute to the discussion which is current and as some sources suggested needs reviewing.

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Critically assess the argument that sociological explanations of violence are more convincing than those that highlight biological or psychological factors

Rosie Dean

The Crime survey for England and Wales reported 1.9 million violent incidents in England and Wales between 2012 and 2013. Considering this high figure, violent crime in the UK has actually dropped by 13% within the past five years. Violent crime hit its peak of 4.2 million incidents during 1995. Between 1995 to present, violent incidents have decreased by 35% (Arnett, 2014). Although overall violence in the UK is being reduced, female violence has risen by 12% in the past five years (Fowler, 2011). This essay will assess sociological, biological and psychological explanations of violence perpetrated by males and females, exploring possible reasons as to why males and females may commit a violent crime.

The difference in how overall violent crime rates are decreasing, yet violent crime committed by women being on the rise, indicates how essential it is to separate males and females when analysing why each sex may perpetrate a violent crime. The reasons for both sexes are too vastly different in order to be examined as a whole population. The sociology of gender is extensively studied by sociologists as a means to explain male and female violence. Within sociology, gender difference is largely considered more influential to behaviour than the biological sex differences between men and women. Expanding on this, understanding the role expectations within masculinity and femininity is essential to the sociological analysis of violence committed by each gender (Wharton, 2005). Stereotypical masculinity in society is used to reason violent crime committed by men largely due to the immediate connotation made between masculinity and aggression. Men living in a male-dominated society are socialised into the role of masculinity from a young age, establishing two factors that almost encourage violent behaviour; the human desire of obtaining power and dominance, and the societal expectation for males to dominate (O'Toole et al, 1997). Within the construction of masculinity, there are many situations where a male's dominance is challenged. To resolve this, the almost primal act of violence will take place, thus, whomever is strongest when this opposition occurs will establish dominance and power over their challenger, advancing higher in the social hierarchy of the group.

The recent rise in female violent crime has led sociologists to become more aware of why this may be occurring. The traditional role of femininity does not induce violence. Femininity at its core is for women to nurture, stemming from the innate requirement of women in society to become mothers. Young girls are socialized into femininity just as young boys are into masculinity. A key example of this is observed when girls are given toy babies and prams to play with (Peck, 2014). Due to this overview of femininity it is such that females who commit violent crime contest their gender specific role. Politicians have part blamed the rise of binge drinking culture in young females for the heightened violence (Grayling, 2009); this could be a contributing reason, as there are many significant links between alcohol and aggressive behaviour, irrespective of gender (Drinkaware, 2015). Another reason to the increased rates of female violence is in conjunction with the rise in feminism and the gradual breakdown of the patriarchal society:

“Women are committing more violent crime; violent crime is masculine; women are becoming more masculine; women are becoming more masculine as a consequence of women’s liberation” (Alder, 1997:435-436).

The roles within masculinity and femininity are present in almost every society. This is one of the main advantages of the sociological approach when analysing violence committed by both genders because although the specific roles may be interchangeable, the basic principles that distinguish males and females will still be valid. As sociologists examine each society and how the varied cultural implications can influence behaviour, coupled with the primal deep rooted aspect of violence, this approach can be adapted and replicated across each different culture in order to form reasoning behind violent crime. Through broadly exemplifying biological influences on behavioural changes, sociologists can then fault on not providing a fully in-depth sociological analysis of violent crime. For example, a sociologist may view a drug induced act of violence as a cultural influence on the violent behaviour, without taking into consideration that scientifically, the drug alone could alter an individual’s actions in becoming violent (Harris, 2013).

Biological explanations of crime are rooted in Cesare Lombroso’s theory. Lombroso believed that there is something pathologically different about criminals, and that criminality cannot be explained simply by free will, but by a nature that is beyond this control (Williams et al, 1998). In today’s biology, this is explained with the knowledge of genetics. It has been discovered that there are correlations between children’s likelihood of criminality to those of their parents, even if the children are adopted into separate families. This separation eradicates the possibility of environmental influences that could encourage criminality. However, a statistically significant correlation to the types of crimes committed between the biological parents and their children was not present, thus, failing to provide a fully explained link between genetics and violent crime (Mednick et al, 1984).

In terms of explaining violent crime relating to the sex of the offender, another aspect of the biological explanation can be the evidence of testosterone in men. These testosterone levels consequently result in violent behaviour: “Insofar as testosterone alters brain function and produces aggression, and genes regulate how much testosterone is made and how effectively it works”. This displays the basic components when understanding how genes can control behaviour (Sapolsky, 2000). For example, when males are highest in levels of testosterone during puberty, it is found that this is where aggressive behaviour peaks, therefore directly corresponding to this heightened level of testosterone (Kimmel et al, 2000). Males have significantly higher testosterone levels than women so the reasoning of testosterone related violence excludes violence committed by women (Kemper, 1990).

The use of scientific experiments to prove or disprove theories within the biological explanation of violence is a major advantage of the approach. It is with these experiments that distinct cause and effect relationships are identified and used to reinforce these ideas. Another advantage is the vast amount of studies and experiments, such as clinical trials that are carried out. As it is scientific, these studies are ever changing as more and more is discovered within the field, making the theory adaptive and scientifically current, therefore increasing reliability.

The genetics of criminality within the approach can be applied to both genders, however as mentioned earlier, the testosterone links to violence do not apply to women. This is a clear disadvantage of the approach, deeming it inefficient when providing an all rounded definition of violent crime across the population. The scientific reasoning behind the

approach's theories of violence fails to explain biological anomalies. A biological anomaly regarding the biological approach could even be expanded onto female violence.

There are significant links between mental health disorders and violent crime. The psychological approach provides an explanation of violent crime that originates from Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Freud extensively studied mental health and believed all mental health disorders derive from traumatic childhood experiences deep-rooted in the sub-conscious mind that affect adult behaviour, such as violence. Freud's studies mostly focused on the reason behind the mental disorder, although he did give some explanation as to how mental health could influence criminality. The psychoanalytic theory can be interpreted when deciphering psychological reasoning behind violence as the notion that when experiencing distress, unresolved childhood experiences could interfere with normal adult rationality. This unbalance in an individual's ability to cope with a distressing situation could result in violence (Blackburn, 2001).

Both males and females can experience mental health problems, and as mentioned earlier, mental health has links to a rise in the risk of perpetrating violence. There is some variation between the sexes on the types of mental disorder, the reasoning, and the extent of these mental conditions. British men are three times more likely than British women to commit suicide. Suicide is the most common cause of death in men under the age of 35 (Samaritans Information Resource Pack, 2004). These high figures regarding male mental health highlight just how extensive the issue is, thus raising the probability of mental health induced male violence. The significance when relating male suicide to violent crime lies in what constitutes as a violent crime. "Suicides committed by those with a mental disorder outnumber homicides by a factor of ten to one" (Peay, 2011). Suicide constitutes technically as violence against oneself; equally, self-harm can fall under this classification. With suicide and self-harm being clear consequences of mental disorder, there are multi-dimensional links between mental disorder and violence (Saner, 2011).

Both Freud's psychoanalytic theory; with regards to explanations of violent behaviour; and the implications of mental health and violence, are inclusive of both sexes. Both males and females can suffer psychologically due to unresolved childhood experiences and both genders can experience mental health problems. Although there are variations of figures regarding types of disorders and how they are dealt with between males and females, the inclusion of both sexes within the psychological explanations of violent crime, is an advantage of the approach; an advantage which comparatively, cannot be seen within the biological explanation of violence.

A disadvantage of the psychological approach is the gap in explaining violent criminality as an act of complete and utter free will. Freud's theory also falls under this disadvantage, as his theory can only explain abnormal behaviours as a result of traumatic, unresolved childhood experiences. When studying the vast types of criminals, and motivations a criminal may have, there are cases of violent criminals where the perpetrator does not possess a mental disorder and has lived a perfectly normal and contented childhood. It is within these cases that the psychological explanation falls short when providing a clear-cut definition as to why the perpetrator committed the act of violence. Factoring in this disadvantage, the approach fails to contribute a definition of violent crime that can be applied onto all criminals in society.

In summary, the sociological approach can not only be used to accurately explain both male and female acts of violent crime, it can also be mirrored and adapted to each respective

society. Therefore, it is the most versatile and extensive explanation of violence in all aspects addressed in this essay. The approach is also as interchangeable and adaptive as it is versatile. An example of this adaptability can be seen when regarding the rise in feminist ideals, which seek to achieve gender equality in today's society. This rise in equality mirrors that of the rise in female violent crimes; thus providing an ever-achieving, sociologically current and accurate explanation of female criminality. In conjunction to this, the sociological explanation of male violence due to role expectations within masculinity can be adaptive in not only explaining why males commit violent crimes, but also in explaining why there is a decline in male violent occurrences in society. As society is adapting to the rise in gender equality, it is not only re-defining traditional femininity, but also re-shaping masculinity. This ever-occurring pattern of change in stereotypical masculine behaviour explains why fewer males are becoming violent in nature, therefore correlating to the decline in violent crime displayed in crime statistical analysis.

The biological approach, could too, be adaptive when explaining violent behaviour, due to the fact that science is always advancing. These advances modify the findings as new research and scientific breakthroughs occur. This can be seen in how recent studies of testosterone induced violence are contrasted to those of even a few years ago. As society progresses scientifically, the availability of better equipment, and further recognition of the relevance of this science, provides a more effective platform to carry out these studies; thus creating further connotations to testosterone levels and violent behaviour in men. Despite this advantage, the approach is far too narrow in providing a well-rounded overview of both gender's criminality, especially concerning violence. This distinct lack in defining why a female may commit a violent crime due to the female biology is too great of a disadvantage in exploring criminality as a whole.

The psychological approach gave excellent reasoning as to why a mentally ill man or woman would be more likely to commit a violent crime, and why this is so. The approach also gave an insight into the different classifications of violent crime, exploring the idea that suicide and self-harm, in technical terms, could constitute as an act of violence against one's self. Expanding on this, the approach gave more than just one link between mental illness and violent behaviour. Psychologically there were also many reasons as to why an individual may become mentally ill, rooted in Freud's psychoanalytic theory of childhood trauma resulting in mental disorder in adult life. This provides a strong background of knowledge when approaching the links between mental illness and violent criminality. As these issues can occur in males and females, the psychological explanation can define both male and female violence as a result of poor mental health. Yet, just as the biological approach failed to do, the psychological explanation of crime, is again, not explanatory in all aspects of criminality, such as when a violent act may be perpetrated simply because an individual is acting on complete and utter free-will. It is with this failure, that the explanation cannot accurately be expanded to all cases of violent crime.

Therefore, to conclude the findings of this essay, it has resulted that the sociological explanation of violence is more convincing than that of those featuring psychological or biological aspects. The sociological explanation was far more versatile, adaptive and able to explain not only male and female violent criminality, but also adapting to suit each society that violence occurs in.

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What evidence would you use to argue that Britain is a racist society?

Gemma Gardiner

This essay will discuss what is meant by a racist society and the ways in which Britain can still be regarded as such and if in any ways Britain is moving towards a post racial society. Many people would like to assume that of course in the twenty first century that racism no longer exists in Britain, however there are ways in which it is evident that racism is still prevalent even today.

Racism is essentially 'the belief that all members of each race possess characteristics, abilities, or qualities specific to that race, especially so as to distinguish it as inferior or superior to another race or races' (Stevenson, 2010). Racism is of course a lot more complex than this simple definition but it allows a starting point to try to explain a racist society. So generally as a whole does British society hold this view towards other races, either consciously or subconsciously? One of the main arguments that Britain is still fundamentally racist is to look at the police force; the police force in Britain comes under scrutiny for being institutionally racist. After the death of a young black man, Stephen Lawrence, there started an ongoing debate about the powers the police have to stop and search (Bowling, 2007). Figures show that black people in England and Wales are six times more likely to get stopped and searched by the police than white people are (Bowling, 2007). After a recent survey it was found that thirty nine percent of black males aged between sixteen and twenty nine were stopped, compared to twenty five percent of white males in the same age bracket (Bowling, 2007).

The British Crime Survey also found that there are significant differences in how the police conduct their stop and search procedures. Ninety three percent of white respondents said that police explained their reasoning to stop and search, whereas there were only eighty six percent of black respondents who could say the same (Bowling, 2007). There seems to be a disproportionate rate in police stop and searches between white and black ethnic groups. Black people are more likely to be stopped more than once as well, with fourteen percent being stopped on multiple occasions, compared to just four percent of white people (Bowling, 2007). These disproportionate findings could be due to institutional racism within the British police force. Research has found that the police use stereotypes to classify different ethnic groups (Bowling, 2007). For example they would assume that black people are aggressive, troublesome and prone to carrying drugs (Bowling, 2007). Undercover researchers have found extreme racism in the British police force, police officers expressing racial hatred, using racial language and even wanting to stop and search ethnic minorities just out of spite (Bowling, 2007). This clearly shows that at least in one specific area of British society there is still racism and worryingly from those that are supposed to protect us.

It could also be argued that Britain is racist when it comes to employment. The National Audit Office found that the top civil service is almost completely dominated by white males (Brown, 2015). Unemployment rates for black sixteen to twenty four year olds who are available to work, is double than for white people in the same category (Ball et al, 2012). The same can be said for women; the overall unemployment rate for ethnic minority women in 2011 was fourteen percent compared to six percent for white women (Wallis,

Robb, 2012). There seems to be an 'unconscious bias', meaning the judgements we make without even realising, in recruitment in Britain as Business in the Community research shows (Savage, 2015). This research shows that black, Asian and ethnic minority (BAME) are far less likely to get hired than white people. It shows that there is a significant drop off from being shortlisted to actually being hired for the job (Savage, 2015). For example in construction and housing employment there was forty five percent of applications from BAME but they ended up having less than thirty percent of the jobs (Savage, 2015).

There has also been a rise in the number of hate crimes committed in Britain with most of these motivated by race (Holden, 2015). Hate crimes are crimes that are motivated by a personal characteristic such as race or religion (Holden, 2015). The figures show that there were 52,528 hate crimes between 2014 and 2015. This is an increase of eighteen percent from the previous year (Holden, 2015). This could just be the tip of the iceberg as many hate crimes may go unreported by those that are victimized. Such tensions come to a forefront with groups such as the English Defence League, which is a racist organisation who demonstrate against having a multi-ethnic Britain. In light of recent events such as the Paris attacks, Islamophobic attacks in London have more than tripled (Townsend, 2015). Other similar groups are forming such as Britain First which seem to hold the same views. Britain First are the most prolific counter-jihad street protest group in the UK (Townsend, 2015). A YouGov poll found that forty percent of English people hold a negative view towards Muslims (Townsend, 2015). Britain First has millions of 'likes' on Facebook and followers on Twitter and it seems to be growing in popularity. Islamophobia is now widespread, especially with the far right movements such as these. Anti-Muslim hate crimes seem to have spiked after every major terrorist attack (Mark, 2015). After the London bombings in 2005, hate crimes targeting Muslims rose sixfold (Mark, 2015).

As shown there are clear ways in which Britain is still a racist society today, however some would argue that perhaps the majority of Britain is not racist. Considering how far Britain has come from its days of slavery and segregation, Britain can be seen as far less racist as it previously was, with only fourteen percent of Britons opposing interracial marriage (Wigmore, 2014). It seems that those who are highly educated are less racist with only nineteen percent of graduates admitting to holding racist views, compared to thirty eight percent of those without qualifications (Wigmore, 2014). The British National Party (BNP) also lost their representation in parliament, a far right movement similar to Britain First and The English Defence League. With recent events the British government is determined to clamp down upon anti Muslim hate crime and there are many people opposed to the far right movements and see it as an extreme view. There are also organisations in employment that try to reduce racism. They do so by implementing mandatory unconscious bias training and having ethically balanced recruitment panels (Savage, 2015). There are signs of progress; there are more than four times as many black and ethnic minority MP's than there were in 1993 (Merrick et al, 2012). There is also a black male in charge of a FTSE 100 company (Merrick et al, 2012).

Although clearly British society is no longer in the same times as slavery and racism being a common occurrence throughout society, Britain still has a long way to go before it can be called a post racial society. Racism worryingly seems to be on the increase across Britain, with far right movements using the terrorist attacks as a scaremonger against certain religions to gain support. More anti-Islam protests are happening on the streets in Britain and this places the issue of racism at high importance. With the police seeming to be institutionally racist, this does not help the case. With racism being so high profile now with it being on the news and people being made aware of it, maybe something will be

done about it. It will be a long road to 'colour blind utopia', Britain needs to make the first strides to eradicating racism in this country. Some believe that if this problem is not dealt with, Britain will be heading towards a civil war with the far right movements gaining more and more support for their extreme views. So is Britain a racist society? Most of the arguments will point to the fact that it is a racist society and is actually in some cases getting worse and not better.

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Do we still need feminist sociology in an age of gender 'equality'?

Keleigh Horton

Feminism has had a huge influence in narrowing the gender gap in the past, and some may believe that this gender gap is no longer relevant, or that society has reached a point of equality. However, this is highly debateable, as there are still a wide number of issues preventing gender equality in the UK and internationally. Feminist sociology is still necessary, as both public and private spheres need to be studied in order to improve. This essay will argue that intersectional feminist sociology is still needed, as there is no true equality between the genders within this society in the 21st century.

The Oxford sociological dictionary defines feminism as 'a social movement, combining theory with the political practice, which seeks to achieve equality between men and women' (Scott, 2014). Feminism has developed significantly from the first wave suffragettes to fourth wave feminism, which we are now arguably experiencing. The earlier waves of feminism were majorly significant in securing women's rights in the UK, such as abortion rights, equal pay and services for victims of domestic violence. This has led to the argument that feminism is no longer needed, as women are protected by the law and legal services, and so this is supposedly an age of gender equality. However, it is dubious whether or not these laws really represent the true picture of equality in the UK today, for example, the gender pay gap is current at 19.1%, which is 80p for every £1 a man earns (Government Equalities Office, 2015:10) and this is due to a variety of different factors, such as the glass ceiling effect. Also, this argument is rather Eurocentric, as it ignores countries outside of Western Europe, which do not have the same level of female emancipation, and which the feminist movement may be vital to secure basic rights, such as the right to vote. Feminist movements in the past were not as inclusive as they could have been, often focusing on white, middle class women, and so ignoring the most vulnerable women in society (Whelehan, 1995: 41). Intersectionality is one of the main focuses of fourth wave feminism, which is why this movement is still needed.

The family is an important structure in society, one of its main function being providing primary socialisation for the next generation. This means that family is significant in keeping established positive and negative traditions. Feminist sociology is necessary regarding family as a structure of society, as there is still a significant gendered imbalance of the domestic division of labour due to the role it plays in establishing gender roles. The family provides primary socialisation for children, and this socialisation has a lasting legacy. Young girls are often socialised to be caregivers, this can be seen through typically feminine toys, such as baby dolls, and they are often socialised into 'emotion work' (Duncombe et al, 1995). This arguably has a lasting effect as women are much more likely to enter expressive careers as well, which are less paid than the more male dominated careers, such as finance and banking. Boys are much more likely to be socialised to be competitive and aggressive, and while young boys are often encouraged to be leaders, and praised for taking action (Block, 1983:1341-1343), this is commonly criticised in girls, instead they will be labelled as "bossy" This socialisation is also seen later in life when a woman in a position of power is again given this label. This is emblematic of patriarchal oppression of women in leader roles. The family enforces repressive gender roles from an early age, which have a harmful effect later on in life. While there have been improvements

to family dynamics in the past 50 years, there is more likely to be some distribution of housework between the genders. Although, Lydia Morris's study found that while men have increased their participation in domestic labour, but this is not counter the amount of work a woman is often left with (in Scott, 1990) due to the concept of the 'triple shift' (Duncombe et al, 1995), which relates to the issue of women often having paid employment, as well as being responsible for most of the house work, and childcare. The domestic sphere restricts women, as they are more overworked, and overall have less time to commit towards further their careers. Also, research has shown that 'women earn more than 65% of the family income, their housework time tends to increase rather than decrease' (McFall, 2012:8). This shows that there is still a large divide in the division of domestic labour, in spite of earnings. It should also be considered just families are more diverse in the 21st century. In order to study the family, feminism must be intersectional so as to account for all the different factors. For example, the ethnicity of a family or household would have a significant impact on the division of domestic labour between the genders. Also, this has focused on gender inequality within heterosexual couples when the situation is different for same-sex couples. A study by Nicole Civettini in 2015 found that the division of labour between couples is much less based on gender, although those with more feminine traits are slightly more likely to take on more chores, but the distribution is more equal and based on time availability (2015: 25-28).

A continuing issue that hinders gender equality is the prevalence of violence against women nationally and globally. Fourth wave feminism has had a large focus on rape culture within society, Laura Bates describes rape culture as:

A culture in which dominant social norms belittle, dismiss, joke about or even seem to condone rape and sexual assault. It describes a culture in which the normalisation of rape and sexual assault are so great that often victims are blamed, either implicitly or explicitly, when these crimes are committed against them. A culture in which other factors such as media objectification make it easier to see women as dehumanised objects for male sexual purposes alone (2014:1).

Bates addresses the key feminist issues in this: she discusses the normality of rape and violence within society, which is due to the common acceptance of norms, such as jokes which desensitise the public to the seriousness of the violent act. This normalisation creates a culture in which the act is less criminalised and often leads to victim blaming, Pearson addresses this, 'if a woman wears revealing clothing or goes to a bar. She is likely to "get raped like the notion that if a woman wears revealing clothing or goes to a bar alone, she is likely to "get raped." But in fact a woman is no more likely to be raped from these activities than from simply dating a man or being home alone.' (2000: 12) This problematic idea is so deeply ingrained in society, that 36% of people believe that a woman is responsible for being sexually assaulted or raped if she was drunk, and 26% if she was wearing revealing clothing (Home Office, 2009). This idea sexualises the act of rape, which is an act of power and 'oppressive violence' (Pearson, 2000: 14) rather than sex, this is reinforced by the media, where 'rape scenes in movies are geared to turn people on, not shock them' (Pearson, 2000:14), and almost glamorised, this perpetuates rape culture in society. The victims of this act are often held to account for their actions, and judged to a much higher standard than victims of other crimes, even on an institutional level, for example, there is often a 'culture of disbelief' within the criminal justice system, in which one third of rape allegations are written off (Travis, 2015). McRobbie argues that a strong feminist movement protects these issues from becoming too normalised (2011:184), and with a strong movement, these can be challenged, which is seen in fourth wave feminism.

Feminist sociology can highlight these private concerns, such as rape culture, and show how they relate to public issues, for example violence against women.

Gender inequality has taken different forms in the 21st century, it is often seen in more subtle, private spheres, rather than the public, as the UK has legal protections against gender discrimination, but this does not tackle social issues. Feminist sociology can identify the problems in relation to gender in society, and challenge commonly accepted ideas. This is seen in the study of the family, in which typical gender roles are questioned due to the feminist movement, and the focus on rape culture in fourth wave feminism that protects the victim while addressing the issue of systematic victim blaming in society. However, modern feminism must be intersectional to continue to be relevant with an increasingly globalised world, otherwise it will not be able to provide adequate theories and solutions, instead becoming irrelevant and unnecessary.

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Do we still need feminist sociology in an age of gender 'equality'?

Nuroul Abdul Khalid

In general, the prevailing definition of feminism is the equality of men and women. However, 'the idea of equality is far from perspicuous and more adequate formulation of the basic idea is that women have equal worth with men in respect of their common nature as a free person' (Charvet, 1982: 1). From my understanding, an age of gender equality would be defined as living in an era where the equality of women and men is established and accepted in all society. The question of if feminist sociology is still needed in an age of gender equality is misleading. Even though the status of women today has improved compared to previous years, the question is making the assumption and generalisation that today, both genders in all societies are equal. This, however, is not the case.

Dicker and Piepmeier argued that young women today have more advantage and options compared to their counterpart in the past (2003: 3). Also, 'women now have entered what previously would be called traditionally 'male professions' and it appears that there are no barriers to the success of women' (Dicker & Piepmeier, 2003: 4). However, Dicker and Piepmeier also argued that 'women are dramatically underrepresented in decision making, power brokering positions' (2003: 4). This clearly shows how women are seen as 'powerless' in comparison to men when it comes to making the important decisions. Legislations were introduced to intervene with the discrimination that women faced in the labour market in the early 1970's Britain. The Equal Pay Act 1970 demands equality in the payment for women and men that were associated with doing similar work. It was not until the end of 1975 did it have the impact of the law. At the same time, the Sex Discrimination Act came into force and made discrimination against women in matters relating to access to jobs unlawful. Nevertheless, there are still arguments that suggest gender differences persist in areas such as working hours, participation and pay. According to Labour Market Statistics, ONS (2012), the percentage of men working full time is 87% and 57% for women. However, 43% of women are working part time and only 13% of men. This shows how there has been little change in the last decade. In spite of the differences, there are reasons as to why women are more likely to take up part-time job compared to men. This is mainly associated with expected gender role in the family where women are seen as the prime caretaker of the children.

Additionally, in the last 20 years, the number of women that are participating in senior roles in the workplace has increased but today only 5% of women hold the CEO posts in the world's largest corporations (The Guardian, November 2015). Gila Rosenberg, of JungLesbenZentrum, Germany stated that women in high positions have to work twice as hard as men to get there (*ibid*). This can suggest how men still dominate and have more power in the field of work.

Furthermore, evidence that would go against the assumption that gender is equal today is the education in Saudi Arabia. Until 2002, the Department of Religious Guidance had full control over the education of women which includes every level of women's schooling from elementary level to university level (Hamdan, 2005: 44). 'This was to ensure that women's education did not deviate from the original purpose of female education which was to

generate women into good wives and mothers' (*ibid*: 44). This is a huge contrast comparing to the male education where it was mostly controlled by the Ministry of Education (*ibid*: 44). Furthermore, education somewhat prepared women to have occupations that are acceptable and 'fit best in their nature' (*ibid*: 44). For example, teaching and nursing as opposed to other 'heavy' and 'manly' occupations such as pilots and engineers. Most Saudis accept the idea that women are naturally different from men. 'The notion that women are only able to work in segregated spheres where they cannot be seen by strange men is still dominant' (*ibid*: 44). Beyond doubt, this shows how gender equality is close to non-existence in Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, Brunei Darussalam has managed to climb to 'the top spot globally in the category of female in secondary and tertiary education, according to the World Economic Forum (WEF) latest Global Gender Gap Report' (Othman, 2015). 'It is also among the top 20 countries globally with the highest women to men ratio in higher education' (Othman, 2015). Also, women's participation in the working field has increased from 59% to over 70% over the past 10 years (*ibid*, 2015).

Another aspect that can be taken into account is domestic violence. Domestic violence towards women in many countries has been considered legitimate and often, by the women themselves. A survey was conducted in Ghana and the result showed that 43% of men and nearly half of the women considered wife beating as acceptable if a women used any family planning method without the consent of the husband (Fulcher & Scott, 2007: 482). Also, many women in Egypt, especially those in the rural areas, accept the idea that men are allowed to use physical force on their partner if she refuses to perform sexual intercourse with them (*ibid*: 482).

On the contrary, it is always assumed that the case of domestic violence involves husbands' violence against wives. This assumption however, has been challenged. A national survey which was carried out in the United States in 1985 by Straus and Gelles revealed that 'women are about as violent within the family as men' (1986: 470). From their findings, it shows that women are more likely to engage in violence against men than men are against women. (Straus & Gelles, 1986: 470). 'This highly controversial finding of the 1975 study are confirmed by the 1985 study and also by findings on other samples and by other investigators' (*ibid*: 470). The findings have shown the light on the hidden truth of violence towards men which has attracted far less attention. This is an indication that women are not always the victim and they have as much power as men in their marital relationship. This can also suggest that gender equality is on the rise.

Moreover, the next two paragraphs will focus on the violence against women in the name of religion, culture and tradition. These will be evidence to show how women are still condemned, seen as a subordinate to men and also evidence that patriarchy still prevail. Honour, as defined by Coomaraswamy (1999, in Grief, 2010: 12), is 'women's assigned sexual and familial roles as dictated by traditional family ideology.' Coomaraswamy goes on to state that if a woman falls in love with an 'inappropriate' person, commits adultery or even has any relationship before marriage, whether or not it includes sexual relations, it would be a violation of the family honour (*ibid*: 12). According to the United Nations Population Fund, every year, there are around 5000 women and girls are being killed solely in the name of honour (Grief, 2010: 13). Grief also points out that although honour killing is usually associated within Muslim contexts, it is wrong to make generalisation that it is a Muslim culture or tradition.

Another indication that gender inequality still exists is the practice of forced marriage. This is a marriage that is conducted without valid consent from both parties and usually, the

common factor is duress. The Southall Black Sisters, an advocacy organisation based in the United Kingdom, emphasise further that forced marriage is 'primarily about the control of female sexuality and autonomy' (2001, in Grief, 2010: 23). 'It is their 'sexual purity' that reflects on the honour of the family' (Southall Black Sisters, 2001, in Grief, 2010: 23). There are numerous reasons as to why forced marriage can occur. This includes conflict settlement where women or girls act as a compensation to settle an argument. Also, some women are sometimes forced to marry their rapist in order to preserve the honour of the family (Grief, 2010: 24). This can be seen in countries such as Afghanistan where 60-80% of marriages are forced and some young girls are forced to marry in order to pay off debts or to ease the family's poverty (ibid: 24).

In conclusion, the answer to the question is a simple yes. We still need feminism now and in the future as much as we needed it in the past. 'Women are not a homogenous group' (Jackson & Jones, 1998). In some society, women are still oppressed and have their voices taken away from them. It is highly inaccurate to assume that everyone is living in an age of gender equality when some girls or women are still seen as objects that can be sold and bought. 'Feminists refuse to accept that inequalities between women and men are natural and inevitable and insist that they should be questioned' (Jackson & Jones, 1998). This quote can be used as a justification for those who believe that there will never be equality with the two genders. Even though men and women are biologically different, I strongly agree with Charvet (1982) in which he states that: 'The treatment of men and women in society must, therefore, be in the fundamental respects the same'.

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Is grouping individuals according to their 'social class' still an important distinction? Or is it better to focus on income differences?

Jeanette Louison

This assignment will discuss whether 'social class' is still an important distinction when grouping individuals, or if it is better to focus on income differences. The assignment will look into why we have social class and what differences would occur if we grouped individuals after income differences instead of social class. Further, it will also briefly touch upon the effect of social class and income differences in different countries, and look at how social class still is relevant in modern times.

In order to understand whether grouping individuals according to their social class still is an important distinction, we need to look at why we have social class in the first place. The Oxford dictionary defines social class as "a division of a society based on social and economic status" (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). In sociology, social class refers to the system of stratification (Plummer, 2010). Social stratification is:

...concerned in different ways with the issues of class and status-group formation as the key to understanding social integration; that is, the extent to which social relationships are cohesive or divisive, and the consequences of this for social order (Scott and Marshall, 2005: 640).

Social class can be a form of acquiring social order within a society. Social order is "...how societies cohere..." (Scott and Marshall, 2005: 614), meaning that social class contributes to the interactions and unity between people in the society.

Karl Marx and Max Weber are the two key sociologists that have influenced the issue of class. Marx had an economic perspective and focused especially on the bourgeoisie, the middle class, and the proletariat: the working class (Plummer, 2010). The proletariat would work for the bourgeoisie who would exploit their labour, leading to inequality. This inequality would lead to an uprising amongst the proletariat, leading to 'class consciousness' (Plummer, 2010). Weber's view was more extensive, and distinguished between class, status, and power (Plummer, 2010). Marx's views refer more to income differences, whilst Weber's view refers to social class. This is why it is important to look at the difference in the grouping of people, according to social class and income differences.

The strengths of social class include a form of acquiring social order, as well as a way of understanding families (Lareau, 2003) and viewing the individual's position in society as a whole. This is important as it can contribute to a sense of unity and togetherness in society as it shows that each individual is a part of a bigger society.

It is difficult to look at social class and income differences as individual ways of grouping people, as they are interlinked. Income differences refer to, as the term suggests, the differences in income between people within a society. As social class is defined as the division of society based on social and economic status, it shows that income differences

and social class are similar. In today's society individuals are not grouped purely based on their income. Other factors such as education, status, and power also play a part. With the contemporary system, which comprises of taxes, tax credits and other benefits, it is no longer as apparent which people have higher or lower incomes. In earlier times, income differences were visible in terms of material goods, however, now, due to loans and other benefits, it is difficult to determine status or income by looking at material goods. Although you may not be considered of high status, class or income, you can still afford expensive brands of clothing or cars. It is a matter of prioritising.

Social class refers to different aspects of the societal differences, whilst income differences are solely based on the difference of income between individuals. A focus based solely on income differences can contribute to greater inequality between individuals. The reason for this is that it does not focus on the individuals' position in coherence with other individuals within a society. It could create an egotistical mind-set with the individuals and create a 'rich get richer, and the poor get poorer' society.

Furthermore, taking a step back, one can argue whether we should group individuals at all, either by social class or income differences. The grouping of individuals in the first place, creates inequality in society, not just focused on income differences. In late modernity, social identities have become more 'fluid' (Formosa and Higgs, 2013). They are subjects of change, and over the years, the concept of 'death of class' has been discussed (Formosa and Higgs, 2013). So one can see that in modern times, the grouping of individuals is not that apparent anymore, and therefore, grouping people, whether by social class or income differences, may not be necessary. However, it can still be viewed as an important distinction, as there will always be differences between individuals. Some people will always make more money than others, and so the lack of grouping could promote even more inequality as individuals have the opportunity to reach higher and lower on the 'scale'.

An argument for grouping according to income differences is that it can seem fairer. This is a capitalist way of thinking. The people who work hard for a good education and contribute more to society should be higher up on the 'scale'. They deserve to be, for example, first in line for health care. However, the weakness of this argument can relate to social class, such as the fact that you cannot choose class. If you are born into a working class family, it may be difficult to work your way out of that class, and so your children will be working class. In other words, there is a lack of social mobility. This can be traced back several hundred years with family generations owning land resources. So, one can say that it is not fair, as the people who have worked hard for their education might have had a better starting point in the first place. This is why the grouping of individuals according to income differences could create difficulties and inequality in a society.

In addition, an important aspect to take into consideration is differences in social class and income in other countries. In many countries in Africa, corruption is a severe issue, and so social class and income differences have an alternative meaning in countries such as these. Grouping individuals after social class or income differences is difficult in a situation where the country is, for example, highly corrupt, as the differences are large. Therefore, we see that the question of grouping individuals depends on the country and the social situation in that country.

Limitations to social class include the aspects that do not refer to educational, income or status. As Anette Lareau (2003) explained in 'Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family

Life', a factor that was not affected by social class was the emotional bonds between people. In the studies of families from the middle and working classes, all families from each class showed some form of emotional bond; whether it was through laughter, embrace, or enjoying each other's company, this did not differ across the classes.

As shown, there are arguments in favour of using social class to group individuals, and there are arguments that can be used to support the use of income differences to group individuals. However, as discussed above, social class includes more factors of social life and can seem as a way of maintaining social order. As income differences might promote inequality due to its 'one-sidedness' and focus on the one aspect of social life, it might not be an appropriate distinction to focus on. There is also the question of whether the grouping of individuals should occur at all, as in later times, social identities have become more and more fluid and open for change, meaning they do not need to be placed in one specific class or group.

In conclusion, it can be seen that social class and income differences are interlinked. However, in relation to the question of whether social class still is an important distinction when grouping people, or whether we should focus on income differences, it is apparent that grouping them according to social class still is an important distinction. As demonstrated, social class is important due to the maintaining of social order. If the focus were on income differences when grouping individuals, this could lead to high inequality within a society.

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To what extent do single-parent reared children achieve less academically at a primary school level in the UK than dual-parent reared children?

Ciara Mole

Hypothesis

My research aims to either confirm or reject the hypothesis that:

Single-parent reared children achieve less academically at a primary school level in the UK, than dual-parent reared children.

Specific research questions

- Is there a difference in single-mother/single-father reared children and their academic performance?
- Are there subjects in which single-parent reared children achieve higher than dual-parent reared children?
- To what extent do single-parent reared children have a lower school attendance record than dual-parent reared children?
- To what extent does school attendance affect the academic achievement of children?
- Are there specific subjects that single-parent reared children attend less frequently than dual-parent reared children?

Introduction to the research topic

The sociology of the family is a widely studied area of the sociological sphere. The dynamics of the family are influenced, transformed and altered by the ever changing economic, political and social climate of the UK.

One transformation of the family dynamic that has attracted particular sociological interest is the growth of single-parent families.

There were nearly 2 million lone parents with dependent children in the UK in 2015, a figure which has grown from 1.6 million in 1996, to 1.9 million in 2005, and then further to 2015 (Office for National Statistics, 2015).

When looking at the causes of the rise in single-parent families, factors such as the increase in the female labour force, divorce and marriage rates, rising teenage pregnancy, growing independence of women and the changing roles of women in the family and society are all considered in sociological research.

In 2013, there were 126,716 divorces in the UK, a decrease of 2.9% compared with 130,473 divorces in 2012 (Office for National Statistic, 2013). However, As Rogers stated, 'since 1981 the number of marriages conducted every year has fallen by a third' (2011). While divorce rates are slowly decreasing, marriage rates are also decreasing at a tremendous rate.

However, instead of the researching the *causes* of the rise in single-parent families, my research will be studying the *effect* this family dynamic is having on the children of these families. My research is analysing the *impact of being reared in a single-parent family has on a child's primary school education*.

As Lipsett pointed out, 'early schooling *matters most* for children' (2008). Education, primary school education in particular, is fundamental to the social, emotional and psychological development of children. It allows them to learn and understand skills that are essential for their transition into further education and eventually into adult life. Children's education can however be interrupted by events such as bereavement, illness and significant life events.

When a child is in primary education, identifying achievement issues, emotional issues and psychological issues at such an age can prove pivotal to the child's continuation in educational attainment. If a problem is identified and tackled before a child reaches the crucial years of transition to adulthood, which is 17-35, then their potential to succeed will increase.

With the rise in single-parent families in the UK, I felt that researching the effects of this family dynamic would be of astronomical sociological importance. My research aims to give indications as to the extent of the *effect that single-parent families are having on the primary school educational achievement of the children of these families*.

Children are the adults of the future, their education is fundamental to the functional society of the next generation. With such a large number of children being a part of a lone parent family in 2015, it is crucial that research is conducted in order to identify any present or potential educational interruptions that are occurring or could occur.

Review of the literature

Previous research on the subject of the impact of lone-parent families has found that there are ramifications for both the parents and the children of this family structure (Bonell et al, 2006; Colpin et al, 2004; Krein, 1986; Mueller and Cooper, 1986).

The results of studies such as those conducted by Krein (1986) and Mueller and Cooper (1986) have indicated that being reared in a single-parent family has a negative impact on the educational attainment of the child.

Mueller and Cooper's study (1986) of 1448 19-34 year old participants from a Midwestern metropolitan county in the USA compared the percentages of a group from single-parent homes who had not achieved a qualification equivalent to a high school diploma with a group from a dual-parent home. The results showed that 10% of the group who were from a single-parent home had not achieved a high school diploma compared to 4% of the group who were reared in a dual-parent home.

Krein's (1986) study of the effect of single parent families on the educational attainment and of young males showed similar results to those of Mueller and Cooper's (1986) study. Krein's analysis indicated that being reared in a single-parent family had a direct negative effect on the educational attainment on the young males of this family background. The results indicated that the males who had been raised in a single-parent family achieved half a year less of educational completion than those who had not.

Another study related to my research topic is the research by Bonell et al. (2006) research regarding the influence of family type and parenting behaviours on teenage sexual behaviour and conceptions of 15/16 year olds. Secondary data is used in this study from a longitudinal study conducted initially in 1997 over three time periods with children from ages 13 to 16. The study was based on a trial of sexual education producing results that indicated girls from lone parent or teenage mothers were more likely to report sex. The same result was also shown for boys. The boys from lone parent families were more likely to report sex or initiate pregnancy by follow up 2 than boys from two-parent or non-teenage families. The study also found that children who reported low/inconsistent parent communication were, in majority, from lone-parent families. A similar study noted in Ferri's report, *'Growing up in a one-parent family'* (1976) conducted by Dennis Marsden (1969) found that mothers who were single-parents found difficulty in attempting to balance authority and affection for their children (in Ferri, 1976: 16).

With regards to the study conducted by Bonell et al. as mentioned, the sample used consisted of 27 mixed gender cohort comprehensives schools. The schools were a representative sample in England in terms of their economic status and their educational attainment.

Similarly, Mueller and Cooper's (1986) study of 1448 participants was representative in terms of their sampling technique; multi-stage cluster probability sampling. However, the same cannot be said for Krein's (1986) study. As pointed out in the journal, 'each data represents a different age-sex cohort of approximately 5000 respondents with an oversampling of blacks]. Therefore, the generalisability of Krein's study can be cast in doubt.

The sample size of Mueller and Cooper's (1986) study is also problematic. Although the study is representative in terms of the sampling technique used, the size of the study could be seen as a disadvantage. In contrast, my research aims to be as representative as possible by using a much larger sample size in order to maximise generalisability.

Social desirability is one of the major drawbacks of Bonell et al.'s (2006) research, due to the use of secondary data from self-completion questionnaires of children aged 13-16. According to the journal, student feedback displayed evidence that the 'students could be more honest with their answers as they grew older between the longitudinal follow up questions. They also noted that if a later experience to a question about experience of sex contradicted a previous answer, the later response would be seen as definitive' (2006: 503). Concerning such a subject as sex for children of the ages of 13-16, their attempt to entertain the readers of their responses could be seen as an issue. They may have altered their answers in order to provide an answer that they seemed socially desirable. Using the later response as the definitive does not mean that this was the true answer. This thus compromises the reliability of the study. In relation to my research design, by using quantitative secondary data, social desirability is, therefore, not a concern.

The duplicate issue of social desirability and reliability from Bonell et al.'s (2006) study can also be related to Colpin et al.'s (2004) in correspondence to their use of in-depth interviews. Colpin et al (2004) studied the impact of divorce, separation, one-parenthood and partner death of the parents' involvement in their child's school career. By using an in-depth interview research design regarding the difficulties faced by divorced or lone-parent families and their involvement in a child's education, with responses on such an issue, the

matter of social desirability was somewhat inevitable. This could potentially lead to the question of the reliability of the answers given by the parents in these in-depth interviews.

However, the basis of Colpin et al.'s (2004) research (the involvement of lone-parent families in their child's education) coincides with the foundation of the book *Parental Involvement and Academic Success* by William H. Jeynes (2011). Jeynes (2011) noted on the relationship in America allying the increase in divorce rates between 1963 and 1980 and the 'infamous SAT score decline' (Scholastic Aptitude Test) (2011: 13) that occurred in the same time period. Wirtz then argued that 'there is probably more than coincidence between the decline in SAT scores and the drop in the number of children living in two-parent homes' (in Jeynes, 2011: 13).

However, Hanson's study aimed to investigate the characteristics of healthy single parent families (1986) in contrast to the studies I have previously mentioned in my review of the literature surrounding my research subject. The previous studies have focused on the **negative effects** of being reared in a single parent family (Bonell, 2006; Colpin et al, 2004; Jeynes, 2011; Krein, 1986; Marsden, 1969; Mueller and Cooper, 1986). The majority of the 84 participants in the Hanson study (1986) rated their physical and mental health as good or excellent. When comparing this study to Marsden's (1969) whose results showed signs of lone-mothers having difficulty in remaining consistent in parental behaviours, the Hanson study (1986) seemed to contradict such a result.

A homogenous news article was posted by Jochan Embley with the headline, 'Children "no less happy in single-parent homes"' (The Independent, 2014). A senior researcher at NatCen, Jenny Chanfreau, additionally stated that 'a happy, harmonious family dynamic was crucial for child happiness'. She further elaborated on this statement: 'It's the quality of the relationships in the home that matters, not the family composition' .

My further research evidence is integrated in my research topic background and methodology justification.

Methodology

My methodology aims to either reject or confirm my noted hypothesis.

Outline of methodology:

- Cross-sectional design
- Multi-stage stratified random sampling
- Secondary data
- Quantitative data
- Deductive approach
- Positivist epistemology
- Objectivist ontology

My research design is a cross-sectional design using secondary data. A cross-sectional design 'entails the collection of data on more than one case and at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative or qualitative data in connection with two or more variables, which are examined to detect patterns of association' (Bryman, 2012: 58). Secondary research entails analysing and using data already collected by someone else, for

example, another sociologist. The use of quantitative research allows for manageable data collection and analysis in comparison to qualitative research.

As a student of the University of Essex, primary research was not possible for my research design as I could not acquire the funding, authority or grounds to primarily conduct my research project. However, using secondary data and all forms of available resources from my university has enabled me to access numerous amounts of data that will aid me in my research project.

To collect this secondary data, I will be using the UK Data Service and the Office for National Statistics websites. The UK Data Service website is a well-recognised, trusted and a comprehensive resource which archives data information from many research projects, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. The Office for National Statistics is a website which holds information from surveys and studies funded by the government in order to analyse the population, society and economy of the UK.

By using a cross-sectional design, I will be able to cross-reference data from two or more variables. In relation to my research question: *“To what extent do single-parent reared children achieve less academically at a secondary school level in the UK, than dual-parent reared children?”*, a cross-sectional research design will allow me to look at both the academic achievement of a child and the marital status of their parent/parents and identify correlations between data.

By using secondary data, I will be able to collect and analyse data in a more time efficient manor in comparison to conducting primary research myself. Also, using this data presents an opportunity for me to conduct longitudinal analysis. For example, I may decide to follow my secondary analysis of the effect of being reared in a single-parent home on a child’s education over a 5 or 10 year period using the UK Data Service and the Office for National Statistics. Another advantage of using secondary research in the form of official statistics is the quantity of data. Greenstein pointed out that “most national surveys interview more than 1000 respondents in a matter of weeks or even days” (in Goodwin, 2006: 200).

An additional advantage of my research design is my use of quantitative data. In relation to my research which is focusing on the academic attainment of primary school children, the use of quantitative research allows me to collect and analyse data without huge difficulty in comparison to having to collect and analyse qualitative data. This therefore contributes to the less time consuming nature of my research project.

By taking a deductive approach with my research project, I am seeking to either confirm or reject a hypothesis. The deductive approach is an attempt to find evidence of the extent to which single-parent reared children achieve less academically than dual-parent reared children.

I am using a positivist epistemological orientation and objectivist ontological orientation by applying the methods of natural sciences to social science research as a value-free researcher.

The UK Data Service used a multi-stage stratified sampling technique for their data collection, known as the *Centre for Population Change General Household Survey*. The use of this sample technique, which encompasses the dividing of a target population into sub-categories in order to maximise equal proportions from which samples are then randomly

selected, and the sheer number of participants, which is 647770, in this study enables my argument of the representativeness of my secondary research when using the information from the UK Data Service. By employing the same sampling technique, I am able to examine the divorce rates from 1979-2009 and compare them to the variable of primary educational attainment of children in those years, which is the cross-sectional design of my research design.

Critical reflection

I have previously noted the advantageous nature and the sociological importance of my research design. However, comparable to any other research design, there are potential weaknesses.

One weakness that I have identified with my study is the internal validity of the cross-sectional method of my research. Although my cross-sectional research design may aid me in discovering correlations between variables, for example, the marital status of the parent and academic achievement of the child, I will not, however, be able to establish casual connections between the variables. Therefore, as a direct consequence of this issue, I will not be able to identify whether it is the family structure of the child that is the variable which has influenced their academic attainment.

My choice of employing secondary data also bears disadvantages. One issue with using secondary data is the sheer volume that is available. Although this can be advantageous, it can also become unfathomable and difficult to handle and analyse. There is numerous amounts of data on the topics of family and education, therefore finding the appropriate data may become problematic.

Another issue with my use of official statistics, such as data from the Office for National Statistics, is the validity of the data. There may be variations in the data produced from in their surveys caused by factors that are not studied by the official reports. For example, when looking at the academic attainment of primary school children, the official statistics may not have studied the financial stability or the family structure of the children in their survey.

The reliability of the official statistics that I am using is another disadvantage to consider. The definitions and categories studied in official statistics change over time. For example, regarding the category of dual-parent families in the General Household Survey conducted by both the UK Data Service and the Office for National Statistics, the issue of whether the category now includes same-sex married couples has to be considered as this could play a crucial part in the data I am using. The redefining of categories such as the category of dual-parent families could help to identify and explain anomalies in the data I have collected.

There are also ethical considerations to evaluate when conducting secondary research. While I 'do not have to go through the many steps that are increasingly required in order to obtain ethical approval for research' (Smith, 2008: 78), aspects of the use of secondary data and their ethical body are equally important to take into account.

One of the most important ethical considerations with secondary research is informed consent. I cannot directly ask the participants of the primary research I am using for their consent in my secondary research. However I have to consider whether they would object to how I am using and interpreting their data. For example, when using information on the

marital status of participants of surveys from the Office for National Statistics, would they be acceptant of how I am now interpreting and using that information.

A second ethical consideration when using secondary data is the anonymity of the participants. By using the data from the Office for National Statistics and the UK Data Service the participants are non-identifiable. As I am not using postcodes or geographical locations on my secondary research, the anonymity of the participants is at a maximum.

Collecting data and data analysis

I will be collecting and analysing the cross-sectional quantitative data in a computer programme. The use of computer programming will enable me to create graphs, charts and visual displays of correlations between the two variables that I am examining, academic attainment and the marital status of the parent, via secondary data from the UK Data Service and the Office for National Statistics.

The use of computer programming will also enable me to use visual evidence in relation to my research question and my hypothesis.

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Does poverty affect children's opportunities of educational achievement? How can these inequalities be tackled?

Hosanna Williams

Research question(s)

Does poverty affect children's opportunities of educational achievement? How can these inequalities be tackled?

Introduction

Despite the introduction of the 1944 Education Act which was essentially introduced to promote equality by giving all children the chance to have a free secondary education, there has always been class inequality in the education system and it continues to be a rising issue in society today. Sociologists have identified consistent trends showing the direct link between social class and educational attainment. In 1996 the Coleman Report first established the relationship between family socioeconomic status and student achievement (Reardon, 2011: 92). Working class children are more likely under-achieve than higher class groups. As Fulcher & Scott put it 'the better off can buy educational success' (2003: 321).

While there has been a lot of previous research on the topic, I believe that not enough has been done to highlight the extent of inequality in schools for less privileged children. Engaging in more extensive research that identifies the causes of differing opportunities among classes is imperative if we are to eliminate these issues and make the education system a more equal place for all children to succeed despite their social background. Although there are few government schemes such as the introduction of state schools to ensure all students have an equal chance in doing so, we must ask ourselves if they have been effective enough. My research will explore the correlations between poverty and educational attainment and reasons for these inequalities among social classes. It will be relevant in providing more statistical data for the topic which can be furthered in the future to help the government and schools to come up with strategies to improve the opportunities for children in poverty.

My interest in the topic

I myself am from a working class background and definitely believe that children who live in poverty are at greater risk of under-achievement as I have experienced this myself. Growing up I went to a reputable, middle-class dominated primary school. As a working class black child I always saw my white middle-class peers getting better grades than me. I would try hard, and still never attain the grade I wanted. It confused me because everyone else seemed to effortlessly achieve these grades, and eventually I realised it was simply because the advantages of them being from their specific class background. I wanted to know why my best was never good enough and what explanations were out there that explained why middle-class children were generally more successful. Having studied sociology as a GCSE and at A Level, I was able to gradually gather answers to my endless questions. Education was always one of my favourite topics in Sociology; because of my struggles with it growing up, and because I believe it is so important in society today. We are in such a modern and advanced era whereby nearly all children are enrolled in some

sort of school for at least a fraction of their lives. Although this is great progress, there is still a lot more to be done that ensures everyone can get an opportunity to a career after completing school, despite your socioeconomic background. There should be more programs that help children in poverty to attain good grades, so they do not feel socially excluded from the peers like I often did. I was fortunate enough to finish school with good grades and get into university, which is an example of how getting a good education can give you the opportunity to change your socioeconomic background.

Literature review

Relatable studies: My own research is similar to the works of the Highscope Perry preschool study (1962). This was a longitudinal study which selected 128 children living in poverty at random from the ages 3-4 and put them in a pre-school program that aimed to improve their progress in school and prevent them from committing crimes in the future. In Highscope's most recent findings of the remaining living children (aged 40), they found that they had better jobs and wages, and were less likely to have committed crimes than peers that were not enrolled in this program. This provides evidence that poverty does affect children's educational achievement. By putting children from a working class background in high quality teaching groups it means they are more likely to do as well as their middle class peers. This project is an example of how programs like this are a successful strategy for tackling this issue.

Unequal opportunities: Children from low income families often lack certain necessities that are required to be successful in independent education systems (grammar and public schools), which statistically, provides students with a better quality of education. For instance Davis suggests that tests used to judge the intelligence of children when deciding if they will be accepted into public schools 'selects only mental problems which are highly valued in middle-class life'. Furthermore, he also notes that the people who 'devise and teach the curricula are nearly all middle class' (Davis, 1962: 88). This here shows that the main problem is not just that the working class having a supposedly lower intelligence, but that they lack what is known as 'cultural capital'. This refers to 'the cultural advantages of those who have assimilated the dominant culture of society' (Fulcher & Scott, 2003: 864). Although the emphasis should be on IQ and knowledge when completing these tests, instead they are merely on the values of the middle class, restricting the opportunity to greater education for children in poverty. In addition to cultural factors, the other main obstacle for children in poverty is obviously the absence of disposable income. Floud explains how the financial position of working class children means families feel inclined to refuse the opportunity of an offer at a grammar school, and instead may go to a school that has a shorter course and a practical bias (1956: 36).

Negative impacts of poverty on children's school life: ATL (the education union) conducted a survey aimed at teachers which sought to find out the impacts of poverty on children in school. Out of 617 respondents, 80.6% teachers agreed that poverty affects their students' educational attainment (Press release ATL Annual Conference, 2011). A further study from the Department of Education found that 30.9% of pupils eligible for Free School Meals (FSM) achieved 5 or more A* to C grades at GCSE or equivalent, compared to 58.5% of pupils not known to be eligible for FSM (2010).

Explanations for underachievement: One explanation for trends in underachievement within low socio-economic families is 'chronic and traumatic stress exposure' (Adler et al, 2000). The study found that living in stressful environments has a great impact to health,

making you more susceptible to diseases such as hypertension. This in turn explains why children may underachieve – poor health means that they are likely to take time off school. Similarly, Nelson and Sheridan note that lack of material resources such as money for nutritious food contributes to ill-health and disease among poorer families (2011: 37). Although there aren't many studies to confirm this, it has been suggested that rising income inequality has also contributed to the gap in educational achievement between classes. Higher income families can afford to invest more in their children's education. Middle and upper class parents increasingly began to see cognitive development as necessary, meaning that they saw education as key to economic success later in life (Reardon, 2011: 101). This links to what Lareau calls 'concerted cultivation', which is where 'middle class parents actively fostered and assessed their children's talents, opinions, and skills' (2003: 238). Actively making an effort to engage in children's education can stem educational progress, which appears to be many middle/upper class parents' main interests for their children's cognitive development. On the contrary, it is argued that working class families do not share this same ideology, and instead they let children naturally and 'spontaneously' develop, and believe that children only need the necessary things such as shelter. Lareau calls this 'accomplishment of natural growth' (2003). This highlights the contrast in childrearing practices among different social classes and how it can affect a child's educational attainment.

Tackling educational inequalities among class groups: Rowan (2011) discusses the most prominent improvement strategies used in the states within elementary and high schools. The comprehensive school reform (CSR) that has been most effective for elementary schools is 'Success for All' and 'America's Choice'. These both try to change academic infrastructure, e.g. they try to improve reading by including over 90 minutes of dedicated reading time. However, although both these programs have evidently made an improvement in children's reading and mathematical skills, they only produced small-average affects.

Talent Development High School (TDHS) and First Things First are two CSR programs that operate in high-poverty stricken high schools. TDHS work with groups of 250-300 students who are performing poorly and shorten their school day to 4 periods rather than 6, this allows time for teachers to teach more in depth using instructional strategies. Similarly, First Things First targets groups of students from each year and work on academic courses only. There is also a family advocate system where staff members are assigned to students and their families throughout the program and meet regularly with parents to support the student (2011: 527-533).

Methodology

Research strategy: My research will be based on deductive theory, meaning that my hypothesis (there is a direct link between social class and children's levels of educational achievement) will be confirmed or rejected once I have collected data and analysed my findings.

The majority of my research will adopt the positivist epistemological position that 'advocates the application of methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality and beyond' (Bryman, 2012: 28). In other words, I will seek to discover whether or not children in poverty underachieve through scientific means, such as the use of surveys. This will ensure that my method of collecting data is replicable which would be beneficial in longitudinal research. In addition, it means that I can establish cause and effect

relationships between poverty and educational attainment. For a fraction of my research I will also use the interpretivist approach, which 'regard(s) meaning and action as the prime objects of sociology' (Scott, 2014: 369). For my the research, this element is important because as well as trying to uncover if poverty affects educational attainment, I am interested in the experiences of my research subjects over the course of the study, and their opinions in ways they consider helpful in tackling this inequality based on their own discoveries.

Research design: I will be carrying out a panel longitudinal study, collecting the majority of data primarily, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative strategies. My study will be conducted in a school of an area that has a diverse selection of families from different class backgrounds. The purpose of my project is descriptive – there are already bodies of knowledge and existing research on the topic, but I want to construct a clearer picture of educational inequality (Fulcher & Scott, 2003: 75).

The quantitative method I will be using is a postal survey in the form of a close-ended self-completion questionnaire. This will be the first step in my collection of data. I plan to distribute the questionnaires in the school staffroom, asking the head teacher or someone with similar authority to place high importance in completing the survey, to ensure a high response rate thus making my survey findings more representative. The questionnaire will ask teachers whether they believed a child's socioeconomic background affected their overall achievement in class, and if there were any patterns in behaviour compared to middle class peers (for example, working class children being more disruptive or participating less). Teachers would be given the option to score each question from 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). With this I intend to find an average that determines the correlation of children's class background and achievement.

For the longitudinal study, I will have a list of every students' name in year 7 and this will be my sampling frame. Using simple random sampling (through a random name generator), 200 students will be chosen, and be my research subjects until they reach year 11 when they have received their GCSEs. I will identify each pupil's socioeconomic background by finding existing data that shows if they receive Free School Meals (FSM). This will be the collected from the school, meaning it is the only source of secondary data that will be used in my study. This would allow me to make comparisons of the working and middle class children's achievement over the next 5 years. I expect to find a trend that shows the children from a working class background not achieving as well as children from a middle class background, which would confirm my theory.

Qualitative data will be collected through unstructured interviews with the children twice over 5 years. The first would be when they are in year 9, and last when they have completed their GCSEs at the end of year 11. Questions asked will be designed to discover each child's personal experience in the education system. For example, if they thought they were given equal chances to succeed, how they would describe their home life and whether they thought their home life influenced their attitudes to school and work, and what are their suggestions to make the system a place that provides equal opportunities for everyone, despite their background. I can use this data to contribute to my overall findings, as well as strategies to manage the inequality faced by children in poverty. I will use content analysis to quantify the qualitative data in a systematic way.

Advantages:

- There would be a choice of schools as many are open to study as it could improve their institution.
- Using a large sample means findings will be more representative.
- Collecting data in different ways (surveys and interviews) allows room for error.
- Research that can be used by the government to improve this issue in all schools.
- Asking research subjects how they think the problem of inequality can be tackled gives an authentic picture from people who truly understand the situation and will be the ones to benefit directly from improvements.
- Carrying out a longitudinal study is effective for establishing trends over time.
- Being able to relate to the working class students means I am more likely to understand their perspectives deeper during the interview, making data more valid.
- Using a survey makes data easy to quantify and high in reliability.
- Ease of finding a sample frame from school because they have lists of every student and whether they receive FSM on record. Saves time of having to find data myself.
- Anonymity of postal questionnaires may encourage teachers to be more truthful when answering questions – high validity (Fulcher & Scott, 2003:84).

Disadvantages:

- Longitudinal studies are time consuming and expensive.
- Risk of sample attrition (Bryman, 2012: 65), e.g. children that drop out of school, death, or just not wanting to participate anymore – makes the study less representative and thus less generalizable.
- Not having experience in carrying out research means that I am likely to get some things wrong which makes the data less ecologically valid.
- Ethical problem of asking children questions (during unstructured interview) – must gain parental consent.
- Only analysing years 7 and 11 does not take into account the years in between.
- Teacher's opinions are likely to be retrospective when completing questionnaire which can make findings distorted and untrue. They may also forget key events.
- 'They require greater effort from respondents' (Bryman, 2012: 247) – time consuming.
- It can be difficult putting the respondents' ideas into some categories using content analysis – researcher may not know which category to put information in.
- 'Content analysis can only be as good as the documents on which the practitioner works' (Bryman, 2012: 306)
- Unlikely that the researcher will not impose their own values when coding information (Bryman, 2012).

Conclusion

With the use of existing research I will successfully be able to complete my research. I would be able to improve my study, minimising the disadvantages in order for it to be more worthwhile and effective. This would contribute to standing research and statistics out there today on how poverty may affect a child's educational attainment. In addition, my project provides ways to improve the current education system making it more equal for every child. It will be able to aid the government in coming up with new strategies. There would also be the benefit being that my research recent, making it more comparable to the

children of today. Findings can be compared to the Highscope Perry Pre-School project which studied, and takes a similar approach to mine.

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What social factors determine the sort of music people in the UK listen in 2015?

Chia-Jung Yu

Introduction

Music is everywhere in our daily life. The consumption of various types of music supports the thriving music industry. The question of what makes people choose to listen to certain types of music stirs up the interest of sociologists. Almost all of the studies in this area, to a certain extent, are extensions or examinations of Pierre Bourdieu's 1984 study on the subject. Bourdieu stated that one's interest in cultural capital is influenced by the social status one belongs to. Recent studies, however, have criticised this idea on the basis that it ignores other difference, such as gender and age (Van Eijck, 1001; Crawford et al., 2014; Graham, 2011; Gronow et al., 2009; Mulder et al., 2010). This essay will demonstrate what the previous studies have discovered so far in this area and delineate the research design and methods that are conducted in this study. The essay concludes by assessing the strength and weakness of the research and its relation with previous studies.

Literature review

Music taste

Music genres and taste are the first areas to be discussed in this study. The idea of "taste culture" can be traced back to "highbrow-lowbrow" distinction by Herbert J. Gans (1999, in Gronow et al., 2009). Van Eijck named thirteen genres of music in his study of *Social Differentiation in Music Taste Patterns* (2001) and narrowed them down to three main types of music which are highbrow, pop, and folk in his latest study with John Lievens (2008). The genres of music are not a set category that is always applied. As Van Eijck (2008) notes, Jazz was once the pop music in 1930s. Van Eijck (2008) states also that although music tastes are interpreted by researchers in different ways, the three types of music expression (highbrow, pop, and folk) are the most ideal way of distinguishing different types of music taste.

Jukka Gronow et al. (2009) provide an extended means of categorising music using four factors. The first factor, which includes classical music, opera, and modern Jazz, is described as the "highbrow music" factor. The second factor, with Finnish schlagers, country and western, Finnish folk music, and religious music included, is called the "popular folk music" factor. Rock music and heavy metal are placed within the "rock music" factor while electronic dance music with hip-hop and R&B are separated into the "electronic music" factor.

Social factors

Social status is one of the main factors that influence one's music taste. Bourdieu (1984) stated that social class is constructed by the distribution of economic and cultural capital. Cultural capital is the preference of a highbrow cultural performance. The cultural capital is related to the economic capital which leads to a certain lifestyle. In other words, only the people who have both the economic status and certain level of knowledge are able to take part in this type of social activity. In Bourdieu's (1984) concept, the higher class excluded

themselves from the society by practicing only the highbrow culture. Kolb (2000) supports this notion by taking a group of non-experienced people to a live concert and found that they are anxious by the lack of knowledge and the behaviour of classical music audiences. Her findings also show that although people of different ages and from different educational and ethnic backgrounds listen to classical music, the majority of individuals that attend live concerts of classical music are well-educated, elderly white people in both the UK and US. Kolb (2000) stated that the middle-classes reassure their value of self-control and hard work by participating classical music. Graham (2011) demonstrated that jazz was pushed from pop music to highbrow music by the birth of rock and roll. Jazz had then joined the exclusive highbrow music which was shared by middle and upper class African Americans.

However, the findings of Peterson and Simkus (1992) show that the higher classes are omnivorous in their tastes. In other words, they are more culturally open and adopt more types of music than the lower classes. Peterson suggested a reverse pyramid which illustrates the hierarchy of the society. Individuals' particular social networks are one of the factors that affect one's choice of music. Peterson suggested that people from higher class involved in different circle which passing knowledge happen during the interaction

These studies of education, income, and occupation in relation to music tastes are extensions of the study from Bourdieu's theory of social class. Education is discussed at the level of both the individual's personal level of education (Gronow et al., 2009) and their parents' (Graham, 2011). Gronow et al. divided the level of education into four categories based on statistics from Finland. The four categories are basic education (elementary school) or less; secondary school and vocational school; vocational diploma and bachelor's degree; and master's or higher university degree. Gronow et al. found that interest in their first music factor (highbrow) increased while the second factor (popular folk) decreased when the level of education increased. Family background had more influence than one's education in jazz consumption in 1982. From 1992 onwards, the individual's level of education became the main factor (Graham, 2011).

Van Eijck (2001) stated that a person's education and income are interconnected with their occupational status. The impact of individuals' incomes and residential areas are discussed in relation to music tastes in the study by Gronow et al (2009:47). The study showed that the cultural consumption differs by city and rural residential area in previous study in Finland by Virtanen (2007) and Liikkanen (2009). The individual's residential areas were placed within one of four categories, including city centre; suburb or housing estate; small town or village; and countryside. Personal income was shown to have a positive effect on interests in rock music while country and village residency had a negative effect on interest in highbrow music.

Other sociologists argue that gender and age are neglected in Bourdieu's study. Gender is one of the important factors on music tastes. Some sociologists have suggested that women tend to be more involved in various form of highbrow culture, such as classical music and opera (Bihagen and Katz-Gerro, 2000; Kane, 2004; Lizardo, 2006). Gender has positive influence on both highbrow and popular folk music while gender is relatively neutral or slightly male dominant in rock music (Gronow et al., 2009). Females tend to favour melodious and soft music while males tend to adopt louder and more repeating music (Christenson and Peterson, 1988; Frith, 1981; North and Hargreaves, 2007). Also, females are more likely to prefer pop and urban music, while males are more positive towards dance music (Mulder, 2010).

Age is another important factor that many sociologists take into consideration. Younger generations are said to like popular music more and expect a more stimulating experience (Brown, 2004; Pitts, 2005; Dobson, 2010). Gronow et al. (2009) found that more people tend to like highbrow and popular folk music as their age grows. Music was the most preferred indoor activity for 13 and 14 year-old children (North et al., 2000). Peers were an important factor on music taste around the ages of 15 and 16. Individualization of music tastes started after this age (Steinberg and Silverberg, 1986). Children, youth, and young adults aged from 6 to 30 are divided into three groups (12 to 17, 18 to 22, and 23 to 30) for Mulder's study (2010). 17 and 23 were chosen as the cut off since they are the time when the secondary school and university ended. Also, Holbrook and Schindler (1989) suggest that lifelong music tastes crystallized at the age of 23. The youngest group tend to more likely to change their genre or style of music than the older group.

Research design

The research presented in this paper is deductive in design. Deductive research starts with theory and hypothesis. The findings of the data are then used to examine the hypothesis. The hypothesis could be confirmed or rejected by the results (Bryman, 2004). The hypothesis in this research is based on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory and will assess the extent to which people's taste in music differs according to gender, age, social class, education, and occupation.

The research project will take a positivist epistemological approach. Positivism is an application of scientific method to social science research which focuses on how empirical observations may be used to produce factual knowledge. In contrast, interpretivism looks at how people make sense of the world around them (Bryman, 2004). A positivist perspective is adopted in this research because the aim of the project is to identify the demographical factors that influence music tastes in the UK in 2015 rather than to question precisely why these demographical contingencies have an impact on music tastes.

The ontological approach of the research follows objectivism. Objectivism refers to the social phenomena that are not influenced by subjective interpretation. In other words, the phenomena is seen to be observable without bias. In contrast, constructionism suggests that meaning is a product of interactions between social actors (Bryman, 2004). The research takes the position of objectivism because it is confronting the phenomena directly rather than exploring how social factors impact how the phenomenon is interpreted.

Cross-sectional design is applied in this research. According to Bryman:

A cross-sectional design entails the collection of data on *more than one* case (usually quite a lot more than one) and at *a single point in time* in order to collect a body of *quantitative and quantifiable data* in connection with two or more variables (usually many more than two), which are then examined to detect *patterns of association*. (2004: 41)

There are four important concerns when conducting cross-sectional research. Firstly, more than one case is examined in the research in order to discover the variations and lower the chance of errors. The more cases are taken the easier the variation can be confirmed. Thus, the sample of this research is chosen to represent the whole population of the UK. Secondly, the data is collected at once. This research is conducted to collect the data in

2015. The answers of the questionnaire are valued once the participant has completed it. This is opposite to the experimental design. An experimental design required time to complete the three stages. The experimental group is pre-tested before display in experimental operation, and finally the post-tested. The example of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) given by Bryman (2004) was taken eight months to complete. Thirdly, quantitative and quantifiable data is collected to identify the variations between cases. Also called survey research, questionnaire and structured interview and other methods are used in order to collect quantitative data. The quantification provides the researcher with a reliable standard. Questionnaire is used in this research to collect quantitative data. Finally, cross-sectional design can only demonstrate the relationship between variables. It does not have the internal validity as experimental design. The causal relation is not clear owing to the fact that the cross-sectional design has no time ordering and does not control the variables. As a result the survey can only refer to the possible connections between social factors and music taste but not the reason why this pattern occur (Bryman, 2004: 41-42).

Research method

Sampling is one of the important stages in terms of methodology. A sample is a representational group of a population. Probability sampling involves the random selection of individuals so that each of the units in the sample frame has an equal chance to be chosen. Probability sampling minimises the possibility of sampling errors (Bryman, 2004: 87). The sample frame of the research is the whole population, 64.6 million people, of the UK in 2015. The research is conducted by stratifying random sampling. The strata are the administrative areas of the UK, including 56 unitary authorities in England, 26 district council in Northern Ireland, 32 counties in Scotland, and 22 unitary authorities in Wales (ONS, 2014). The number of people chosen from each stratum depends on the relative amount of people in the area. Stratified sampling is chosen rather than cluster sampling because it can cover the whole UK population in a systematic way. Also, the amount of samples from each stratum is chosen by the proportion of the population in the area (Bryman, 2004: 92-93).

There are some other considerations to take into account when deciding the size of sample. Firstly, the absolute sample size is more important than the relative sample size. For example, choosing 1,000 people from UK means the same when choosing 1,000 people in US despite the different between the two nations' population sizes. The size of the sample also determines the time and the cost of the collection of data. However, the increase of the sample size increases the precision of the study. In other words, the possibility of error will decrease. The sample frame of the research will cover the whole UK population in order to be representative of the UK population (Bryman, 2004: 97).

The research will be conducted via the distribution of questionnaires. A self-complete questionnaire can be conducted by post or email. Questionnaires are time and money saving compare with structured interviews. Also, the data is easier to quantify and analyse than the one collected from interview. However, questionnaires are less flexible than interviews, where the interviewer can ask further questions for additional data. The researcher does not know who participates in the research in the self-complete questionnaire. This might cause problems if the participant misunderstands the question and the researcher would not have chance to clarify the questionnaire (Bryman, 2004: 132-135).

The questionnaire method is chosen in order to reach the large scale of the sample. Also, questionnaires are widely used in the previous research on this topic (Van Eijck, 2001; Gronow et al., 2009). The questionnaire consists of a series of closed questions. Closed questions are easy to answer for the participants and easy to categorise and analyse for the researcher. Also, they make it easier to compare answers. However, the fixed questions might cause the researcher to miss some interesting answers and also make it difficult to establish rapport between participants and researcher (Bryman, 2004: 148-150).

The questionnaire will be divided into two parts. The first part will contain questions regarding personal information including gender, age, residential area, monthly income, level of education, field of education, and occupation. These criteria are design according to previous studies in order to distinguish the social factors that may influence the participant's music tastes (Van Eijck, 2001 and Gronow et al., 2009). The second part will contain questions regarding music preferences. Different types of music are listed in the questionnaire and will be categorised in analysis. Rather than asking the preference of the music, the participants are asked to answer the frequency they listen to certain types of music in the last month, for example, every day, once or twice a week, once a month, and not at all.

Analysis

The advantages and disadvantages of the study are discuss in terms of practical and theoretical considerations. One of the strongest practical advantages of the cross-sectional research design is the amount of time and money saved when compare to other types of research design. Also, it is relatively easy to quantify and analyse the collected data. One of the serious disadvantages in terms of practical issues is the low response rate, especially for postal questionnaires (Bryman, 2004: 133-135). The reason for this might be the lack of rapport between the participant and researcher (150).

In terms of theoretical issues, representativeness is one of the advantages that the large scale of data produced using a cross-sectional questionnaire enables. Also, cross-sectional design is strong at replicability and external validity especially when the data is randomly collected. The disadvantage in this aspect is the internal validity which is comparatively weak owing to the ambiguity of causal influence (Bryman, 2004: 43).

Researchers have been studying the interrelation between music and social factors for a long time. Bourdieu introduce the idea of cultural capital and social class. Based on this study, researchers explore different aspects of this area. Crawford et al. (2014) focused on classical music while Graham et al. (2009) looked at Jazz and Mulder et al (2010) focused on the development of taste in adolescents. Rather than concentrate on a specific area, Van Eijck (2001) and Gronow (2009) looked at the whole picture of how the music taste is related to social factors in the Netherlands and Finland.

The analysis of the results will reference the model and findings from previous studies. The music tastes will be categorised based on the results of Van Eijck's 2001 study. The social factors will be categorised based on Gronow et al.'s 2009 study. However, in terms of methodology, rather than directly asking people about their music preferences, the questionnaire focuses on the behaviour of the participants in order to obtain other possible results. The cross-sectional research design will allow the results of the study to be compared to previous studies.

Conclusion

This research is conducted to examine Bourdieu's 1984 concept of cultural capital in the UK in 2015. Cross-sectional research design is conducted in order to gain knowledge of music tastes in the UK in 2015. Stratified random sampling is the sampling method and questionnaires will be used to collect quantitative data. The literature review started with the concept of music taste discuss by other sociologists (Van Eijck, 2001 and Gronow et al., 2009). Based on Bourdieu's 1984 study, sociologists have discussed the relationship between music preferences and social factors in different countries. The analysis of this research would refer heavily to previous studies.

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Outline and Evaluate some of the Ways in which New Media are Influencing Contemporary Political Life

Alexandra Kate Jones

Whilst governments insist that the proliferation of surveillance is an essential measure to improve national security, it receives a great amount of resistance and opposition from those who are concerned by the negative consequences it has for society. Public debate and political tensions have intensified since the Snowden revelations of 2013, which revealed that government security agencies such as GCHQ and the NSA were covertly carrying out mass surveillance on a global scale. It is imperative that the consequences of such expansive surveillance capabilities are politically addressed in order to prevent against impacts that could damage the functioning of democratic society. Concentrating on the issue of surveillance, some of the ways in which new media, particularly the internet, influence contemporary political life will be outlined through three main themes: controversy, impact, and resistance. A discussion of the controversies which surround surveillance will include the surveillance-industrial complex, the cost of surveillance, and the extent of its effectiveness. An analysis of the impact of surveillance will outline the threat posed to democracy, the effect on social groups, and its consequences for human rights. Finally, the resistance to surveillance will be evaluated as follows: how the internet can be used as a tool of resistance; how citizens and activists now rally against potentially harmful government policies, such as the Draft Investigatory Powers Bill; and the ways in which the increasing powers of surveillance may continue to be resisted.

Three controversies regarding current surveillance practices are: the problematic nature of the surveillance-industrial complex; the increasing amount of government funding allocated to surveillance; and the role of the media in legitimising mass surveillance as an essential form of national defence. These issues constitute some of the controversial aspects of surveillance which contribute to the creation of political tensions.

The surveillance-industrial complex is a problematic aspect of surveillance due to the mutual dependence of corporations and the state in order to fulfil their respective motivations for gaining access to the data. The relationship whereby they co-operate in the manufacture, distribution, and implementation of surveillance methods creates issues regarding data protection. Relying on each other for their respective needs makes the system open to corruption, as it enables the exploitation of communications data for financial profit: 'dataveillance on the web allows the entire communication process to be turned into a commodity, packaged and sold' (Ball and Snider, 2013: 4). Additionally, it is feared that the system will only become further entrenched, as the co-dependence of the two will lead to increased funding and the development of more effective surveillance mechanisms over time (Hayes, 2012). The ties between corporations and the state in the development of surveillance is questionable, as it will support the development and permit the use of ever more powerful and effective surveillance methods. The surveillance-industrial complex is therefore problematic as it questions the legitimacy of how surveillance is governed.

The fact the surveillance constitutes such a significantly large amount of government spending is controversial in a time of austerity cuts to the public sector. In a time of global uncertainty, state governments are continuously expanding the amount of money they spend on defence: George Osborne announced that the UK will 'double its surveillance and cybercrime budget by almost £2bn' by 2020 in response to the recent acts of terror in Paris (Burgess: 2015a). It is believed that 'if an incident occurs, it is a reason for spending more on security; if no incident occurs, it justifies what is already being spent' (Hayes: 2012, 172). Activism opposes the fact that surveillance takes up an increasingly vast proportion of the government spending 'in the face of mammoth austerity cuts for health, education and welfare' (Ball and Snider, 2013: 7). Sacrificing funding in vital areas such as public services means that whilst governments justify their decision to increase spending in the interests of national security, the large cost of surveillance remains a matter of controversy.

Surveillance is often justified by governments and the media by portraying it as vital in ensuring national security, yet the extent to which it can fulfil this is uncertain. Surveillance has come to be regarded as the most effective way for nations protect themselves against unanticipated attacks by pre-emptively detecting and thus stopping them. Government, corporations, and media often support the narrative of justifying the cost of surveillance as compulsory and necessary for security. The widespread acceptance and normalisation of pervasive surveillance measures is seen by some as a sign of 'the startling militarisation of civil society' (Graham: 2013). Citizens are likely to accept universal surveillance when it is presented as a vital measure in preventing crime and terrorism, but the extent to which it succeeds in doing this is often debated in relation to its negative consequences. Hayes claims that mass surveillance 'implicitly threatens' our rights, and that these 'appear to have been marginalised by a creeping technological determinism' (Hayes, 2012: 174). Whilst it is undeniable that surveillance can indeed help to protect against crime, the extent to which it can do so is uncertain and its consequences are vast. No matter how pervasive, mass surveillance cannot guarantee security and dependence upon it could result in the normalisation of procedures which may damage the democratic freedom and rights of citizens in the process.

One of the most universally acknowledged consequences of surveillance is a loss of privacy, however its impacts extend further than the individualistic and can create significant political tensions. Activists argue that intrusive and constant surveillance is incompatible with democracy, as it can be seen as threatening democratic principles and human rights. The following impacts of surveillance will be discussed: the threats it poses towards democratic principles; the damaging effects of 'social sorting'; and its impact on human rights.

It is debated whether mass surveillance is compatible with democracy, as it inhibits its key characteristics such as freedom of speech and the ability to have a free press. Surveillance can hinder these rights either directly, by intercepting private communications and acting upon them, or indirectly, by causing citizens to alter their communications and behaviour due to an awareness of being watched. Lyon states how Snowden documents released in early 2015 showed that GCHQ were monitoring the private emails of journalists due to the belief, announced in an official statement, that reporters and journalists 'represent a potential threat to security' (2015: 102). The state monitoring of journalists poses a direct threat to a key characteristic of a democratic society: the ability to have a free press. Another way surveillance is capable of limiting a citizen's freedom to make independent political choices is through their awareness of being watched, which may result in 'the

creation of a ‘fearing subject’ (Huysmans, 2014: 127). Huysmans highlights the danger this poses to democracy, cautioning that ‘key elements of totalitarian governance in communist regimes are at work in contemporary surveillance practices’ (2014:127). In a democracy it is vital that citizens are able form their own political opinions without the influence of the state. These factors contribute to the debate that surveillance can have a limiting effect on democracy due to its effect of restricting democratic principles of free speech and thought.

Furthermore, surveillance can have damaging effects on social groups by categorizing people based on a perceived likelihood of risk and singling out individuals who are considered as potential threats, which can result in discrimination and mistaken accusations. Whilst surveillance happens to all citizens it is not impartial: ‘social sorting’ occurs in order to enable targeted observation of individuals or groups, and certain groups are more likely to be more intrusively observed than others (Lyon 2015:104). This can result in negative effects such as racial profiling, religious discrimination, and erroneous allegations based upon stereotypes. Lyon states that this can be seen in the case of airport security checks, which since 9/11 tend to target a majority of Arabic or Muslim individuals, which has led to delays and unnecessary detainments of innocent people (2015: 104). Social sorting can be seen as an example of how surveillance can be problematic in targeting innocent individuals simply on the basis of race, religion, or other factors used in categorization methods. The fact that it can result in marginalisation and the perpetuation of stereotypes demonstrates the negative impacts and political complications of surveillance.

Alongside privacy, mass surveillance can suppress human rights such as free speech, freedom of expression, and freedom to practice religion, and therefore it has received wide condemnation. Scholars and activists argue that analysing the impact of surveillance under a human rights framework is beneficial in enabling discussion which questions the effects of surveillance on society as a whole, instead of reducing it to individualistic consequence of a loss of personal privacy. Abu-Laban argues that ‘moving from an emphasis on privacy and/or civil liberties to a human rights framework may be catalytic in potentiating the politics of surveillance’ and that this would better encompasses all of its impacts by focusing on ‘both group and individual claims’ (2012:427). The negative impacts of surveillance, such as threatening free speech, restricting the ability to have a free press, and categorizing individuals based on their race or religion, provoke concerns regarding rights and ethics. This causes difficulties for the political entities which try to enforce surveillance measures, contributing to the complicated political circumstances which surround it.

New media itself can be used as a platform of resistance to increasingly pervasive surveillance measures by providing a global forum for individuals and collectives concerned with the effects it has on society. To evaluate this, the following will be considered: how new media can be useful in resistance to increased surveillance; how groups can affect the progression of surveillance by opposing political legislation, such as the Draft Investigatory Powers Bill; and how governments and citizens may continue to respond to the challenges posed by surveillance.

A variety of online communities and organisations have developed which are concerned with protecting ‘digital rights’, including freedom of speech, expression, and privacy on the internet. Such sites suggest how ‘the media, including ‘new media’, may also be sites for questioning or for criticizing surveillance’ (Lyon, 2013: 69). These groups represent the fact that privacy is a universal concern across cultures, societies and borders: ‘in every

advanced industrial society, there exists one group or more whose self-defined mission is to advance the cause of personal privacy' (Bennet, 2012: 413). The global network of the internet allows these groups to connect with one another in order to strengthen their impact and advance their cause. A number of organisations exist, for example the Electronic Frontier Foundation, whose main cause is to protect internet users 'digital rights' under the conditions of increased surveillance monitoring. The internet is useful tool for activists in order to defend against increased surveillance powers by enabling them to raise awareness of the impacts caused by government surveillance.

The internet can also be used as a way of affecting political change, as seen through the emergence of e-petitions and campaigns against proposed government legislation. Activists anticipate changes which may impact online rights, and use the internet to hold governments accountable:

Privacy advocates will try to enter the public debate about a particular practice earlier rather than later [...] in advance of the development of a product or service, or in anticipation of a policy change (Bennet, 2012:414).

This is apparent in the resistance to the UK Draft Investigatory Powers Bill, announced by the Home Secretary in November 2015. The law would require details of internet usage data to be store for 12 months and grant state authorities access to this data without a warrant. The Bill, dubbed by the Guardian as the 'Snooper's Charter 3.0', is controversial and has received opposition (Guardian: 2015). Snowden himself labelled the bill as the 'most intrusive and least accountable surveillance regime in the West' on his Twitter account (Snowden quoted by Matt Burgess: 2015b). A number of websites are hosting campaigns which call for a revision of the Bill: Liberty, a UK human rights organisation, is running 'Safe and Sound' campaign to protest the Bill (Liberty, 2015). An e-petition on 38Degrees, entitled 'Say No to the Investigatory Powers Bill' has over 51,000 online signatures at the time of writing (38Degrees, 2015). Other online resistance includes a campaign by the website 'Don't Spy on Us', whose affiliates include Open Democracy, Amnesty International UK, and Electronic Frontier Foundation (Don't Spy on Us, 2015). At the time of writing, 46 individuals and organisations have submitted written evidence against the Bill to parliament including Mozilla, creator of the Firefox browser, who call for the amendment of the Bill. This case can be seen as an example of how the internet functions as a platform of resistance to surveillance by facilitating awareness, debate, and protest, causing political intervention.

Since the gravity of the mass surveillance performed by governments was revealed to the public by Snowden in 2013, resistance to surveillance has increased and taken on new forms. This is marked by an increasing use of encryption by citizens in order to protect their online communications (Verde Garrido, 2015:164). Lyon states that Snowden has been influential in calling for political responses to surveillance, as he has 'argued for using political means – voting for those who would limit unnecessary and illegal surveillance' (2015: 93). The trend of revealing government policies which are seen to threaten civil or human rights could be described as a type of 'sousveillance', or surveillance reversed, a 'socio-political and technologically-enabled modality of resistance that can resemantize contemporary politics of truth' (Wood and Wright, 2015:1). The internet can operate as a tool which citizens can use in order to protect and defend their rights against the threats posed by surveillance, which can have an impact on the political systems under which it operates.

The increasing amount of surveillance authorised and perpetrated by governments causes public debate and political tensions. The conditions of surveillance are controversial, as it is facilitated and sustained by ties between the government and corporate elite, or the 'surveillance-industrial complex'. Governments are often criticized for increasing their spending on surveillance whilst making cuts to the public sector. Surveillance is legitimized as an essential and necessary method of national defence, but to what extent it is effective in providing security is uncertain. It is subject to opposition and resistance due to its ability to threaten free speech, free journalism, and other civil liberties and key factors of a democratic society. Furthermore, intrusive surveillance practices have been criticised as incompatible with human rights, and can be seen as having negative consequences to social groups due to racial profiling and discrimination through its use of 'social sorting'. New media such as the internet operate as a platform of resistance to those who foresee the negative consequences of mass surveillance and fight against government legislation which could negatively impact the rights of citizens. Pro-privacy activists and human rights campaigners utilise the internet to raise awareness and protest against issues by hosting e-petitions and campaigns which have an impact on preventing the damage caused by surveillance, for example defending against government legislation that has the potential to do more harm than good. In these ways, new media can be seen as impacting and shaping contemporary political life.

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Critically evaluate the role of the police during urban disorders over the past 40 years

Deniece Ogunbayo

Over the past 40 years there has been an increase in the focus on urban disorder and the role of the police in controlling various unlawful outbreaks. An urban disorder can be defined as an event that is a direct result of unrest amongst the public. This could be linked to various reasons such as government policy changes or retaliation for police brutality, in addition to racial discrimination. These have been the recurring themes over the past four decades that have created the outbreak in rioting in various areas around England. Famous riots and protests include the 1981 Brixton riots, the G-20 protest in 2009 and the London riots in 2011. It should be noted that although these key events were not around the same time they all share common features, in terms of the reasons why they occurred and the strategies the police used in controlling these disorders. There will be a consistent theme within this essay that highlights the importance of understanding that police tactics hold the power in increasing public violence, which will be discussed further in relation to specific riots and protests. In addition, I will be discussing and analysing famous riots that have occurred in England and comparing the role of the police during the events. Furthermore, I will also mention the ways in which positive implications have emerged due to the rioting outbreaks.

Before specifically looking into urban disorders and how they are policed, one must first gain a better understanding of the difference between the police and policing. It should be noted that the police are not the only individuals within society that carry out policing duties, we all have at one time or another acted as a policeman or woman (Brogen et al, 1990). This demonstrates that regular individuals are able to police others. For example, community policing encourages members of a community to work in partnership with the police in policing the safety of the public within the area. Therefore, it could be argued that community policing is another form of social control as it is linked to managing social order within society. In contrast, there is 'the police' which refers to the title given to individuals who use their authority within society to regulate conflicts between citizens.

In relation to urban disorder, we are able to see how the police demonstrate their power in attempting to keep the peace, however this always seems difficult due to the nature of urban disorders and public protests. The main reason why individuals resort to urban disorder within society is that they appeal to what is viewed as the common good. This may include defending communities or confronting unjust laws, therefore policing such unrest could be challenging and highly problematic for the police as they are faced with problems in controlling the disorder as well as upholding the legitimate right to protest. According to Waddington (2000) the police are left in a moral dispute due to policing legitimate protests heavy-handedly, which also fuels the need for violence (in Carrabine et al., 2014).

Throughout the years the police have been involved in various violent altercations with members of public through the strategies they resort to, such as the use of pepper spray, water cannons, plastic bullets and baton charges. This is done in the hope of gaining control and authority back over the protesting crowds and the disorder. Although, it could be argued that in previous years this has not been the result of such policing strategies, as

they could be seen as another way to provoke rioting crowds to act in ways that are uncooperative with the police. Individuals breaking out into riots and protest are usually concerned about sensitive topics that relate to politics or institutions within society. This implies that, while policing such demonstrations, the police should be considerate when trying to keep the order. Although they are there to fulfil their roles as figures of authority, it should be done in a moral manner. Furthermore, it should be stated that due to public disorders being a direct challenge towards the state and their decisions, this reduces policing to the question of which order should be maintained, the state's or the citizens'. The police resorting to the use of violence could be at the expense of obeying instructions given by people who hold more of a powerful position than them. This could be an explanation as to why violence is heavily embedded in policing strategies when attempting to control public disorders.

The G-20 protest of 2009 in central London portrays concrete examples of policing strategies having a negative impact on restoring the order during urban unrests. This protest was concerned with various current affairs, some of which included issues with the banking system and the economic policies; this famous protest involved over 4,000 people. It was reported that the protest was peaceful until the police, in forceful ways, tried to contain thousands of people within a specific area in order to prevent the protest from spreading. Both sides of the protest, the police and the citizens, showed acts of violence. The police used a strategy that was recently developed by the UK police, called 'kettling'. This was to control the order by not allowing the protesters to freely protest, as they were hemmed in by a wall of police officers who were protected by shields and armed with other weapons. Such practices demonstrated by the police raise numerous questions on their role during urban unrest. This example explores the idea that the police could be guilty of abusing the power they have. It is no secret that citizens have the right to protest and voice their opinions on current affairs. The use of tactics such as 'kettling' deprives individuals of this right. Understandably this may cause a sense of anger and distrust towards the police, which could provide explanations as to why violence becomes apparent in such situations.

One negative outcome of the G-20 protest was the death of Ian Tomlinson, who was killed by a police officer. It was reported widely throughout various media outlets that the police were not involved in the killing of Tomlinson; however, the aggressive strategies the police adopted were the cause for Ian Tomlinson's death. Furthermore, it was also found that the police attempted to dismiss the blame for Ian Tomlinson's death, as they did not own up to it. Due to the increase in media platforms such as the use of recording on mobile phones and social media the police are constantly being watched. Greer and McLaughlin (2010) confirmed this idea and explained that during the G-20 protest mobile phones were used effectively at a disadvantage to the police as they portrayed the misconduct of some officers (in Carrabine, 2014). This demonstrates that the use of violence in trying to restore moral order was not successful as it added fuel to the fire and increased the levels of violence, in addition to increasing the conflict between the police and the individuals. Evidently this makes it hard to police urban disorders. However, it could be counter-argued that such behaviour shown by the police is a reflection of a policing culture within which acts of violence are viewed as the norm.

Urban disorder is not a new phenomenon to the British culture. April 1981 was also a period of high levels of urban unrest within society, which was known as the Brixton riots. The main driving force for this outbreak came down to discrimination and unemployment amongst the ethnic minorities living in Brixton at the time, mostly young black men. The relationship young black men had with the police was mostly negative as there was no

common ground, due to the belief held by young black men that police officers discriminated against them because of their ethnicity. There were various reasons that contributed to their hate towards the police, however ethnic minorities identified what was known as the 'sus law' as the main cause for them being racially discriminated against (Wilson and Reuss, 2000). This law allowed police officers to stop and search people and possibly arrest individuals on suspicion of them committing a crime (Cloake and Tudor, 2001). In terms of discrimination, young black males argued that this law put them at a disadvantage, as they believed that the police force was racist, therefore they were more likely to be arrested or stopped and searched. The anger felt by black people at the time sparked the Brixton riots and led to the three-day violent attack. It could be argued that at the time young black men were feeling marginalised as citizens within society by the police, they felt that the police did not represent them or their needs. This could be a reflection of the government policies that were manipulated in order to block the potential of young black men in society (Jacobs and King, 2009)

It is due to the reasons given above that the police may have found it difficult to control the 1981 riots. The distrust felt by the ethnic minority community towards the police implies why coming to an understanding with the police was not possible. This therefore increases the chance of violence being shown by both parties. Furthermore, violent acts committed by individuals within society could be regarded as a cry for help. In relation to black people at the time of the Brixton riots this could be seen as the last resort in order for them to be treated equally in the eyes of the police. However, the nature of urban disorder within society does not reflect calm reactions, the police are bound to use aggressive and brutal techniques in the hope of restoring the order. In terms of viewing how the Brixton riots were policed from a criminological perspective, it could be stated that the Brixton area was an influencing factor on the policing approaches. Brixton had high unemployment among ethnic minorities, as well as the area being heavily deprived. This idea draws on the work of Ernest Burgess and Robert Park (1920) who linked criminality and the likelihood of crime to the zone someone lived in. The 'zone of transition' was labelled as the area with the highest crime rates and highest rates of people moving in and out (in Carrabine, 2014). Brixton was a perfect fit in representing how Burgess and Park described the 'zone of transition'; therefore, the notorious background of Brixton influenced the strategies used by the police, which included the use of violence.

Following on from the 1981 Brixton riots, there was an inquiry made by Lord Scarman, in the hope of trying to avoid any future development of urban unrest or violent altercation with the police. In the report, Scarman concluded that the primary cause of the hostility felt towards the police was the fact that individuals within society, especially ethnic minorities, had lost confidence in the police (Bowling, 1999). This explanation supports the idea that rioting and disorder within society are due to the decrease in confidence in the police. This could be linked to the lack of communications between the police and the public, as well as the unlawful conduct of police officers when carrying out procedures on black young men. Lord Scarman highlighted the importance of understanding how the relationship between the police and any given community has a massive impact on the actions carried out within society. Through this inquiry he was able to dismiss previous practices carried out by the police and suggest new ways in order to move forward from urban disorders. This included the re-examination of policing methods, especially in inner cities, with particular focus on community policing methods. However, it should be noted that although the Scarman report touched on acts of racism conducted by the police it did not have a significant impact on the police force and it rejected the view that the police were racist (Holdaway, 1981). This, therefore, created the foundation for further reform of the police, which was

introduced by the Macpherson report. Although the Macpherson report was created at a later time in regards to the Stephen Lawrence case, this report highlighted what the Scarman report failed to focus on, as it explained that the police were institutionally racist. However, Macpherson claimed that this was done unconsciously (Smith and Henry, 2007). Therefore, it could be argued that discrimination is embedded within the policing culture. In relation to urban disorder, it could be argued that the policing culture creates the opportunity for the occurrence of malpractices while using certain policing tactics in controlling urban unrest within society.

The most recent disorders that occurred within the British society were the 2011 London riots. This disturbance took place in urban cities across England but London was the centre of the chaos. The 2011 riots were similar to the previous riots discussed above, including the ways in which they were policed and the reasons for the outburst in rioting. The police continuously demonstrated aggressive behaviour towards the individuals as they attempted to control the rioting (Carrabine, 2014). There have been many arguments in relation to the explanation of violent outbreaks, however the riots took place directly after the shooting of Mark Duggan, who was shot dead by a police officer. London 2011 sparked countless arguments in terms of the role the police played in restoring the moral order.

As stated beforehand, the police are individuals who have positive intentions in regards to the safety of citizens within society, this comes with them working and building relationships with communities, in order to make their jobs easier. However, in relation to the Mark Duggan case, the police behaved in an unruly manner, as the information provided on the killing of Duggan was not a true reflection of the incident. The police had used the media to their advantage in order to paint themselves in a positive light and manipulate the truth (Joyce, 2010) by stating that Mark Duggan was armed and fired at the police first, and as a direct result the police officer shot him. By feeding such information to various media outlets portrays how the police are able to abuse the position they have. Justifiably people living in this particular community may adopt feelings of a negative nature towards the police as they may feel cheated as well as divided from the police, this refers to them feeling that the police are not there to protect them. Such thoughts provoke violent attacks hence why the riots in 2011 were over a five-day period.

Manipulation of the media by the police was also a strategy used during the G-20 protest back in 2009 (Joyce, 2010), this explains that the police are mostly concerned with their image in terms of public disorders. Such acts shown by the police weaken the bonds they have with people within society and increase the chances for the reoccurrence of public disorder. Furthermore, although individuals of the Tottenham community felt betrayed by the police, this was not the only factor contributing to the riots. Politics is one of the underlying reasons why unrest breaks out. For example, the London 2011 riots were also linked to political issues as various participants in the riots had stated that new policies by the government, particularly those affecting young people, were additional reasons to resort to public disorder (Jones and Norton, 2014). Therefore, as well as attitudes towards the police and their treatment of ethnic minorities, politics is also a major influencing factor in increasing the likelihood of the display of public unrest.

To sum up, over the past 40 years there has been a recurring theme in relation to how public disorders are policed. The public disorders above all demonstrate ways in which they police were more concerned with protecting themselves in terms of their image rather than being more involved in the safety of individuals within society. Furthermore it could also be argued that over the years the police have not adopted new ways in regard to

policing public unrest, which seems impractical as they have not critically reviewed their strategies from previous riots. The use of excessive violence in the aim of gaining back moral order has not been proven as effective, hence the techniques used should be re-evaluated in order to stop the continuous occurrence of public disorder. Though it may seem difficult to completely abandon acts of violence while policing unrest, due to how intense such environments can get, such behaviour has shown to increase the violence from people involved in the disorders.

Additionally, it could be noted that within society the police are appointed to fulfil a function, therefore regardless of how they approach such events it is what is expected of them, this may be the reasons why protesters or rioters push their boundaries when involved with public unrest. Finally, I believe that the past 40 years have shown us that the actions shown by the police have key consequences that relate to the appearance of public disorder within society. This can be understood in terms of the domino effect, as it explains that the police may be viewed as the reasons why unrest breaks out within society and they also have to act as the solution in gaining the moral order back. Henceforth, they face difficulty in controlling public disorder, which may suggest that the police are fighting a losing battle when tackling public disorder.

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Why are particular ethnic minorities “over represented” in the criminal justice system and what are the consequences of this?

Stephanie Gibson

Over representation of ethnic minorities in the criminal justice system is a phenomenon that has captured the interest of criminologists both in the UK and the US for a number of years. While this over representation may be attributed to disproportionate offending among some ethnic minorities, namely young black males, others have argued that the cause may, in part, be the result of over policing ethnic minorities due to racial preconceptions and stereotypes. In order to fully understand this phenomenon and the consequences associated with it, this paper will give a brief historical overview of ethnic minority groups in the UK and US before analysing the criminological theory that has contributed to explaining why ethnic minorities, specifically black minority groups are over represented in both the British and American criminal justice systems. The final part of the paper will evaluate the consequences of this in regards to police/community relations and policing strategies aimed at improving those relationships. It will conclude to suggest that while there are many contributing factors associated with why black minority groups are over represented in the UK and US criminal justice systems, one major contributor is criminal justice agents, namely the police, who either directly or indirectly, through inaccurate misconceptions and harsh policing tactics, have encouraged the over representation of black minority groups in the wider criminal justice system. The consequences of which have had a detrimental effect on community relations and trust among black communities.

Historically, black minority groups have not received a warm welcome in either the UK or US. In the UK, black immigrants have long been associated with crime. Prior to the Second World War, there were very few black people living in Britain. However, those that did mainly consisted of seamen and other servicemen who primarily resided in port towns such London, Liverpool and Cardiff. It was during this time that ideas of a ‘negro problem’ began to surface in relation to ‘patterns of criminal behavior but also social values outside the mainstream of the majority of society’ (Solomos 1993: 120-121). Although considered to be a problem group during this time, it was not until the end of WW2 that the number of black immigrants from West India and the Caribbean began to vastly increase, with an estimated 125,000 Caribbean’s by 1958 (Bowling: 1996). This increase led to these minority groups being segregated into certain areas of Britain, raising racial tensions among those who did ‘not welcome coloured immigration’ (Gabbidon, 2010: 21).

It is these racial tensions that were believed to be a causal factor instigating the Notting Hill Riots in 1958. These riots have since been described as ‘racial riots’ and the violence paralleled to that of the violence associated with the American South. According to Travis, the ‘white working class were out to get the niggers’ (Travis, 2002) and were instigated by the notorious ‘Teddy boys’, as he says:

The disturbances were overwhelmingly triggered by 300-to-400-strong “keep Britain white” mobs, many of them Teddy boys armed with iron bars, butcher’s knives and weighted leather belts, who went “nigger hunting” among the West Indians of Notting Hill and Notting Dale. (Travis, 2002)

However, both during and after the riots, the Metropolitan police tried to devalue the racial element and went so far as to arrest and charge members of the black communities involved, resulting in 'a loss of faith in the Metropolitan police' (Gabbidon, 2010: 22) among the black communities which arguable still exists today.

As well as being subjected to racial violence since their migration to the UK, black minority communities have also incurred other difficulties with integrating into mainstream British society, primarily due to the colour of their skin. Racial discrimination towards black minorities has regularly resulted in them experiencing higher levels of unemployment compared to their white counterparts and as a result are often made to live in impoverished areas of inner cities and council estates. Although nearly 50 years after the Notting Hill riots, it is argued that racism is still rife in the UK and black minority communities still face problems of racial discrimination in many aspects of their daily lives including interactions with the criminal justice system. This is an argument which will be discussed later in this essay but first a brief historical overview of black minorities in America is required.

As in the case of the UK, black minority groups entering America were not granted a warm welcome but were in fact ushered in on slave ships to work in servitude for their white masters. After President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in 1863, slavery officially ended on the 6th December 1865 with the ratification of the 13th Amendment in the American constitution. However, this did not improve the conditions of African Americans who were still regularly subjected to lynching and racial prejudice from white supremacists and recipients of harsh legislation designed to regulate their behavior and maintain their inferior status. One such piece of legislation was the "separate but equal" law, which was sanctioned in 1896 during the court case of *Plessy V Ferguson*. According to Ramona Brockett, this case 'ultimately abolished the 13th amendment' (Brockett, 2000: 112) as the language used by the judge to describe Negroes ensured the 'duel classes of citizenship by constitutionally mandating separate but equal facilities for blacks and whites' (112). This is just one example of the plight faced by African Americans and it is one that has continued well into the 21st century. Like in the UK, this continued discrimination and racial prejudice has had detrimental effects on the ability of African Americans to integrate themselves successfully into American society, creating high levels of unemployment and poverty which has culminated into the American "Ghetto" commonly characterised as an area with high crime rates and prolific offenders. With this historical overview in mind, we now turn to the over representation of black minority groups in the criminal justice system and the criminological theories which attempt to explain this.

One theory which attempts to explain the over representation of black minorities is Social Disorganisation theory. Social Disorganisation as discussed by Shaw and McKay (1942) suggests that the social organization of a community becomes disrupted due to three key characteristics: low economic status, ethnic homogeneity and high residential mobility. Furthermore, it is the influence of these three characteristics that then account for increases in rates of crime and delinquency. Elliot and Merrill further define Social Disorganization theory as 'a break in the equilibrium of forces, a decay in social structure, so that old habits and forms of social control no longer function effectively' (Elliot and Merrill, 1934: 20). This theory of Social Disorganization has also been linked with Burgess' (1925) formulation of the Concentric Zone approach to explain African American offending. This approach concedes that cities can be described as separate zones which expand out from the central business district. This approach suggest that as people move out of the

inner city to suburbs Social Disorganization within the inner city zones will occur, thus increasing the likelihood of crime and deviancy. It is for this reason that this approach has been applied to African American offending as they are the most likely to live in inner city ghettos and thus have low income statuses and decaying social structures. However, this may also be relevant to black minority groups in the UK as they are also more likely to live in inner cities and impoverished council estates.

A second theory which has also been developed to specifically explain the over representation of African Americans in the US criminal justice system is the Colonial Model. The model as first developed by Frantz Fanon (1963) describes the colonisation of blacks by whites in the context of third world countries such as Africa. He posits that the colonisation process has four distinct phases in which the subordinate group or the colonised are systematically oppressed and subjected to violence in order for the colonisers to maintain superiority and impose their own cultural values and beliefs on the colonised. Although Fanon does not directly relate this model to the experiences of African Americans, other prominent black criminologists have expanded and further developed his model in an effort to apply it to African Americans as a way of explaining their disproportionate offending.

One such criminologist is Robert Staples (1974) whom in several articles has discussed the Colonial Model in relation to African American offending and intragroup violence. Staples redefines the Colonial Model as an Internal Colonial Model in which the African American experience can be explained. In comparison to the original Colonial Model, the Internal Colonial Model refers to a process whereby the dominant group is not a foreign entity that has invaded a new land but yet still exerts both power and control over a subordinate group in the same country. In his article 'Internal Colonialism and Black Violence' (1974) Staples discusses the Internal Colonial Model in relation to black on black violence and how this is a direct effect of colonisation. Staples purposes that it is 'the relationship between racial oppression and black violence that should be examined' (Staples, 1974: 22) and that the most effective way to examine this is through the Internal Colonial Model, as its basic premise is that 'black violence is a reflection of the colonial relationships, a social order in which race defines life chances, opportunities for subsistence and social rewards, as well as access to social positions' (Stables, 1974: 23). Thus colonial America offers the white dominant group certain privileges that are attached to their racial membership while blacks are consistently excluded from equal participation in society as well as a share in societal values.

This is something that has been seen in American society throughout history dating back to slavery. White supremacy and the maintenance of this has always been a primary objective and the most effective way of maintaining this has been to oppress the colonised in every way possible. For this reason both the unequal enforcement and under protection of the law (Kennedy 1997) has been key to maintaining an oppressed state. Unequal enforcement relates to the vast amount of legislation and enforcement of these laws to ensure complete control over black behaviour. This type of legislation, such as vagrancy laws and slaves codes, in all but name made 'blackness' a crime. This type of racial legislation was not just applied during the slavery era but can also be seen in modern day legislation such as the 'war on drugs', a governmental policy introduced in the 1980's which disproportionately affected African Americans. As Bobo and Thompson explain, 'local police departments were under pressure to show progress. The quickest way to show results (for example, arrests) is to enhance policing and arrest in already disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which are disproportionately poor and black' (Bobo and Thompson, 2006: 451). With this in mind it

is possible to see how the Internal Colonial Model can be applied to explain disproportionate African American offending. Related to the Internal Colonial Model is the concept of conflict and revolt which is highlighted by Blauner as he suggests that African Americans will revolt against internal colonialism through 'expressions of protest such as riots, black revolutionary movements and cultural nationalism' (Blauner, 1969: 398). Related to this idea of conflict and revolt is the racial threat hypothesis which predicts that an increased presence of racial minorities will promote a significant threat to the dominant group' (Liska and Yu, 1987). It is due to this perceived threat that the 'dynamics of a colonial society, forces disproportionately more blacks into the underclass of America.' (Staples, 1974: 25). This enforcement ensures continued oppression and alienation which is perceived to be managed and maintained by police, whom the colonized view as 'symbols of oppression by the legal system' (Cited in Chamlin, 1989: 355).

Although the internal colonial model was originally developed to explain the over representation of African Americans in the US criminal justice system, aspects of it may also be attributed to the over representation of black minorities in the UK. For example, although the United Kingdom was not a colonised country, many black immigrants were transported to the UK from counties previously colonised by the British such as the Caribbean. With this in mind is it possible to assume that those brought to the UK felt the same oppression by their white counterparts as those enslaved in America. Thus, the concept of revolt and the related threat hypothesis may contribute to the diminished relationship between black minorities in the UK and the police.

Following on from the concept of unequal enforcement and under protection of the law (Kennedy 1997) as discussed above, it is possible to apply this concept to black minorities in the UK. As discussed in the historical overview of the UK, black minority groups have been the target of harsh enforcement of the law as well as being under protected by it as seen in the Notting Hill riots. More recently, this unequal enforcement of the law may be seen through stop and search procedures, which has been one of the most 'controversial issue in debates about policing ethnic minority communities' (Newburn, 2003: 534). The issue of stop and search has been highlighted by several scholars and politicians alike suggesting that it is disproportionately used against ethnic minority groups and more specifically young black men. In a discussion published in 'NACRO: Policing local communities: The Tottenham experiment', the late Bernie Grant, former MP for Haringey stated:

Nothing has been more damaging to the relationship between police and the black community than the ill-judged use of stop and search powers. For young black men in particular, the humiliating experience of being repeatedly stopped and searched is a fact of life. (Grant in NACRO, 1997:3)

As well as the unequal enforcement of the law, under protection has also been an issue affecting black minority communities in the UK, an issue which was unfortunately highlighted in the investigation following the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993. Following his death and the blundered police investigation which failed to bring the killers to justice, a public inquiry was initiated and later published as the MacPherson Report in 1999. Overall this report was very critical of the Metropolitan Police in their investigation and their attitudes towards Duwayne Brooks, Stephen's friend and eye witness to the attack. In referencing this, MacPherson wrote:

We are driven to the conclusion that Mr Brooks was stereotyped as a young black man exhibiting unpleasant hostility and agitation, who could not be expected to help and whose condition or status simply did not need further examination or understanding. We believe that Mr Brooks' colour and such stereotyping played their part in the collective failure of those involved to treat him properly and according to their needs. (MacPherson, 1999: Chap 5, p.12).

In relation to the stereotyping discussed above, it has been noted by several scholars that stereotyping and racial profiling is a prolific feature of what is widely regarded as police subcultures or 'cop culture' (Reiner, 2010). Both Reiner and other criminologists have expressed concern over the racist values and belief of some rank and file police officers when in the company of each other. However, others such as Waddington (1999) have argued that what police officers say and do in the company of each other is not necessarily the same as what they do in the realm of the public. Although this may be true with regards to some police officers, the MacPherson report concluded that racial stereotyping and preconceived perceptions hindered the initial investigation into the murder of Stephen Lawrence and led the inquiry to conclude that institutional racism was apparent in the Metropolitan Police. In defining what was meant by this, the MacPherson report stated that it related to:

A collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantages minority ethnic people. (MacPherson Report, 1999: 6.34)

With the identification of institutional racism within the Metropolitan police, the MacPherson report concluded with seventy recommendations to be incorporated into the Metropolitan police. These recommendations included things such as 'diversity training, improved handling of complaints and rooting out institutional racism' (Gabbidon, 2010: 44).

Through the discussion above it can be suggested that the unequal enforcement and under protection of the law has had far reaching consequences for both black minority groups in the UK and African Americans in the US. It has already been noted that tactics such as stop and search and the war on drugs have had detrimental effects on police/community relations in black communities, which in turn creates distrust and hostility. Furthermore, incidents such as racial violence as seen in the UK and justifiable shootings of African Americans by police in the United States have led to civil unrest and riots in recent times. This, coupled with a lack of representation of ethnic minorities within police forces, has further heightened tensions among police and these ethnic minority groups.

Furthermore, even with the recommendation set out in the 1993 MacPherson report, it has been suggested by scholars such as Rowe (2004) that little has improved with regards to the racist values and beliefs held by some police officers. In describing a BBC documentary entitled 'The Secret Policeman' Rowe denotes that:

The programme contained secretly filmed footage of an officer donning a Ku Klux Klan- style white hood [...] A third officer claimed he joined the police service because he knew it was a racist organisation and it would allow him to "look after his own." (Rowe, 2004: 1-2)

Based on the statement above it seems fair to postulate that while the publication of the MacPherson report did at the time send shock waves through the policing community and political arena, it seems to have had little long lasting effects, especially in regards to changing police officer perceptions or prejudice views regarding ethnic minority groups. For this reason, along with the long history of ill treatment and stereotypical views of black minority groups in the UK and US criminal justice systems, it would be appropriate to conclude that the over representation of black minority groups can in part be attributed to their historical plight but also as a consequence of harsh policing strategies and legislation put in place to ensure their marginalised position. As a result they find themselves in a vicious circle of over-enforcement of the law creating strained relationships and distrust with the police, which results in further police suspicion and attention.

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Investigating the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood disorder, age, gender and satisfaction with police

Kirby King

Introduction

In recent years public confidence in the police has received increasing attention from social scientists and policy makers. One reason for this is because the effectiveness of the criminal justice system relies on support from the public. However, there is little known about what affects the public confidence in police. There has been much written about the significance of police but empirical analyses have been rare (Jackson and Bradford, 2009: 493-495). As a result, this paper aims to analyse two research questions:

Question 1: What is the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood disorder, age and satisfaction with police?

Question 2: What is the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood disorder, gender and satisfaction with police?

The first question will be analysed using OLS regression. One reason which has been suggested to influence individuals' satisfaction with the police, is their perception of their own residential area. It is suggested if residents perceive their neighbourhood to be problematic, they are more likely to hold negative beliefs about the police. This is because they are likely to hold the police accountable for the decline in their neighbourhood (Reisig and Parks, 2000: 610). Therefore, this leads to my first hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: The main effect of neighbourhood disorder on residents' satisfaction of police controlling for demographic characteristics will be negative (The more residents perceive their neighbourhoods to be in disorder, the less likely they are to be satisfied with the police)

Additionally, there have been numerous studies which have shown the significant linear relationship between age and satisfaction with the police (Reisig and Parks, 2000: 610). This leads to my second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: The main effect of age on satisfaction of police controlling for demographic characteristics will be negative (the older the residents are, the less likely they are to be satisfied with the police).

In addition to this, an interaction (moderator effect) of age and perception of neighbourhood disorder will also be studied. This leads to my last hypothesis from this path diagram:

Hypothesis 3: The negative effect of perception of neighbourhood disorder on satisfaction of police will be greater for older residents.

As well as this, I will be using logistic regression to answer my second question. As you can see, I have kept perception of neighbourhood disorder in this question and thus my first

hypothesis will be the same as the OLS regression model. In this model, however, I have changed the other independent variable, age, with gender. This is due to reports suggesting men are more likely to hold negative views of the police and thus are less likely to be satisfied in comparison to females (Jackson and Bradford, 2009: 503). This leads me to my fourth hypothesis:

Hypothesis 4: Males are more likely to be dissatisfied with the police controlling for demographic characteristics.

Finally, the logistic regression model will look at the interaction (moderator effect) between gender and perception of neighbourhood disorder and thus leads on to my final hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5: The negative effect of perception of neighbourhood disorder on satisfaction of police will be greatest for males.

Data and Methods

These hypotheses will be tested using Lazarsfeld's elaboration method. As a result, before running my regression model I examined the frequencies to make sure no data was missing and, if so, coded it as system missing so it was not included in my analysis. Moreover, in my regression analysis you will see I built the model up by entering a test variable to see what happened to the original variable of interest.

Sample

The sample I used is from the British Crime Survey (BCS) 2007/08 study. The BCS is one of the largest social research surveys conducted in England and Wales. It asks adults aged 16 and over about their experiences of crime in the last 12 months. As well as this, it provides data on people's relationship between themselves and the police and thus is suitable for this study due to looking at satisfaction with police. The sample has increased from the earlier cycles of 11,000 to around 47,000 in this study.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for the OLS regression model to test satisfaction with the police is 'Taking everything into account I have confidence in the police in this area'. This will be treated as a continuous scale and has been recoded 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) to ease interpretation. I have also recoded those who refused to respond or those who did not know as system missing.

The dependent variable for the logistic regression model to test satisfaction with the police is: 'How good a job are the police in this area doing?' This has been chosen as it is a categorical variable and thus can be recoded into a binary variable to allow for a logistic regression to occur. The reference group will be 'fair' or 'poor job' so coded as 0, meaning 'excellent' or 'good job' will be coded as 1.

Independent Variables

The variable I will be using to test perceptions of neighbourhood disorder will be 'Respondents' opinion about level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood'. This is

continuous and a high score indicates a perception of high levels of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood. This particular variable was chosen because it shows the respondent's direct experience of anti-social behaviour in their locality, instead of a wider geographical area.

The variable to test age is continuous and thus does not need to be recoded. The final independent variable is gender. I have recoded this into a dummy variable due to it previously being coded as 1 for male and 2 for female. As a result, 0 is now female and 1 is now male.

Control Variables

I have controlled for a number of demographic characteristics as these may have an impact on the outcome variable and thus are likely to be antecedent variables. I have controlled for ethnicity, which is a 5-point scale, and have recoded these into several dummy variables with White British being the reference group. I have also controlled for social class, which was on a 9-point scale, and have additionally recoded these into several dummy variables with managerial being the reference group and recoded 'not classified' on the scale as system missing. I have also controlled for household income, which was continuous and thus did not need to be recoded. Finally, I have controlled for whether the participant was a victim of crime and recoded this into a dummy variable; 0 being not a victim of crime and 1 being a victim of a crime.

Results – OLS regression

Table 1 shows the results of the three nested OLS regression models predicting confidence in police in their area. Predictors in the models include: ethnicity, social class, household income, and whether they were a victim of crime in the last 12 months. Respondents' opinions about the level of anti-social behaviour in their area, age, and their interaction are incorporated in the models in iterative steps (a nested model). The constant is 3.592 meaning that our prediction of attitude towards police is 3.592 on the scale if all independent variables in the model take the value of 0, meaning they were white British and had a social class of managerial. The results from model 1 clearly support hypothesis 1, with a negative and highly significant coefficient of .198 ($p < 0.001$) for respondents' opinions about the level of anti-social behaviour in their area, even in the presence of other determinants of confidence in police. This means for every one more unit scored in perception of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood, the model predicts a decrease in confidence in the police of .198 controlling for ethnicity, social class, household income and whether the participant has been a victim of crime. Therefore, this suggests that the more residents perceive there to be neighbourhood disorder, the less confidence they have in the police. As well as this, the other independent variables produce mixed results: social class and household income produce insignificant results and thus do not have an effect on residents' confidence in the police. Residents' ethnicity and whether they have been a victim of crime, however, are significant in the model at the $p < 0.05$ level. For example, the effect of being a victim of crime in the last 12 months decreases resident's chances of being confident in the police by .183 in comparison to being not a victim of crime controlling for ethnicity, social class, perception of neighbourhood disorder and household income.

Furthermore, model 2 includes all the independent variables in model 1, but adds age as a predictor in the model. The significant (at the $p < 0.05$ level) and positive effect of age does not support hypothesis 2 and instead shows the opposite: the older you are, the more likely you are to be confident in the police. For every one year older residents are, the model

predicts an increase in confidence in police by .002, controlling for ethnicity, social class, perception of neighbourhood disorder, household income and being a victim of crime. Moreover, with the addition of age to the model it has resulted in a slightly better predictor, as the R^2 increases from 5.3% to 5.4%. This change in R^2 indicates the regression model can now explain 5.4% of the variance in confidence with police. Also, the other coefficients have not been affected much by adding age to the model. The biggest change is the positive coefficient for ethnicity in the model. This is more the case for those who are Asian, indicating that more positive attitudes towards confidence in the police may be due to the differences in age between different ethnic groups.

Finally, model 3 elaborates on models 1 and 2 by including the interaction of age and respondents' opinions about the level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood as an additional predictor of confidence in police. However, this interaction does not provide support for hypothesis 3 (the negative effect of perceptions of neighbourhood disorder on satisfaction with police will be greatest for older residents). If it were to provide support then the model would have shown the p value as significant and the R^2 as increasing. This, however, was not the case in this model. If the interaction were to be true then the negative coefficient for the interaction of age and perception of neighbourhood disorder would indicate, for every year older, that the slope of perception of neighbourhood disorder on confidence with the police decreases. Thus, at all levels of perception of neighbourhood disorder, the effect of age is to further decrease confidence with the police. In this model, however, this did not occur and thus failed to reject the null hypothesis, suggesting that an interaction does not exist.

Table 1. Ordinary least squares regression models predicting confidence in police in their area

Variables in Model	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	3.592***	3.451***	3.453***
	(.093)	(.104)	(.104)

Respondent opinion about the level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood	-0.198*** (.011)	-0.191*** (.011)	-0.208*** (.033)
Mixed ^a	.335* (.162)	.353* (.163)	.354* (.163)
Asian	.218** (.064)	.235*** (.064)	.236*** (.064)
Black	.242* (.089)	.260* (.089)	.261* (.089)
Other	.091 (.109)	.103 (.109)	.103 (.109)
High Professional ^b	.113 (.098)	.118 (.098)	.118 (.098)
Lower Professional	.090 (.088)	.096 (.088)	.096 (.088)
Intermediate	.106 (.092)	.118 (.092)	.119 (.092)
Small employers	-.085 (.094)	-.080 (.094)	-.080 (.094)
Technical	.010 (.093)	.018 (.093)	.018 (.093)
Semi Routine	.047 (.091)	.060 (.091)	.060 (.091)
Routine	.044 (.093)	.052 (.093)	.052 (.093)
Never Worked	.052 (.110)	.067 (.110)	.069 (.110)
Total household income in last year	-.005	-.001	-.002

	(.004)	(.004)	(.004)
Being a victim of a crime in the last 12 months	-.183***	-.170***	-.169***
	(.027)	(.028)	(.004)
Age		.002*	.002*
		(.001)	(.001)
Opinion about the level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood X age			.000 (.001)
R^2	.053	.054	.054
Statistical significance of change in R^2	-	.001	.000
F	31.176***	29.800***	28.061***

† p<0.10; *p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Notes: number of cases 10999

Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/08

^a Reference category: White British

^b Reference category: Managerial

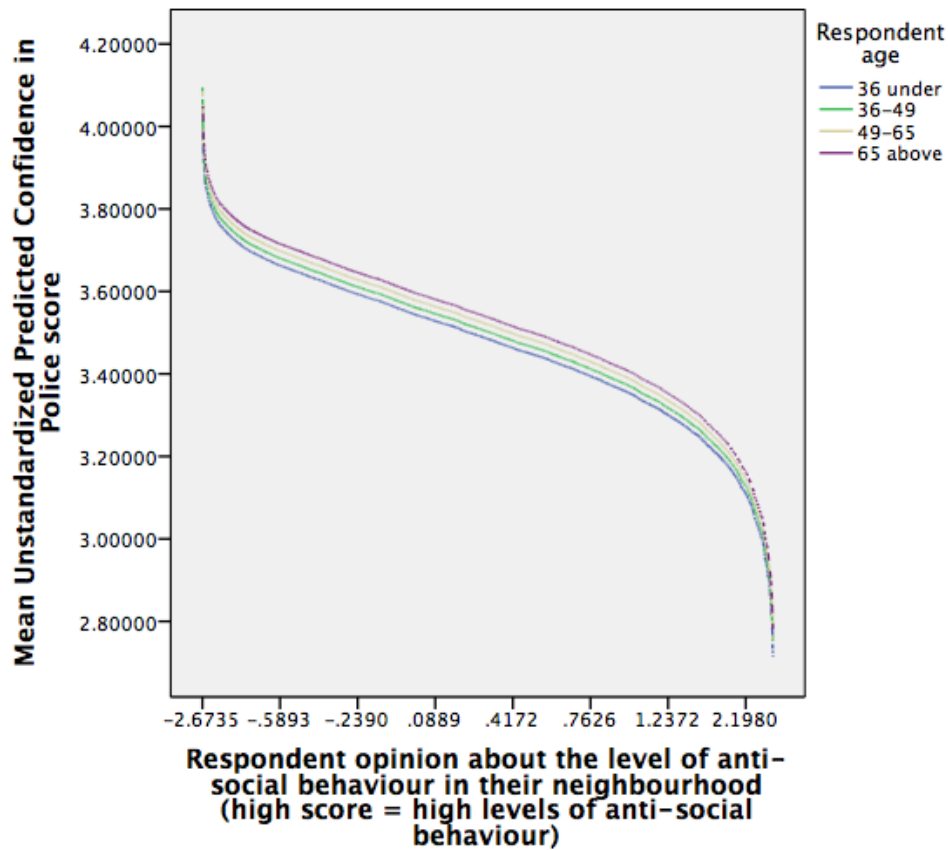


Figure 3. Effect of age and perception of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood on predicted confidence with police.

Moreover, I also ran a graph to visualise this relationship. However, due to age being a continuous variable this would have been problematic as a means of showing the relationship in a line graph due to there being too many lines. As a result, I used visual binning on SPSS to get 4 categories of age, which are in equal percentiles (25%). Figure 3 clearly demonstrates that the higher perception there is of anti-social behavior in a resident's area, the less confident they are in the police and thus supports hypothesis 1. However, this also highlights that hypothesis 2 was incorrect and shows the opposite trend, that the older residents are the more likely they are to trust the police.

Results – Logistic Regression

Furthermore, Table 2 shows the results of three logistic regression models predicting satisfaction of police in their area. Predictors in the models include: ethnicity, social class, household income, and whether they were a victim of crime in the last 12 months. Respondents' perceptions of the level of anti-social behaviour in their area, their gender and the interaction between these two variables are incorporated in the models in interactive steps. The results of model 1 clearly provide support for hypothesis 1. They show a statistically significant association between respondents' perceptions of the level of anti-social behaviour in their area and dissatisfaction with local police, even in the presence of other determinants ($\exp(B) .721; p < 0.001$). Thus, for every one unit increase on level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood, the odds of thinking the police are doing an excellent or good job decrease by 28%, holding ethnicity, social class, household

income and whether they have been a victim of crime constant. In other words, a worse perception of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood results in more dissatisfaction with the police. Furthermore, similar to the OLS regression model, the other independent variables produce mixed results: social class, ethnicity and household income produce insignificant results and thus do not have an effect on how satisfied residents are with the police. Being a victim of crime, however, is significant in the model at the $p < 0.001$ level. Therefore, for those who have been a victim of crime in the last 12 months, the odds of thinking the police are doing an excellent or good job decrease by 22% holding ethnicity, social class, perception of neighbourhood disorder and household income constant. This means that if a resident has been a victim of crime in the last 12 months, they are more likely to be dissatisfied with the police. As well as this, the Hosmer and Lemeshow test indicates that the model is a good fit due to the significance being above 0.05 (.452) and the observed and expected frequencies being very close together.

In a similar vein, model 2 includes all the independent variables in model 1, but adds gender as a predictor in the model. This shows a statistically significant association between being male and being satisfied with the police ($\exp(B) .863$; $p < 0.01$) and as a result provides support for hypothesis 4. For those who are male, the odds of being more satisfied with police decrease by 14% holding constant ethnicity, social class, perception of neighbourhood disorder, household income and whether they have been a victim of crime in the last 12 months. Furthermore, with the addition of gender to the model it has resulted in a slightly better predictor as more variance (an increase of 0.2%) is being explained, although this still does not explain a lot of variance. As well as this, the coefficients for the other independent variables have not been affected significantly by the addition of gender to the model.

Lastly, model 3 has elaborated on models 1 and 2 by adding the interaction of gender and respondent opinion about the level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood as an additional predictor of satisfaction in police. With the interaction added, the Hosmer and Lemeshow test still indicates the model is a good fit with a p value of .219 and the observed and expected values still being fairly close together. Moreover, this interaction does provide support for hypothesis 5 (the negative effect of perception of neighbourhood disorder on satisfaction of police will be greatest for males). The interaction demonstrates that for those who are male, the odds of being satisfied with the police decrease by 6% for every additional point scored on the perception of neighbourhood disorder scale. This interaction, however, is not statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ and thus shows that perceptions of neighbourhood disorder still drives dissatisfaction with police regardless of what residents' sex. Consequently, an interaction does not exist and hypothesis 5 is rejected.

Variables in the model	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Logits	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Logits	Odds Ratio	S.E.	Logits
Respondents opinion about the level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood	.721***	.024	-.327	.721***	.024	-.327	.695***	.035	-.364
Mixed ^a	1.468	.339	.384	1.458	.339	.377	1.454	.340	.375
Asian	1.383**	.132	.324	1.394**	.132	.333	1.393**	.132	.332
Black	1.033	.185	.033	1.031	.185	.031	1.028	.185	.028
Other	1.191	.226	.174	1.200	.226	.182	1.197	.226	.180
High Professional ^b	1.1003	.201	.003	1.022	.201	.022	1.024	.201	.023
Lower Professional	1.133	.181	.125	1.118	.181	.111	1.122	.182	.116
Intermediate	1.127	.189	.120	1.077	.189	.074	1.082	.189	.079
Small employers	.947	.193	-.054	.966	.193	-.035	.969	.193	-.032
Technical	.893	.191	-.113	.912	.191	-.092	.917	.192	-.087
Semi Routine	1.086	.188	.083	1.055	.188	.053	1.060	.188	.059
Routine	1.053	.191	.052	1.053	.191	.051	1.058	.191	.056
Never Worked	1.011	.226	.011	.959	.227	-.042	.963	.227	-.037
Total household income in last year	1.008	.007	.008	1.010	.007	.010	1.010	.007	.010

Table 2. Logistic regression models predicting satisfaction of police in their area

Being a victim of crime in the last 12 months	.784***	.057	-.243	.784***	.057	-.244	.785***	.057	-.242
Male				.863**	.047	-.147	.866**	.047	-.144
Male X Opinion about the level of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood							.937	.046	-.065
Constant	.956	.191	-.044	1.023	.193	.023	1.017	.193	.017

† p<0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

^a Reference category: White British ^b Reference category: Managerial

Notes: number of cases 10999

Source: British Crime Survey, 2007/08

Figure 4. Effect of sex and perception of anti-social behaviour in their neighbourhood on predicted satisfaction with police.

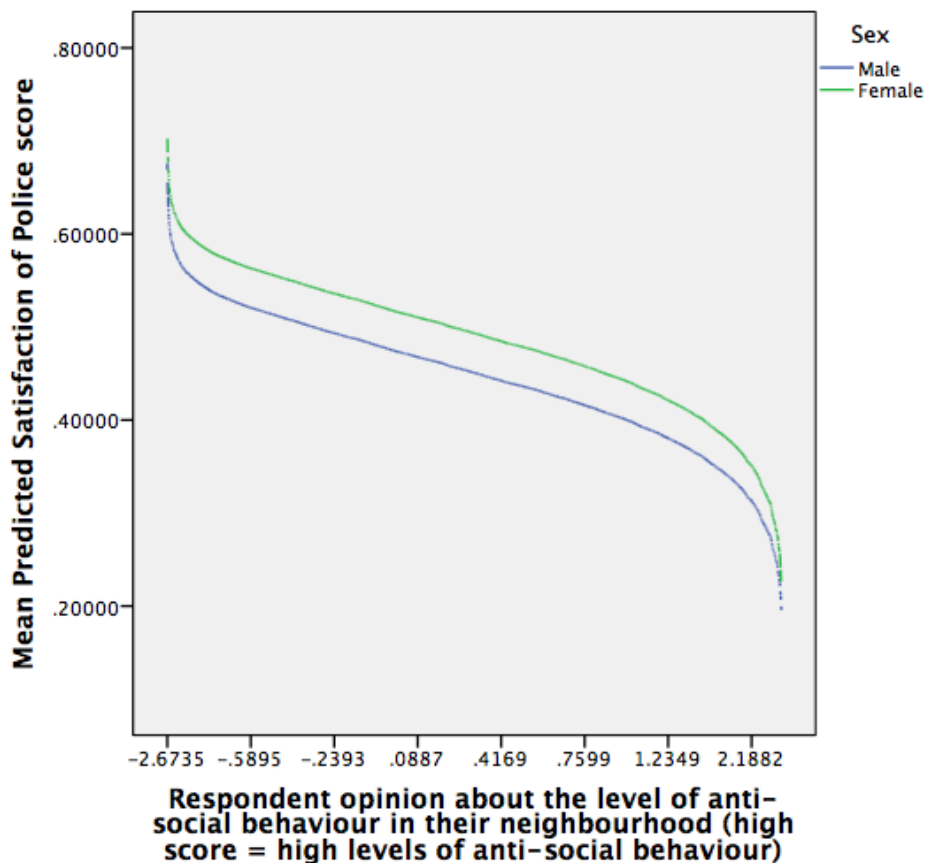


Figure 4 clearly illustrates the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. It highlights that overall females are more likely to be satisfied with police regardless of what their opinion of their neighbourhood is and thus provides support for hypothesis 4. Additionally, it also provides support for hypothesis 1, as it shows the more residents perceive there to be anti-social behaviour in area, the lower the predicted score for satisfaction with police.

Conclusion

The results from the ordinary least squares regression model have answered my first research question: What is the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood disorder, age and satisfaction with police? The models provided support for my first hypothesis, showing the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood disorder and satisfaction with the police are significant: the more residents perceive there to be neighbourhood disorder, the less likely they are to be confident with the police. Additionally, the second model rejected my hypothesis about age and provided the opposite result. The relationship between age and satisfaction with the police is that the older a resident is, the more likely they are to be satisfied with the police. However, the model disproved hypothesis 3 and showed that an interaction between perceived neighbourhood disorder and age does not exist.

Moreover, the results from my logistic regression model have answered my second research question: What is the relationship between perceptions of neighbourhood disorder, gender and satisfaction with police? The first model provided support for hypothesis 1 as well demonstrating that the more residents perceive there to be anti-social

behaviour in their area, the more likely they are to be dissatisfied with the police. As well as this, the second model provided support for hypothesis 4 and showed the relationship between gender and satisfaction with police: male residents are less likely to be satisfied with police. Finally, the interaction between gender and perceptions of neighbourhood disorder was not statistically significant and thus hypothesis 5 was rejected.

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Appendix 1 – SPSS syntax file

```
DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet2.  
RECODE ratpol2 (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1) (8=SYSMIS) (9=SYSMIS) INTO  
ratpol2reverse.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE sex (1=1) (Else=0) into Male.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE ethgrp2 (1=1) (ELSE=0) into White.  
RECODE ethgrp2 (2=1) (ELSE=0) into Mixed.  
RECODE ethgrp2 (3=1) (ELSE=0) into Asian.  
RECODE ethgrp2 (4=1) (ELSE=0) into Black.  
RECODE ethgrp2 (5=1) (ELSE=0) into Other.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE respsec2 (0=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into Managerial.  
RECODE respsec2 (1=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into HighProfessional.  
RECODE respsec2 (2=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into LowerProfessional.  
RECODE respsec2 (3=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into Intermediate.  
RECODE respsec2 (4=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into Smallemployers.  
RECODE respsec2 (5=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into Technical.  
RECODE respsec2 (6=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into SemiRoutine.  
RECODE respsec2 (7=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into Routine.  
RECODE respsec2 (8=1) (9=SYSMIS) (ELSE=0) into NeverWorked.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE rural2 (1=1) (Else=0) into Urban.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE ratpol3 (100=1) (Else=0) into ExcellentjobPolice.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
RECODE polatt7 (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1) (8=SYSMIS) (9=SYSMIS) INTO  
polatt7reserve.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
FREQUENCIES polatt7reserve tcareage age.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE tcareaxage= tcareage*age.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet5.  
REGRESSION  
/MISSING LISTWISE  
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)  
/NOORIGIN  
/DEPENDENT polatt7reserve
```

```
/METHOD=ENTER tcarea Mixed Asian Black Other HighProfessional LowerProfessional  
Intermediate  
Smallemployers Technical SemiRoutine Routine NeverWorked tothhin1 bcsvictim  
/METHOD=ENTER age  
/METHOD=ENTER tcareaage.  
/SAVE PRED.
```

```
DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet9.  
FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=ExcellentjobPolice tcarea Female  
/ORDER=ANALYSIS.
```

```
LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES ExcellentjobPolice  
/METHOD=ENTER tcarea Mixed Asian Black Other HighProfessional LowerProfessional  
Intermediate  
Smallemployers Technical SemiRoutine Routine NeverWorked tothhin1 bcsvictim  
/METHOD=ENTER male  
/METHOD=ENTER male*tcarea  
/PRINT=GOODFIT  
/CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).
```

```
LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES ExcellentjobPolice  
/METHOD=ENTER tcarea Mixed Asian Black Other HighProfessional LowerProfessional  
Intermediate  
Smallemployers Technical SemiRoutine Routine NeverWorked tothhin1 bcsvictim  
/METHOD=ENTER Male  
/METHOD=ENTER male*tcarea  
/SAVE=PRED  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(.5).
```

```
GRAPH  
/LINE(MULTIPLE)=MEAN(PRE_2) BY tcarea BY male.
```

```
DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet2.  
* Visual Binning.  
*age.  
RECODE age (MISSING=COPY) (LO THRU 36=1) (LO THRU 49=2) (LO THRU 65=3) (LO  
THRU HI=4)  
 (ELSE=SYSMIS) INTO agebin.  
VARIABLE LABELS agebin 'Respondent age (Binned)'.  
FORMATS agebin (F5.0).  
VALUE LABELS agebin 1 '36 under' 2 '36-49' 3 '49-65' 4 '65 above' 998 'refused' 999 'dont  
know'.  
MISSING VALUES agebin (998 , 999).  
VARIABLE LEVEL agebin (ORDINAL).  
EXECUTE.
```

```
GRAPH  
/LINE(MULTIPLE)=MEAN(PRE_5) BY tcarea BY
```

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What does Foucault mean by “bio-power”? How relevant is this concept for contemporary sociology?

Bethany Perfect-Brown

Change4Life is a fairly recent initiative to encourage families to lead a healthier and happier life (NHS, 2015). It is a way of the government taking charge of individuals via society as a whole through the highly recognised institution, the NHS of whom have power and authority throughout society within the UK. Change4Life targets both parents and children (NHS, 2015). It has an influence over society to make healthier lifestyle choices which can create a better, more fulfilling life. By targeting children, it can help them to develop a healthier outlook to life and so to build a healthier population of which the government can use to their full potential with smaller interventions in relation to health and a more productive workforce to increase the economy. The topic of bio-power is seen as important today because it has an effect on the whole society including governance, institutions, individuals and whole populations and it is an aspect of sociology that can be examined still today. Throughout this essay I will cover Foucault’s view on power and his meaning of "bio-power", the relevance of the concept within contemporary sociology including reference to food and diet, the pharmaceutical industry and the census. I will argue that the term ‘bio-power’ as suggested by Foucault is relevant in contemporary sociology, despite the fact that the term has become more complex with the development of society.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) was an extremely influential French theorist. He disagrees with Marxist theorists in that power is a thing that is solely held by state. Rather, he believes that power is and comes from everywhere, it is ‘permanent, repetitious, inert and self-producing’ (Foucault, 1976:93). He implies an ‘omnipresence of power’ (1976:93), in that it is produced from one moment to the next, at all points. He further argues that power relations are both intentional and non-subjective and suggests that all power exercised will have a series of objectives in relation to the control over society (1976:94-95). He argues that power and knowledge are tied up together and that it can be seen through history of how things come to be true, you get knowledge because of power and you get power because of knowledge (2012). He claims that power produces ‘docile bodies’ (1977), of which are passive and regulate themselves to the norms of society. He suggests these ‘docile bodies may be subjected, used, transformed and improved’ (1977). This suggests that the body can be trained and improved in order to fulfil its full potential within populations; societies and individuals are therefore discreetly manipulated into being the most productive bodies they can be in order to fulfil their role within society (Foucault 1977: 137-138).

Foucault first uses the term ‘bio-power’ in a chapter of his book called the *Right of Death and Power over Life*, in which he suggests that in the eighteenth century there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving subjugation of bodies and control of the population due to a ‘governmentalisation of the state’ (Rose, 1999:18), that he believes was the beginning of "bio-power", with rapid developments of a variety of disciplines such as ‘universities, workshops, schools and barracks’ (Foucault, 1976:140). He argues that there was an emergence of new political practice and an economic observation of problems with birth rate, longevity, public health, housing and migration

(1976:140). He proposes that new population controls were implemented with the emergence of democracy, the evaluation of relationships between resources and citizens and the construction of tables analysing wealth of populations (Foucault, 1976:140); organised institutions were able to cleverly monitor populations to ensure government control. In short, 'bio-power' suggests that the government has taken over responsibility from the state of health and well-being and the control and discipline over the lives of human beings; basic biological features of humans became the object of political and general strategy of power. He argues that 'bio-power' creates an 'entry of life into history' (in Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996:100) through anatomo-politics, which is related to individual life and the production of docile bodies and bio-politics of the population, focusing on the population as a whole, such as lifestyles, public health issues and economic growth (in Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996:100). Institutions became instruments of the state, ensuring the maintenance of production relations, and the elements of anatomo and bio-politics became used as techniques of power that are present at every level of the social body and employed by diverse institutions such as family, army, schools and police, in the sphere of economic processes, their development and the forces working to sustain them (Foucault, 1976:141). Simply, institutions became strategies of political regulation by which they shape and manage collective conduct in relation to norms and objectives but are constituted as non-political (Anderson, 2006:37), the power of such institutions again goes unnoticed within populations. It allows for the populations, truths and events to be governed from arms-length with knowledgeable professionals acting as devices of social rule (Anderson, 2006:40). Furthermore, Foucault argues that this enforced segregation and established social hierarchies, guaranteeing relations of dominance and effects of hegemony within populations (Foucault, 1976:141), people were oblivious to the political intervention and the norms of the new society became imbedded into their minds and bodies. Foucault argues that 'bio-power' has allowed the adjustment of 'men to capital, the joining of growth of human groups to the expansions of productive forces and the differential allocation of profit' and so became an indispensable element of capitalism (Foucault, 1976:140-141).

The relevance of the notion 'bio-power' within contemporary sociology has had much debate throughout the past few years. In many cases, the meaning of the term has been slightly amended in order to relate better to new more complex contemporary societies (Foucault News, 2015). Since Foucault's original composition of the term 'bio-power', there has been rapid technological development throughout modern societies and this has generated new technologies and apparatus of power that have studied life and its politicisation. There are new types of bio-scientific knowledge, such as bioscience, biotechnology and biomedicine, and in addition to this, drug use is also differentiating political, economic and social relationships of which Foucault does not acknowledge throughout his work. The way life that is understood today poses new challenges in the understanding of bio-politics (Foucault News, 2015).

From the twentieth century, from liberalism and especially to neo-liberalism, we have seen a revitalised approach of self-governance, self-regulation and self-responsibility (Barry, Osborne & Rose, 1996). There has been an emergence of numerous policies that involved the biological side of the population (Guizzo & Vigo de Lima, 2015). Recently, there has been incredible emphasis throughout many organisations and institutions in relation to food, diet and health. Douglas (in Bordo, 1993: 198) argues that the body can be seen as a system of 'natural symbols' that reproduce social categories and concerns. Crawford (in Bordo, 1993: 199) further argues that in advanced consumer capitalism, regulation of the body and desire is an on-going problem, on one hand, we have to repress instant

gratification from producers of goods and services, and on the other hand, we hunger for constant and immediate satisfaction. We are continuously surrounded by temptations while it is expressed as socially wrong to overindulge. Food and diet become expressions of these contradictions, tempting and desired foods are advertised throughout a variety of media yet at the same time advertisements for healthy eating and keeping up appearances are also made apparent (Bordo, 1993: 199). Bordo argues that we can master our desires only by creating defences against them, as many of us find our lives changing from daytime rigidity of 'performance principle' to the nights and weekends of 'letting go' (Bordo, 1993: 201). Our bodies become a way of defining who we are and so Bordo contends that bulimia emerges as a characteristic of a modern personality construction, which shows the extreme development of hunger for unrestrained consumption (Bordo, 1993), but also the need to look slender in order to feel accepted within society of anorexia nervosa and obesity, which reveals the instability of contemporary personality construction, the difficulty of sustaining the producer and consumer side of the self (Bordo, 1993). Anorexia is an extreme development of self-denial and repression of desire whereas obesity is an extreme capacity to give in to desire and so consumerism takes control (Bordo, 1993: 201). Bordo argues that we can only respond to this consumer culture with total submission or rigid defence (1993) and so either way, there will be contradictions. Neither anorexia nor obesity is a socially accepted response to a consumer culture, as they are often stigmatised and stereotyped by the public making them feel unwanted throughout society (Bordo, 1993:202). Bordo suggests that the body is seen as showing correct or incorrect attitudes towards the demands of normalisation itself, conditions such as anorexia or obesity are seen as resisting cultural norms and so excluding them from society (Bordo, 1993: 203). Individuals within the society want to be accepted and so will go to extremes to try to look the way they are expected to, for example, many people do not believe an obese person can be happy with the way they look and so find it bewildering and often feel sorry for them because they cannot conform to normality within society (Bordo, 1993: 203-204). Foucault's notion of 'bio-power' relates well in relation to food and diet, as throughout Bordo's work it is clearly shown that the agencies in control of power within advertising and food consumption are creating confusing contradictions of which members of society struggle to manage: the slender body image created within society is not easy for all of society to sustain and so dieting becomes encouraged, even if these diets are not as simple as organisations might suggest and so indulging becomes a habit of those who do diet. The government is able to emphasise both healthy and non-healthy organisations to advertise their products not only to increase the economy, but also encouraging populations to try to conform to the ideal body image, whereas at the same time, they should treat themselves to desirable products.

Furthermore, a recent emergence of several institutions and policies that aim at population care and well-being in accordance with a discourse of freedom associated with markets regularity and naturalness has appeared, including an emergence of medical, educational, sexual, urban, moral and economic devices that search for equilibrium, normality, longevity and optimum planning of populations (Guizzo&Viga de Lima, 2015: 203). The recent expansion of the pharmaceutical industry is a way of correcting human behaviour in order to fulfil its full potential as powerful companies are able to create new phenomena of the mind and body in order to expand the industry and make large profits from doing so. It enables the government to create better improved populations and individuals can become new and remodelled as the government desire them to be (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Medicalisation of basic life phases becomes apparent within contemporary society, for example, reproduction (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Reproduction becomes problematized due to its economic, ecological and political consequences, for

instance, overpopulation. Reproductive choice emerges in that infidelity has become a medical condition and so legitimate intervention becomes an option that is of benefit to the pharmaceutical industry (Rabinow & Rose, 2003:21). Treatment for those unable to have children is exceptionally expensive but often fails to work, however creating a family is considered a norm within society of which has been encouraged since a young age through numerous institutions such as schools and families, therefore many couples are encouraged to go through with procedures and consider options in order to be able to have their own families. Rabinow and Rose argue that the transformation of infertility into an illness exemplifies the re-imaging of humans as open to reengineering and enhancement by medicine (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Moreover, birth control can be seen as a way of stabilising and limiting the population, in particular countries, there are laws for only having a certain amount of children (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). The government are consequently able to control populations through the pharmaceutical industry by reshaping individuals through medicine. Furthermore, Hsu (2007) argues that people are encouraged to live medically informed lives, through a variety of health campaigns and displays such as quitting smoking. 'We'd like you to be around longer, leave your cigarettes here' (Hsu, 2007: 19) is an example which suggests compassion for society with health issues but discreetly benefits the medical industry and the government as people living longer will need more medical care and so it will boost the pharmaceutical industry even more. Additionally, through the example of McMurphy's 'Cuckoo's Nest' (1962) in relation to a mental institution, Jennings argues that logic and control trumps professional nurse ethics, in that it can be seen that a nurse will feel the need to preserve order and power of the institutional world, rather than to consider the well-being of the patients. It is further argued that the threat to the nurses bio-power operating through him or her is not the ethical principle of the patient but her sheer life-force, which only surgical lobotomy can suppress (Jennings, 2010:17). This therefore shows the subtleness of governmental power within institutions, it becomes inherent within scientific knowledge and human bodies, and so it is hard for people to acknowledge the role it plays throughout their entire lives.

Finally, Foucault argued that throughout the colonial period, the census created more visible and exclusively racial categories within which religious identities gradually disappeared and people become re-designated and re-ranked within a wider cultural category in order for enhanced social control (Anderson, 2006:165). He suggested that there appeared to be an intolerance for multiple identifications; by creating "other" as a category ensured that everybody has a place within society (Anderson, 2006:166), those located within the categories are seen as the same and so specific names were allocated to these groups to make them easier for the government to control (Anderson, 2006:168-169). Foucault argues that disciplinary institutions are created by using the imagined map that is based upon ethno-racial hierarchies of which becomes a discomfoting realisation (Anderson, 2006:169). Systematic examinations of the population have continued to the present day with the UK census of which takes place every ten years. It is a count by the government of all people and households that generates a record of the population in order to help organisations target their resources more effectively to plan housing, education, health and transport services in years to come (Census, 2015), of which according to Foucault are all institutions of 'bio-power'. The census is a way of controlling populations that has become a legal requirement throughout households. It enables the government to anticipate the policies and controls they may need to implement to create their ideal society for future generations (Census, 2015). It is a political instrument embedded in the political strategy of 'bio-power', it is a way of producing more power and much wider societal monitoring. Statistics accumulated by the government always have objectives in relation to controlling the population even if the public are unaware of this. The

government is able to enforce populations to fill out required forms and tick specific boxes containing pre-defined categories in order to obtain the information they need to encourage a certain way of life (Gov, 2015).

In conclusion, it is clear to see that 'bio-power' is still present in contemporary sociology. It has been argued that human beings are subconsciously conforming to the way of life that the government are discreetly encouraging us to do, through a variety of institutions and organisations of which their power over our lives becomes normal and unnoticed. As our bodies become a power of the government, it has been argued that they are able to interfere and change it in accordance to fit within society without anyone realising, they are able to control the diet we consume, the medication we need and so the economy is consistently increasing. By ensuring that we live longer in order to need medical care, they are able to sustain a bigger population. Furthermore it is argued that the census enhances opportunities for the government to control the population through a variety of institutions of which becomes unnoticed by individuals and populations. It is finally suggested that people are being controlled in every aspect of their lives through the hidden powers of scientific knowledge still to this day as previously suggested by Foucault.

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What is the best way of understanding the distinction between Indians and Mestizos?

Daniel Roberts

The distinction between Indians and Mestizos is a multifaceted matter unique to Latin America. It is a vital question for those studying Latin American identity to answer, revealing much more about the heterogeneous peoples that reside there than can be obtained from merely looking at them. As defined by Europeans post-1492, Indians were those descended from full blood indigenous people, whereas Mestizos were a 'mixture' of indigenous and white (Wade, 2010: 28-29). However, as will be seen, the key element of the difference is that there is no longer a clear dichotomy between these ethnic categories and that they are absolutely not based on descent today. In attempting to answer this question many understandings will be covered, all of which will be analysed in terms of their usefulness. More *etic* perspectives (science-oriented view of the observer) include language and literacy, history, economics, politics, and lifestyle, and more *emic* perspectives (the perceptions of the people being studied) include general/spiritual beliefs and the Earth as an emblem (metonym) of the differences between them. Furthermore, it will be seen that like the distinction itself these themes are not clear cut: there are both *etic* and *emic* elements which must be considered. Due to time and space constraints this essay can only cover some of the information available, but it will nevertheless provide knowledge of the disparity between Indians and Mestizos, whilst deliberating what the best way of understanding it could be.

Language and literacy are frequently used to identify someone as part of a certain ethnic category. The term ethnicity refers to the non-bodily characteristics distinguishing one group from another and thus it is technically changeable, unlike race which is more about bodily features suggesting someone fits into a specific group (Canessa, 2015: II). Generally, the perceived divide between the Indian and Mestizo people is made according to the understanding that Indians speak local languages and poor Spanish, if any, and are illiterate, whilst Mestizos are literate, speak a Hispanic language, and may or may not speak a native one too. From this Indians are identified as inferior, backward and unintelligent, whereas Mestizos are seen as superior and civilised because they speak the dominant language (Friedlander, 1975). For instance, indigenous Hueyapeños in Mexico speak the '*Nahuatl*' language, but they think it is inferior, perhaps because it borrows Spanish words and propositions introduced during conquest, like the old word for donkey ('*axnu*'), so Spanish is seen to have power whilst Indian languages lack it (Friedlander, 1975: 84-85&87). Accordingly, Indians feel they are unable to survive without speaking Spanish or being able to write, teaching their children it so they can 'defend themselves and make economic and social progress,' effectively becoming more Mestizo to fight Mestizo supremacy (Canessa, 2007: 225). The language uses of these two groups show that the distinction between the Indians and Mestizos is fluid and changeable rather than a simple dichotomy. In contrast, Friedlander hypothesised that the maintaining of Indian languages helps defend social boundaries between them and Mestizos, keeping some personal culture and spiritual links alive to this day where they must behave more like Mestizos 'to survive economically' (1975: 87). Mestizos, to be part of the dominant culture, identify those who speak Indian languages and poor Spanish - alongside other traits deliberated later - as uneducated and cultureless, even having 'squashes for heads' (Urban and Sherzer, 1991: 319; Friedlander, 1975: 73-75). Evidently, looking at language and literacy in *etic* terms

shows the basic distinction, but emic elements cannot be avoided as both Indians and Mestizos use them to highlight their variances from the other (Friedlander, 1975). Language and literacy provides a reasonable understanding of the intricate and fluid nature of the differences between Mestizos and Indians, a cultural dichotomy that it is clearly indivisible from social-political constructs.

Yet, in a real-world context, language use is arguably one of the least useful ways of understanding the differences between Indians and Mestizos because the division is often more complex than just an Indian being identified as inferior by speaking Aymara and a Mestizo superior because they speak Spanish. In fact, they can be an Indian or a Mestizo regardless of the language they speak or whether they can write, so the distinction depends on other aspects. To illustrate, Canessa gives the example of a man named Eustaquio who spoke poor Spanish but was classed by the community as a Mestizo, and another named Andrés who spoke fluent Spanish but was seen to be *jaqi* (a real person) in their eyes (1998: 228-229). Among Indians, as will be seen, someone is identified by their lifestyle, how they act in the world, which originates in beliefs around reciprocation. Hence, despite its simplicity, language is probably not the best way of comprehending the Indian-Mestizo divide.

Historical, economic and political distinctions are inextricably linked and overlap, providing vital contexts for the divide between Indians and Mestizos. We need knowledge of the past to know the present: the *historical context* is important in understanding the differences between Indian and Mestizo identities today. The ethnic category of 'Indian' existed before there was enough mixing for the term Mestizo to exist, but there were no Indians before 1492, the concept being developed by the conquerors (Canessa, 2015: Introduction). By the time the Spanish had conquered Cuzco in 1533, natives were referred to as 'naturales de la tierra' ('natives of the land') (Wolf, 1990: 131). The Spanish imposed the paying of tributes to the colonial government and encouraged Indian leaders to send their people into '*mita*' labour in the mines (Harris, 1995: 353; Canessa, 2007). Thus there was already an unequal relationship forming, with the European community and their language as dominant and the native's as inferior.. During this time, disease and warfare destroyed Indian populations, an example being Mexico where 14-30 million people lived in 1492, reduced to around a million by 1605 (Canessa, 2015: Introduction). Eventually, all natives were placed within one category, homogenising a racially and ethnically heterogeneous reality into a mere 'sea of Indians' (Wolf, 1990: 133). This accounts for the views Mestizos have about the inferiority of Indian languages previously mentioned: language is just an example of the way in which all Indians, whether Quechua, Aymara or other language speakers, came to be culturally homogenised by the European settlers.

Coming to Mestizo history, some Indians became '*yanaconas*,' a class exempt from mita service and tributes, abandoning their communities and language, adopting European values and careers, learning to be merchants, artisans and so on (Harris, 1995: 169 and 358). This is indicative of the fluid nature of the distinction today, where Indians can become more Mestizo or more Indian along a socially constructed racial continuum regardless of descent (Wade, 2010: 13). In turn, historical context provides a reason for communities in the Tarascan area of Mexico shifting from a distinctly Indian identity to a more Mestizo one (Beals, 1969: 248-249). Accordingly, out of all the above circumstances came the 'Urban Indians' (Cholos), distinct from ordinary ones who lived in the countryside and were subjected to mita labour. Due to their independent political-economic status, Cholos became a propertied middle class which was, in colonial terms, 'identified with civilisation' (Harris, 1995: 360-361 and 364). Indians were ground down for centuries,

pushed to the bottom of the ladder, leaving them poor, a position they continue to occupy to this day (Harris, 1995: 360-361). History is evidently a valuable way of understanding the distinction. However, the mainstream historical narrative of the period is a western construction which does not give the Indian version of events, so it is unequal. As will be discussed later, Indian beliefs reveal another vital perspective, emphasising the disparity with Mestizos in terms of what it means to be human (Canessa, 1998: 228). Therefore, although it offers a better way of understanding the distinction between Indians and Mestizos than language, history alone is insufficient.

Looking at the *economic context* is another means of understanding the distinction. Differing from the abovementioned issues with history, economics can more effectively address the Indians' perspectives on the differences between themselves and the Mestizos. One of the major differences is that Indians have a rural subsistence economy based on permanent reciprocity between community members, whilst the Mestizo city economy is grounded in money which does not necessarily create lasting bonds between people (Canessa, 1998: 231). Andean societies are a good example of this variance. Many have a tightly knit 'web of reciprocity' starting with kinship and marriage, and spreading further via *compadrazgo* connections (Allen, 1988: 67). Making the distinction clear, those acting inside the web are identified as *jaqi/runa* (the people) depending on whether they are Aymara or Quechua, whilst those outside of or who have left it (becoming Mestizos) are '*mistikuna*' (Allen, 1988: 67; Canessa, 1998). This system relies on the notion of '*ayni*' - the giving of like for like - so if someone labours for a friend in a field, the friend must soon come back and labour for him in return (Allen, 1988: 75). Accordingly, married couples are obliged to help each other, the web then grows via *compadrazgo* links each time they reproduce (Allen, 1988). In return for the support of the new *compadres* (godparents/sponsors) of their children at baptism, the parents must give something in return (Allen, 1988). To illustrate, in Allen's ethnography *The Hold Life Has*, one couple found a coca merchant whose uncle was a powerful shaman to become their youngest child's *compadre*: he would provide money, coca, and shamanism and they would give him highland products to sell (Allen, 1988: 88-89).

Reciprocity as an economic distinction is complex in comparison to the Mestizo economy which typically involves buying and leaving. More than this, as conferred later, it has political features, is part of their dissimilar lifestyle and is connected to spiritual beliefs about who they are. Back towards history, ethnic identities were defined in terms of economic activities as Indians were relegated to 'a source of free or cheap labour [*mita* etc.]' and Mestizos exploited them, buying Indian goods at unfair prices and denying them the chance of economic accumulation (Harris, 1995: 353, 361-363, 375). Therefore, in historical-economic terms, Indians are classed with physical labour and poverty whilst Mestizos are the ones carrying the whips, a valuable way of grasping the inferior-superior social dichotomy. The inequality of Indians is thus projected on the market, so many seek to become Mestizos to this day (Harris, 1995: 372). To do this in economic terms, they must leave their community and migrate to earn money, just as the *yanaconas* did before them in order to avoid staying poor, used and controlled, again underscoring the changeability of the Indian-Mestizo divide. Although economics is a more powerful way of explaining the distinction than the previous themes explored, it is nowhere near inclusive enough alone.

Elaborating on the above deliberations, *political* understandings are another important contextual aspect. The ethno-racial continuum between Indians and Mestizos evidently defines who is powerful and who is powerless, both categories being able to become more

like the other in political status by disavowing their origins (Wade, 2010: 27). Mestizos in the past and today aim for a future 'integrated and mestizo in colour,' emphasised by the example of *indigenismo* set up by governments aiming to glorify and romanticise the pre-colonial 'national history,' and thus the Mestizo nation, rather than the Indians who continued to be discriminated against (Wade, 2010: 32; Canessa, 2015: Mixed and Hybridised Identities). This provides a clear political distinction, defined by the more dominant Mestizos in complete disregard for powerless Indians. For instance, in 1910 the Brazilian government set up an agency 'for the "protection of the Indian"' based on *indigenismo*, but the unequal divide between Indians and Mestizos remained, the former staying on hacienda's for instance (Wade, 2010: 32). Accordingly, Indians are placed on the uncivilised side of the spectrum, with no powerbase in the dominant society, completely contrasting Mestizos.

Another example is Friedlander's (1975) discussion on political factions as emphasising the differences. Both can be identified by their general political positions, but again this is defined by the more influential Mestizos as shown in Hueyapan (Friedlander, 1975). Mestizos see themselves as part of the 'progressive' faction, and refer to Indians as part of the 'conservative' one, so their differences are less to do with language or clothing (they all speak Nahuatl) (Friedlander, 1975: 79-80). Instead, it is closely associated with economics, as the progressives require higher taxation for local projects, whilst the Indian conservatives, as they live in poverty, cannot afford to pay (Friedlander, 1975: 79-80). This political understanding of the distinction is also geographical, as most progressives live in the *centro* (town centre) which is the cultural core of the area - where there are shops, buses, social gatherings and so on - and conservatives live mostly in the outlying *barrios* (Friedlander, 1975: 80). As a result, any political resistance from the barrios is considered 'uncultured' or 'Indian' behaviour (Friedlander, 1975: 80). Therefore, another understanding of the fluid distinction is grounded in conflicts of interest between 'more indian-oriented [sic]' and 'more mestizo-oriented' identities (Friedlander, 1975: 81).

Returning to the notion of *reciprocity* by which Indians are often identified, it has political dimensions which are essential for comprehending the distinction between Indians and Mestizos. To illustrate, among the runa studied by Allen is the political concept *mink'a* which works alongside the *ayni* exchange explained earlier (1988: 92). When someone labours for another, he has done *ayni* and now has the power to *mink'a* the other, to ask them to come and fulfil their *ayni* debt (Allen, 1988: 92). Once this is paid, the political status of each person is reversed: the one who did the work can now *mink'a* the one he worked for into fulfilling their *ayni* debt (Allen, 1988: 92). Thus, their status goes back and forth: the one responding is doing *ayni* whilst the one asking is doing *mink'a*, a permanent reciprocal cycle (Allen, 1988: 92). This is utterly distinct from the hierarchy that identifies Mestizo society, where one will always be more powerful than the other - for example a national politician over a town mayor - providing yet another interesting way to understand the Indian-Mestizo difference.

Additionally, political distinctions between Indians and Mestizos also come down to identifying with either the nation or the tightly knit, smaller community. Flags and other symbols of nationhood which count for so much in Mestizo character mean nothing to Indians whose political status relies on factors such as reciprocity and lifestyle (Canessa, 1998: 242-243). As with *indigenismo*, Latin American states attempt to homogenise their citizens under the so called 'civilised' Mestizo banner (via education and so on) despite the heterogeneous reality of their populaces (Urban and Sherzer, 1991: 11-12 & 14). Connecting to history and economics, the 'urban Indian' became identified with civilisation

and thus political dominance due to their freer status, allowing the accumulation of wealth, whilst Indians were never allowed to do so (Urban and Sherzer, 1991: 98). Although Latin American politics gives an excellent understanding of the distinction, it does require historical-economic contexts to make sense of it, so is insufficient alone.

Lifestyle is an approach to understanding the Indian-Mestizo distinction in more cultural terms, although it does link across to previous themes. Someone is often considered more Indian or more Mestizo by ethnic attributes like the clothes they wear and how they live, both of which completely differ. For example, 'the same individual dressed shabbily and smartly will be identified with different colour terms that locate the person on a scale' more toward Indian or Mestizo (Wade, 2010: 39). Shabby or traditional clothing is associated with being darker skinned, thus Indian and likely poor, regardless of the actual racial, economic or political reality (Wade, 2010: 39). Subsequently, alongside economic transitions, someone can try to 'pass' into the Mestizo category by choosing certain clothing, even if they are genetically 100 percent indigenous (Wade, 2010: 27). As already established, Indians have a community-oriented society founded on mutual aid and Mestizos an individual-oriented one, and this distinction has historical, economic and political dimensions. The reciprocity essential to Indian identity is vital to living their life (Allen, 1988). For instance, subsistence agriculture (growing what they need to survive) keeps Andean Indians busy all year round, using certain methods and tools as well as being associated with their spiritual beliefs, whereas Mestizos would use a tractor to maximise profits in a matter of months (Canessa, 2012; 2015). While Indians spin and weave their clothing, Mestizos buy clothes from shops (Friedlander, 1975). This accounts for the view in Indian eyes of Mestizos being reluctant to do physical work and thus lacking proper independence (Beals, 1969; Orlove, 1998).

Coca chewing is a lifestyle choice that makes the distinction very clear: Indians chew it whilst Mestizos, being 'civilised', do not (Allen, 1988). It epitomises the Indian's 'long struggle to maintain their own way of life' over the centuries since the Spanish arrived. Having been chewed for thousands of years, coca is one of the last solid vestiges of their cultural identity and ritual symbolism (Allen, 1988: 220-221). Again the mutability between Indian and Mestizo identities is revealed, as the choice to chew coca 'expresses - and expresses consciously - who the runakuna are, or at least which of their available cultural skins they are wearing at the moment' (Allen, 1988: 225). Therefore, they can become more Indian or more Mestizo depending on a simple lifestyle decision, but, due to the plant's historical background, it is still an incredibly powerful expression of the distinction between the ethnic groups, providing a symbolic understanding of it. The instance of Eustaquio and Andrés, both Pocobayños, being identified respectively as Mestizo and Indian, mentioned in the language and literacy section, is in fact based on the lifestyles each lived rather than on how well they spoke Spanish (Canessa, 1998). Eustaquio was so successful in the goldmines that he bought himself a house with fields in the 'cantonal capital' Sorata, neglecting his fields back in the village and rarely turning up for important events, so he was identified as a Mestizo (Canessa, 1998: 228-229). Andrés was also a successful goldminer, even looking less Indian in appearance, but he maintained his links to the village, always turning up for the most important events, including fiestas, planting and for harvesting. Although he was often away mining, his wife maintained their home in the village so he was still seen to be a *jaqi* (Canessa, 1998: 228-229). Overall, analysing each lifestyle is a useful way of comprehending the dissimilarities, but knowing about Indian and Mestizo beliefs alongside the historical, economic and political contexts will open the discussion farther.

Beliefs among Indians and Mestizos, both general and spiritual, are indispensable in understanding the deeper level of the distinction between them. The notion of *reciprocity*, which has appeared in relation to many other themes, originates in ancient beliefs about the nature of personhood, helping explain the variances between the two communities from yet another dimension. Ayni exchange is not purely economic or political, it is the belief that life is a constant giving of like for like between humans, ancestor spirits (the *achachilas*), plants, animals and the landscape, which people must continuously act out (Canessa, 2012; Allen, 1988). For example, during carnival after harvesting every year, Indians in Wila Kjarka make libations to the spirits so they will provide rain to grow their crops, help with procreation, and keep people healthy, among other things, in return (Canessa, 2012). Throughout each individual lifecycle these ayni exchanges are acted out ritually, including *sutiyaña* (the naming ritual), *rutucha* (the first haircutting), *compadrazgo* as previously conferred, marriage, and ultimately death, where a person reciprocates by giving back the life the spirits provided them (Canessa, 2012). Many Indians believe doing ayni is acting positively with the universe and the spirits, making them jaqi/runa, or real people (Allen, 1988: 94). In the eyes of Indians, those who do not participate, including Mestizos, are manifestly immoral because they use money to avoid the hard work of constantly reciprocating, thus lacking a human identity (Allen, 1988: 219). Furthermore, if someone leaves the community, they are breaking their reciprocal ties with the land and the ancestors, so they become 'amoral, alienated and culturally bereft': they become Mestizo (Allen, 1988; Canessa, 1998: 242).

Illustrating the changeability of the distinction, Mestizos can become more Indian if they move into the community and participate in the exchange (Canessa, 2015). Mestizos do not have a constant complex exchange in their lives, as Catholics and/or modern consumers they see Indian beliefs as corrupt, backward and nonsensical. If they are Christians they believe someone becomes human immediately after baptism, giving them a chance of reaching heaven, and so after being baptised personhood just 'is'. This utterly contrasts with the continuous maintenance required to be jaqi. Both, then, try to maintain cultural purity and distance, hence the example of Erasmo making a k'intu in the city to call for the Incas' help in buying a tape recorder, and Mestizos disdaining Indian behaviour as improper in Hueyapan (Allen, 1988: 218; Friedlander, 1975).

Therefore, Indians and Mestizos identify the other as lacking and opposite to them in virtually every way. In Peru, as late as the 1960s, many urban Mestizos believed Indians were subhuman, 'to be exploited as mercilessly as one might exploit a mule' (Beals, 1969: 253). After centuries of these views being acted out, an indelible mark has been left on the unconscious of Indians and Mestizos to the degree that calling someone or yourself an Indian is to insult or self-deprecate (Friedlander, 1975: 75-76; Urban and Sherzer, 1991). Yet, as already underscored, this is not always the case when it comes to Indian views on the distinction. Many people classed as Indians do not see themselves as inferior or as Indians at all (Canessa, 2015). The importance of the land and its spirits exposes this and more: Indians have beliefs grounded in more perceptible, solid things - they are attached to and identified by their ancestral earth, owing it for its subsistence, pouring libations on it, whereas Mestizos identify with a more abstract system where the nation is more important than the local area or region (Harris, 1995: 376). Alongside explaining their diverging political views, it provides knowledge of why Indians are identified via communal ownership of land and why Mestizos prioritise individual ownership (Harris, 1995). Indians are attached to the land for survival, a physical reality inscribed in their spiritual beliefs, whilst Mestizos are detached from the physical world by their belief in money, the nation, and, if religious, divine salvation. This brings a deeper understanding of economic,

political and lifestyle elements of the Indian-Mestizo divide than any of these themes can unveil alone. Accordingly: 'the difference...is not that the latter [Mestizos and others] do not have achachilas...the difference is that the *q'ara* [non-jaqi] do not recognise them' (Canessa, 1998: 241).

Returning to the criticisms of the historical approach to this issue discussed earlier, Indians tell their version of the past in myths which fit large amounts of knowledge into a small space, delving even further into the distinction and linking across this whole essay. Rather than following the linear chronological view of time, which Mestizos, being detached from Indian culture, are likely to adhere to, Indians tell stories. Quechua people believe the Incas will one day return and give *runa* power over the world (Allen, 1988: 219). These real people cannot write and only speak Quechua, the superior language. They wear indigenous clothing without any materials brought by the '*Castellanokuna*' (the Spanish); they participate in the web of reciprocity (Allen, 1988: 219). Myths can account for the conquerors and Mestizos, elucidating who they are and how Indians differ (Canessa, 2007: 218-219). Unlike the usual historical view, some Pocobayeños believe their impoverished condition was caused by the Spanish killing the Inca King who would have made all jaqi rich (Canessa, 2007: 223-224). After he was killed his riches were hidden in the mountains and the rest of the Incas disappeared into the rocks (Canessa, 2007: 223-224). This describes their history in a nutshell, providing an interesting alternative understanding of it: the Spanish came, the Incas were defeated and the jaqi were left in an unequal and impoverished position in contrast with the Mestizos. So, 'being indigenous is about identifying with the continent's pre-conquest, non-European, inhabitants [...] transmitted through stories of the past' (Canessa, 2007: 218). Mestizos identify primarily with money and the progressing nation without such all-encompassing myths. Thus, Indians have such powerful and interconnected spiritual beliefs that Mestizos seem rather shallow in comparison. These myths alone touch on language and literacy, historical, economic, political, and lifestyle themes simultaneously, a very useful way of seeing the bigger picture of the question. Yet again though, beliefs alone would be limited without understanding the contexts previous themes have uncovered.

Finally, *Earth* is emblematic of the distinction between Indians and Mestizos, arguably a metonym for it, providing the linking factor for this essay. As already conferred, Indians are *tellurian* - both of the earth and attached to it, living and labouring 'on' it - whilst Mestizos are detached, 'above' the earth in paved cities and towns. This sums up the fluid identity continuum whereby it is possible for one person to be more Indian (earthy) than another and yet more Mestizo than the next depending on their behaviour (Orlove, 1998: 207-208). Earth itself has many differing degrees and so is a way to go farther than studies devoted to appearance, descent, history, economics and politics, grounding researchers in the muddy reality of the divide between the two communities (Orlove, 1998).

Connecting with the language discussion at the beginning, some Mestizos refer to Indians with the Spanish word '*sucio*', which means dirty (earthy), so those who want to become more Mestizo keep clean, sweeping and washing the floors in their house, for instance (Orlove, 1998). When it comes to the previous economic and lifestyle deliberations, it is clear that Indians are classed with physical subsistence labour in a reciprocal economy, but Mestizos skip this, using money in an individualist economy. In the Indian view, Mestizos are inferior because they lack the ability for hard physical work, whilst to Mestizos Indians are substandard because they still live and work in the dirt, in backward houses made of adobe bricks, which, in their view, are only suitable for animal stables (Orlove, 1998). Thus, adobe bricks, made of mud, exemplify this distinction: they require intensive labour and

skilled methods to make and are used ubiquitously by Indians in the Andes, whilst Mestizos use modern bricks (Orlove, 1998: 209-210). Orlove describes a man named Francisco who came back from working in the city, offering to buy bricks for the new school rather than making them himself, which offended other villagers who believed he was suggesting that treading the earth, part of the brick-making process, is a demeaning activity (Orlove, 1998: 210). This painted him as a Mestizo in their eyes because he was circumventing the reciprocal order (Orlove, 1998). Therefore, something as simple as an earthen brick can tell us much about the distinct economies, lifestyles and beliefs that constitute Indian and Mestizo identities.

The notion of earth also epitomises the abovementioned political distinction whereby Mestizos are closer to the abstract notion of nationhood, and Indians closer to the tangible community. Illustrating this, Indians consider dirt roads going through their communities in highland Peru as part of their territory because they laboured to build and maintain them, like their homes and schools (Orlove, 1998: 212). Therefore, Indians are angered by and mistrust Mestizos who drive through unannounced, thinking the roads are part of the national system which anyone can use (Orlove, 1998: 211-212). This may be another possible explanation for why Mestizos are considered part of the 'progressive' faction and Indians the 'conservative' one in Hueyapan (Friedlander, 1975: 79-81). Indians in many parts of Latin America believe they must stay living productively on their specific piece of ancestral land and do *ayni* indefinitely to maintain their economic, political and spiritual connections, emulating the eternal and permanent nature of earth itself (Orlove, 1998: 219-221). Thus they would not want the Mestizo progressives to get in and start heavily taxing their community for national projects. On the other hand, Mestizos believe the nation should keep progressing toward 'civilisation' (Orlove, 1998: 219). Therefore, when they refer to the national 'soil' they are excluding the 'mud', whitewashing out the dirtiness of Indians whose attachment to the real soil shows how 'low' they are, too indolent and backward to want progress, and accordingly static like the earth itself (Orlove, 1998: 217-221). Unexpectedly, a dirt road has given a vast amount of understanding regarding the political elements of the division between the Indians and Mestizos.

Shoes and their association with the earth provide further understanding of the Indian-Mestizo divide with regards to lifestyle and beliefs. The type of shoes and how they look can be used to identify someone as more Indian or more Mestizo. The fact that changing clothes can change where an individual is placed on the Indian/Mestizo continuum highlights the fluidity of the distinction between these two peoples (Orlove, 1998). The better the quality, the more polished, and the greater protection from the earth a person's footwear provides, the more Mestizo they are considered (Orlove, 1998: 215). Indians often go barefooted or wear '*ojotas*', rubber sandals which do not keep their feet protected from the earth, metonymically keeping with their spiritual beliefs which attach them to it (Orlove, 1998: 214-215). In disparity, Mestizos, particularly Catholic ones, believe humans are separate from and above nature rather than fundamentally part of it. In illustration of this, a wealthy Mestizo woman in the city wearing high heels, keeping her feet raised from the earth, may be seen to indicate that she is above it, detached from it, and as these shoes can only be worn on paved streets she likely does not do any physical labour, the mark of civilisation for Mestizos (Orlove, 1998: 215). To them, Indians have no boundary between earth and person, and from the Indian perspective this would reinforce the previously-mentioned idea that Mestizos are averse to work (Orlove, 1998: 215). Overall, earth is a useful metonymic way to end this paper, summarising what has been covered in earlier themes and revealing new dimensions. However, its use could not be fully realised without

all the other aspects, although it is one of the best ways to understand the Indian-Mestizo disparity.

In conclusion, there are many ways of understanding the distinction between Indians and Mestizos. Unfortunately, there was not enough time or space to include more detail on indigenismo, and other interesting ways of explaining the difference. Nevertheless, although there are better ways, there is no *best* way of understanding it. Everything is so closely connected that without the understanding provided by any one of the key themes listed here, comprehension of the disparity between each side would be limited. For instance, without the historical context, we would not understand the origins of the economic situation that led Indians to become impoverished and Mestizos to be free. These conditions meant they both adjusted their lifestyles and beliefs, leading earth to become a key metonym for the Indian-Mestizo distinction. However, there were common points that appeared throughout the essay, including the reciprocal community of Indians versus money and individuality in the Mestizo world; the fluidity of each identity whereby one can become more Mestizo or more Indian; that both believed the other was lacking something (in most cases, except the Indians in Hueyapan); the notion of descent is nothing to do with the divide between them; and that the whole division is irrefutably complex. Earth is an excellent symbol for all of this, giving a wide overview and understanding. Nevertheless, like every other theme, one way of grasping something is absolutely not enough for truly comprehensive knowledge, no matter how excellent it may be, so combined perspectives are crucial. Accordingly, each theme is only 'one among the numerous markers that can pick out a social group' (Urban and Sherzer, 1991: 325). Therefore, the best way of understanding the distinction between Indians and Mestizos is to analyse it from as many angles as possible.

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Examining the Trend Towards Crimmigration in the UK

Henry St Hill

Research question

Is there an increasing shift towards 'crimmigration' within the UK when dealing with migrants who commit crimes?

Definition

The concept of 'crimmigration' is a relatively new theory that explores the issue of criminal law and immigration law aligning. Stumpf (2006) coined the phrase when he was examining the way America had increasingly used criminal convictions of any nature as a reason for immigrants to be deported out of the country. This concept has developed into a growing body of work since 2006 that explores the 'complex intersections between criminal law, immigration law and punishment' (Grewcock 2015: 123). This research proposal will examine this new and developing literature and propose ways in which further academic research can be conducted so that comprehensive results can be gained.

Literature Review

Aas (2007) looks at this new concept from a criminological perspective especially focusing on the fear of crime and terrorism arising from within a state. The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (2004, cited in Aas 2007: 284) expresses that 'in the post-9/11 world, threats are defined more by the fault lines within society than by the territorial boundaries between them'. This change in perception of how crimes are being committed within Western societies has created a sense of a fear of the other in society. This is not a new concept as Grewcock (2015) provides the example of how the Australian Migration Act 1958 had the concept of the 'alien', a person who was not born in the country, which was still relevant up until 1983. This is a recent example but most developed societies were prejudiced against other races within their society creating a sense of fear around those that were seen as 'others'. This concept viewed from a modern criminological standpoint and combined with the mobility and flows of human capital around the globe has now been used to create criminal and immigration policies that can side-line and lead to the deportation of these individuals (Aas 2007).

Bosworth and Kaufman (2011) also explore crimmigration, which they expand on as being the criminalization of migration. They focus on how the USA's migration policy has seemed to follow the path of their criminal justice system of mass incarceration across the whole country. They explain how foreign nationals who are in the USA without the proper paperwork or may have overstayed their visa are now dealt with through the mechanisms of the criminal justice system. The US Immigration and custom enforcement Authority now run their detention facilities under the same model as a criminal prison. Bosworth and Kaufman (2011) argue that the police and prison authorities are becoming a key player in the US immigration law. The state's power is expanding to the extent that in some states the criminal and immigration laws are being adapted so that they are more closely aligned and cover similar ground.

Aliverti (2012) explores the criminalisation of migration from a UK perspective, arguing firstly that the shift to crimmigration within the authorities of the UK is the result of the government wanting to reassert its sovereign powers and to control non-citizens through the application of criminal law. This is a very symbolic action to take that shows the public the power and control the government has over its border. The second argument made in the article is that the use of criminal laws are more effective and efficient at delivering the outcomes because many of the processes and procedures are already in place across the country. Finally, the article concludes that in fact the criminal law should only play a very limited role in the enforcement of immigration issues, as the vast majority of immigration offences are victimless or are for very minor offences.

One of the most comprehensive and influential studies on crimmigration was completed in the US by Sklansky (2012). Firstly this study explores the difference between criminal and immigration law in the US. It differs between the two by explaining that in the past criminal law were the rules and procedures for determining what is a crime, while 'violating immigration rules was not a crime, it could result in deportation but not in a prison sentence' (Sklansky 2012: 158). This has changed over the last 30 years so that now criminal and immigration laws work hand in hand. Sklansky (2012) identifies that immigration prosecutions now make up the largest category of federal prosecution in the US. Sklansky (2012) agrees and outlines similar points to what Bosworth and Kaufman (2011) found in their study. Immigration and criminal justice enforcement facilities, such as prisons and correctional facilities, are increasingly combined together, resulting in a more intertwined provision of services. The result is also that local authorities are now working more closely with federal immigration officials.

A major issue that Sklansky (2012) identifies occurring in some states is that local officials are encouraged to use whichever set of laws is likely to be most effective against an individual in providing the most punitive results. This causes the law to become instrumental, rather than formal, and will result in it being applied in practice in an ad hoc manner. In the article Sklansky argues that therefore the immigration laws offer an alternative path of prosecution for a racially lopsided proportion of the country. This convergence of the two sets of laws has created an issue of responsibility between different law enforcement agencies: who takes responsibility for the individual when crimmigration occurs? This proposal will explore some of Sklansky's (2012) findings later when looking at the research that has already been undertaken in this field.

Newstead and Frisso (2013) come to the conclusion that immigration authorities in the US now form a part of the 'new penology' of crime control by marking certain individuals as 'undesirables' due to their immigration status. This extension of immigration agencies into the world of crime control creates a new level of control and punishment. Kanstroom (2007, cited in Newstead and Frisso 2013: 378) emphasises that immigration agencies add the potential punishment of deportation which 'render the offender not simply a foreigner, but an expelled, banished, criminal foreigner - as complete an outcast as one can imagine'. How then can a policy of crimmigration, viewed this way, be integrated into policy in a liberal society?

After coining the phrase of 'crimmigration' in 2006 and really bringing the concept of criminal and immigration laws converging into the academic arena, Stumpf conducted further research into the concept and produced an article that was critical of the idea (Stumpf 2011). The criticism of crimmigration policy stems from the idea that it focuses on one specific point in time, the criminal act the non-citizen undertook, and from that act a

defining decision is made that will have a significant effect on the individual’s future life. Stumpf (2011) puts forward that the decision on whether the individual’s deportation is necessary should take into account experiences, conduct and relationship they have with the country as well, not just the criminal act itself.

Research Design

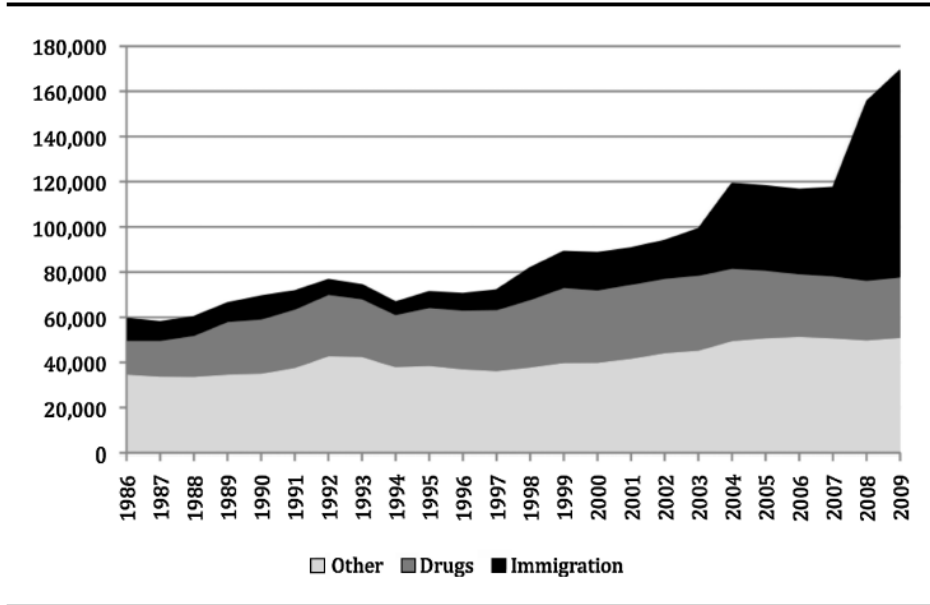
It can be seen that there is already a number of academic articles that focus on the qualitative side of crimmigration. They discuss the theories and how it is beginning to shape up in practice in certain societies. The US has the most amount of research done on it with Sklansky (2012) providing the most comprehensive overview of the concept in practice. In order to explore the issue of crimmigration within the UK there needs to be a piece of quantitative research which examines the rate of deportation from the UK for migrants who have committed a crime, with further examination of the seriousness of the offences committed for those that were deported. The study could then be combined with some qualitative research that examines, in detail, any changes to the criminal and immigration laws that may provide evidence of shift and convergence of the two laws to support the theory of crimmigration.

In order to collect the quantitative data necessary, researchers would need access to the UK’s Visas and Immigration department data to analyse the rate of deportation and what the reasons were behind the deportation order. That would allow the study to establish if there is a pattern of crimmigration, and what the offences are that result in the outcome. The qualitative side of the study would then involve an in depth analysis of the changes in UK immigration and criminal law that support the trend towards crimmigration.

Previous Research

Source: Sklansky (2012: 174)

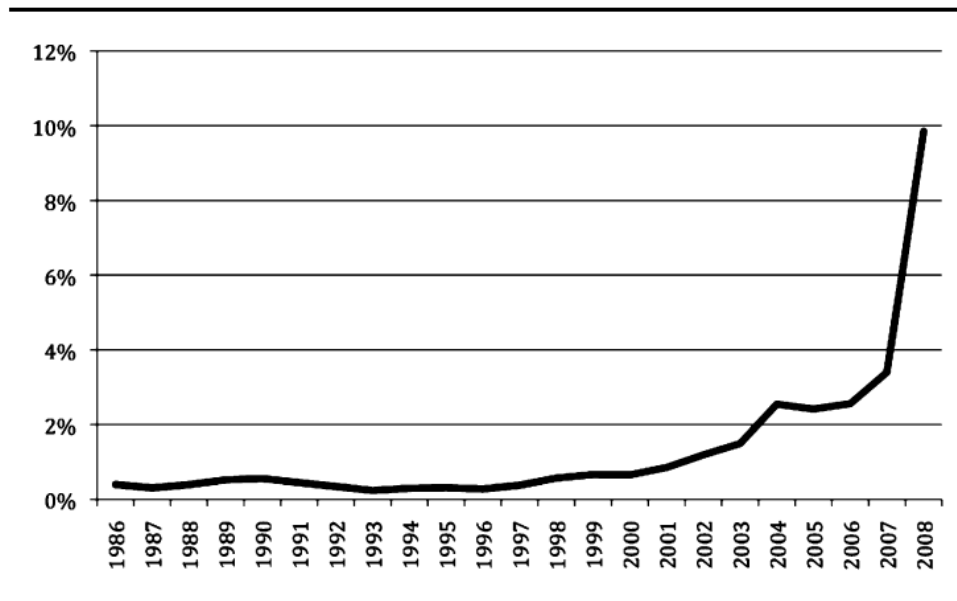
Table 2. Federal prosecutions, 1986–2009



Sklansky (2012) provided an in depth analysis of crimmigration in the US, some of the graphs demonstrate the sudden and rapid expansion of evidence supporting that

crimmigration is occurring in the US. Table 2 from Sklansky (2012) study demonstrates the sharp increase in federal prosecutions of immigrant cases between 2007 and 2009. The increase between the two years nearly doubled from around 45,000 cases to 85,000 cases.

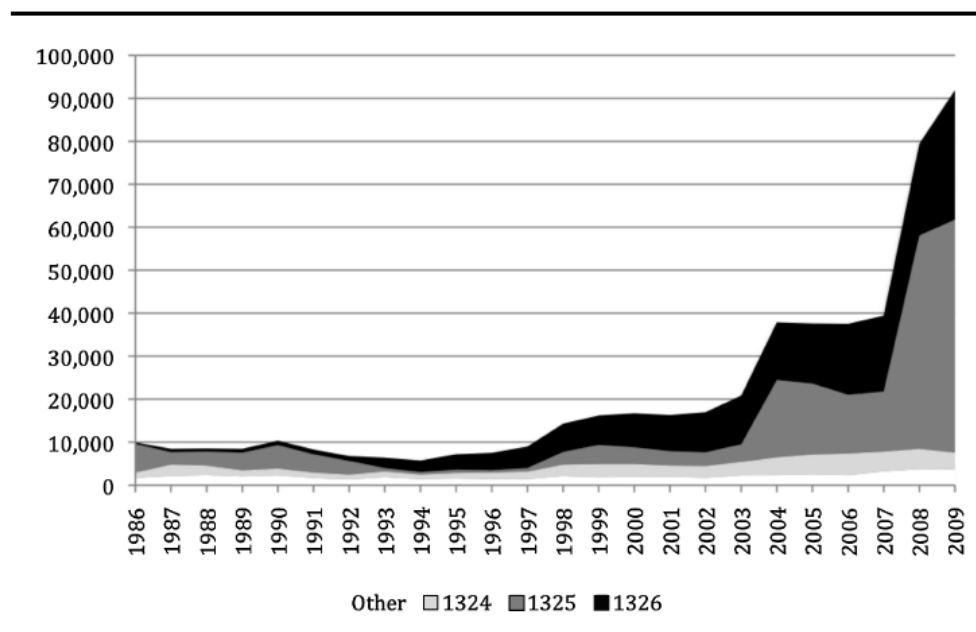
Table 8. Immigration apprehensions resulting in prosecution, 1986–2008



Source: Sklansky (2012: 167)

These figures combined with Sklansky’s (2012) table 8 showing a rise of 7% between 2007 and 2008 in immigrant apprehensions resulting in prosecutions. Table 4 provides a more in depth break down of the offences that were being prosecuted in the federal courts. The increase of nearly 40,000 cases relating to Statue 1325 of US federal law between 2007 and 2009 is for the offence of illegal entry into the country. It can be seen from Table 4 this is the offence that has caused such significant increases in the prosecutions being made in this time period. A study of UK immigration prosecutions could identify if there is a similar pattern occurring in the UK too. Source: Sklansky (2012: 169)

Table 4. Immigration prosecutions by statute, 1986–2009



Further Research

If the findings of this study show that there is evidence of crimmigration in the UK, a further piece of qualitative research could be conducted to explore whether any of the individuals sentenced to a deportation order had been aware of this as a potential outcome. Through a structure questionnaire, information could be gained on the circumstances that brought the individual to come into contact with the criminal justice system or the immigration authorities. It would also provide individual background information and the treatment of the individual throughout the process. As this is a developing and expanding area of research, new studies should examine the potential results and effects this shift in criminal and immigration law may have on society, particularly focusing on how immigrants and their communities feel about the concept. Questions like, is crimmigration changing the interactions and relationships between migrant communities and the general population? And are there any negative outcomes for the immigration and criminal agencies if this trend of crimmigration continues? These kind of questions will help to establish a clearer picture of the effects crimmigration will have on society.

Issues and Difficulties with Further Research

Bosworth (2012) identifies that one of the issues academics and researchers have with conducting further research in this area is that governments are very secretive about their border control measures. The article explains that there have been a number of interdisciplinary studies that have explored the issue from a more general and bigger picture point of view, but because of the secrecy around some of the issues, undertaking a more in depth and detailed study may be difficult to do with government regulations.

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How effective are measures to protect victims of intimate violence?

Eleanor Wright

There are a number of measures in place to protect individuals against cases of intimate violence. These measures are put in place through laws, policies and campaigns in order to decrease the problem of intimate violence. The two aspects of intimate violence that will be drawn upon throughout this essay are domestic violence and child abuse. Both of these aspects are seen as major problems within wider society today, due to the high profile nature of domestic violence and especially child abuse, there is a substantial need for processes to be put in place to help protect the victims.

Domestic violence is an important issue in the study of intimate violence. It is defined by the government as: 'any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive or threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those...who are or have been intimate partners or family members' (Home Office, 2013: 2). Domestic violence can be made up of any form of abuse, from psychological, to physical, sexual or even financial abuse (Home Office, 2013). Statistics have shown that it affects 1 in 4 women and 1 in 6 men and claims the lives of at least 2 women a week (Welsh, 2008). On top of this, it is seen as making up a fifth of all violent crime, and has the highest amount of repeat victims of any other crime (Oxford City Council, 2005). Domestic violence came to be noticed within the criminal justice system around the 1970's due to feminist campaigns relating to the creation of laws to protect victims (Harne, 2008). Among the feminist campaigners were the likes of the Women's Aid Movement, who assisted feminists across England and Wales to ensure that support was put in place to help women (Dignan, 2005) and to shift the focus away from violence in the home being seen as a private affair (Harne, 2008). Over the rest of the twentieth century, the creation of Rape Crisis Centres, the Women's Aid Federation and a number of women's refuges were introduced (Dignan, 2005). The rise in the recognition of domestic violence led to many different laws and initiatives being put in place to help prevent domestic violence and protect victims.

A number of national policies have been implemented since the 1970's. One of the first few laws that led to the surge in policies were the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act 1976 and the Domestic Proceedings and Magistrates Courts Act 1978 (Maczak et al, 2011). These acts gave recognition to domestic violence and the need to protect individuals. Ultimately, the most significant act was that of the Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004 that led to immediate arrests of common assault, causing or allowing a child or adult to die, as well as the introduction of a commissioner for victims and witnesses (Home Office, 2005). Each of these laws has influenced agencies with the creation of a number of important policies in preventing domestic violence.

One of the first processes of domestic violence cases is mandatory arrests (Johnson, 2007). The idea behind mandatory arrests: 'requires police officers to arrest a suspected perpetrator of domestic violence if probable cause exists regardless of whether the victim wants an arrest to be made' (Johnson, 2007: 499). This policy was put in place in order to try to deter individuals and to relieve the victim of the perpetrator sufficiently. One of the most famous studies of mandatory arrest is the Minneapolis experiment which found that mandatory arrest policies produced a smaller amount of repeated violence (Sherman & Cohn, 1989). However, it was also found that arresting the perpetrator led to heightened

levels of violence for the individuals who were not married to their partners or their partners were unemployed (Johnson, 2007). Furthermore, an increase in the arrest of victims took place due to the fact that, on many occasions, the police would arrive to the victim defending themselves and would mistake them as the perpetrator (Johnson, 2007). The process of mandatory arrest is one of the first port of calls for domestic violence victims, the care they receive in this situation is what ultimately effects whether the victim pursues any legal action against the perpetrator. Although the levels of repeated violence decreased, these limitations suggest to us that mandatory arrest may be seen as an effective mode of prevention at the immediate scene of the crime but in the long term they are less effective in protecting individuals from domestic violence altogether.

There has been a rise in the use of a more effective strategy of the multi-agency approach. Since the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 local authorities and the police are required 'to join with other agencies in local crime reduction partnerships' (Home Office, 2002: 14). The multi-agency approach was put in as a safeguarding tool to connect different agencies who all come across domestic violence at different stages. Domestic violence is seen by social workers, the police, the health care system as well as other professionals (Home Office, 2002). A survey carried out by the Home Office (2014) found that two thirds of local authorities in England and Wales had a multi-agency model in place which was made up of 'three common principles: information sharing, joint decision making and coordinated intervention' (Home Office, 2014: 6). The idea of the multi-agency is to connect the professionals together to try to avoid domestic violence going unnoticed. What has been found in relation to this is that a number of studies have identified women seeking help from health professionals due to injuries but they have been reluctant to share information of the domestic violence they have experienced (Home Office, 2002). Dobash and Dobash found that 80% of women saw a health care professional while in a violent relationship (Home Office, 2002). The aim of the multi-agency approach is to make sure that individuals feel comfortable to speak to any professionals they come into contact with and for each agency to share information sufficiently to make sure each individual gets the protection they need. However, this can be seen as a weakness too due to the fact that each agency has a different view of domestic violence and therefore a different focus on how to prevent it, causing problems of efficiency to appear (Peckover et al, 2013). The multi-agency approach may be seen as more effective due to the process of connecting agencies to make sure that not one individual case goes unnoticed, although seemingly problems still arise.

A further example of multi-agency set ups is that of domestic violence courts. Specialist domestic violence courts (SDVCs) were first introduced in Britain in 2005 (Crown Prosecution Service, 2015) following the 2003 Safety and Justice paper that focused on SDVCs following three things: prevention; protection and justice; and support (Jones et al, 2010). They combine the magistrates, support services and criminal justice agencies together in order to have an increasingly effective prosecution service (Matczak et al, 2011). The focus of an SDVC is on both the victim and the offender to try and reduce the levels of domestic violence as well as reoffending (Ostrom, 2003). They involve a high level of preparation due to specially training staff, as well as having a full time prosecutor, social and psychological support services (Ostrom, 2003). Ostrom (2003) examines a study of the effectiveness of an SDVC in Lexington County, South Carolina. They found that after the court was introduced, arrests of domestic violence perpetrators increased and the rates of rearrest lowered compared to that of a magistrates court (Ostrom, 2003). Similarly, Bowen et al (2014) conducted research on SDVCs in the UK and found that 'the number of convictions for domestic violence has risen by 77% from 2005-06 to 2012-13' (Bowen et al, 2014: 10). On top of this, reporting to the police has gone up by 37% which suggests that

more victims are reporting crime (Bowen et al, 2014). Each of these studies has suggested to us that SDVCs have been successful in increasing the rates of arrests and convictions, and lowering the levels of rearrest. In order to see if this measure is effective on a more national scale, there needs to be more available SDVCs in different areas. This type of multi-agency approach is an effective way of prosecuting domestic violence offenders. However, it fails to implement a protection process at the earlier stages.

As well as a number of national policies, many local councils began to implement their own due to the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 putting a requirement on local authorities to create a crime and disorder reduction partnership (Home Office, 2002). Many local councils have policies regarding safeguarding and preventing domestic violence. However, one significant social policy is that of the Oxford City Council that encourages Housing Services to inform and guide individuals on how to access safe housing when experiencing domestic abuse (Oxford City Council, 2005). This policy implements protocols such as security in homes, re-housing for victims, and information to help increase the safety of victims (Oxford City Council, 2005). This policy can be seen as similar to that of the Sanctuary Scheme which is implemented in almost half of England's local councils (Jones et al, 2010). This was put in place in the 1990's to improve the security of domestic violence victims, by providing a Sanctuary Room that installs safety equipment including an alarm or mobile phone (Jones et al, 2010). Both these policies are seen as an effective way of helping victims of domestic violence as many individuals may feel unsafe within their own home due to the perpetrator most likely being an immediate family member. Therefore, these policies help prevent victims from becoming homeless or allow them to remain within their homes due to extra safety measures (Jones et al, 2010). Housing policies for domestic violence may be effective for protecting victims within their home, but they do not prevent domestic violence from taking place initially and fail to address the prosecution aspect of other policies. In order for them to be effective, they need to work in relation to other measures.

Child abuse can be seen as a secondary factor of domestic violence. There are a number of reasons that can lead to child abuse. However, a significant one is that domestic violence can increase the risks of child abuse and neglect (Child Welfare Information Gateway, 2004). There are five different types of child abuse: physical, emotional, sexual, neglect and bullying (NSPCC, 2009). Physical and sexual abuse may be seen as the most prevalent forms of domestic violence due to the media portrayal of it. However, many children suffer emotional abuse and neglect on a regular basis. Statistics show us that child abuse cases are still relatively constant: although child deaths from homicide or assault are declining, the number of reports of sexual violence is increasing (NSPCC, 2015). On top of this, the number of children in the child protection system is growing with already over 50,000 children registered as needing protection (NSPCC, 2015). Child abuse came to be recognised within the 18th century, with the creation of the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) in 1889 which led to the surge in many laws being put in place such as the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act 1889 (Munro, 2002). However, it was not until the Children Act 1989 and the later amended Children Act 2004 that every child was given the right to protection from abuse (Batty, 2004). The focus in 2004 was on a multi-agency approach including health, welfare and criminal justice services to develop policies for the well-being of children and focus on child protection and safeguarding (Lind, 2008). However, despite the laws put in place over the years to protect children from abuse, what was seen as a more influential innovation was the inquiries that took place following a child's death.

One of the first inquiries into the death of a child through abuse was that of Maria Colwell who died at the age of 8 in 1973 due to her step-father beating her to death (Scott, 1975). What came to be understood from the tragic death of Maria Colwell was that a number of agencies such as the NSPCC, teachers, police, educational welfare officers, general practitioners and others, failed to recognise the problems Maria faced with her mother and step-father (Scott, 1975). Since then we have seen a number of inquiries into the deaths of children from Jasmine Beckford in 1984, to Leanne White in 1992, and Chelsea Brown in 1999 (House of Commons, 2003). Each of these inquiries identified similar problems of institutional failures for each child, which was seen to recur in the death of Victoria Climbié that led to the Laming Inquiry 2003 (House of Commons, 2003). Similar to Maria Colwell, Victoria Climbié was murdered at the age of 8 in 2000 by her great-aunt and her great-aunt's partner (House of Commons, 2003). It was due to gross misconduct of the system that Victoria Climbié's abuse went unnoticed by officials, even though there were 12 occasions identified where services had a chance to intervene but failed to do so (House of Commons, 2003). One of the key issues with Victoria's case was that the level of communication between agencies was poor, which led to problems going unnoticed within the system (House of Commons, 2003). The main recommendations from the Laming Inquiry focused on supporting children and families through local committees, national agencies and management boards to produce higher quality services through a multitude of agencies (House of Commons, 2003). The Laming Inquiry was seen as the turning point in child abuse legislation as it led to the 2004 Every Child Matters programme.

The Every Child Matters Programme was implemented due to a high number of issues relating to communication between agencies. The aim of this programme was to intervene at the earliest stage possible to help reduce educational failure, anti-social behaviour, ill health, abuse and neglect as well as other issues (Department of Education, 2003). This was done through a multi-agency strategy of information sharing to ensure each child is on a local authority list relating to the agencies they have been in contact with (Department of Education, 2003). The programme is not just in place to protect children, but also to help support parents and families in order to prevent child abuse from taking place (Department of Education, 2003). The introduction of Sure Start was also outlined in the Every Child Matters programme to help children under the age of 4 with their health, social development and ability to learn, as well as providing support for parents (NI Direct, 2015). The Every Child Matters programme is seen as extremely significant in protecting children from abuse. Winchester (2009) produced a piece of research for *The Guardian* and found that 72% of the social workers interviewed said that the framework 'improved the quality of care for children' (Winchester, 2009:1). However, what has been noticed is that due to the high focus on safeguarding as many children as possible, the most vulnerable children lose the attention needed from different agencies (Winchester, 2009). The Every Child Matters campaign increased the focus of children all over the country, suggesting that no child is safe from abuse which means that more agencies need to be vigilant in keeping track of those who are significantly vulnerable. This can be seen as one of the most influential processes of protecting children. However, it fails to wipe out child abuse altogether.

Another influential policy to come out of the Laming Inquiry is the Working Together to Safeguard Children campaign. This was introduced in 2006 due to a number of reports on safeguarding children, but has since been revised in 2013 and 2015 to make it more applicable. The idea of the campaign is to set out guidelines of how professionals should be safeguarding children through a set of legal requirements (HM Government, 2015). It focuses on a child's needs and welfare being the number one priority for any professional

to make sure that the child's individual problems do not go unnoticed (HM Government, 2015). This can be seen as similar to that of the Every Child Matters campaign as it is also a child-centred approach, drawing upon everyone being responsible for safeguarding children, not just professionals. In the summary of the campaign, it is stated that 'failings in safeguarding systems are too often the result of losing sight of the needs and views of the children' (HM Government, 2015: 9). This statement is seen as one of the key issues with any child protection legislation. The change in focus to safeguarding and protecting children is one of the most important factors. However, children still manage to slip through the net and have their problems go unnoticed. One key example of a failing of social services professionals since the changes in safeguarding is that of Baby P. He was found dead in his cot on 3 August 2007 after being beaten countless times by his mother's boyfriend, Steven Barker (BBC News, 2013). Baby P was removed from his home, sent to the hospital on a number of occasions with bruises, and visited by different child care professionals (BBC News, 2013). The failings of each group of professionals from the police, the health service, and the social workers, led to the death of Baby P due to severe child abuse (BBC News, 2013). This case clearly demonstrates that even with the changes in safeguarding since 2000, there are still cases that go unnoticed and unfortunately lead to devastating consequences. This suggests to us that more policies and laws need to be implemented to secure the protection of children across the nation.

Overall, it is clear that no one individual policy is effective in protecting individuals completely. Each policy focuses on a different aspect of intimate violence, from safeguarding, to arrest and prosecution. In order to prevent intimate violence as a whole, the policies need to combine to address each side of violence. For domestic violence, it is clear that the multi-agency approach may be seen as the most effective. It creates a unification of agencies, to help increase the levels of communication to ensure that the risk factors are lowered within each case. In relation to this, SDVC's are an effective mode of prosecution for domestic violence as they cater to the needs of the specific case. Nevertheless, more needs to be done for the protection of victims at the first instance of domestic violence. Alternatively, the policies in place for child abuse revolve heavily around the issues of safeguarding. Due to the severe vulnerability of the victims involved in this type of violence, more needs to be done to prevent individual cases from going unnoticed. The significant failings of agencies to date has led to a number of inquiries being put into practice. The creation of the Every Child Matters programme may be the most effective policy for ensuring the majority of cases are monitored, but it fails to address child abuse as a whole. More awareness needs to be made of the telling signs of intimate violence, to help create a unified solution against it.

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