IDEATE

The Undergraduate Journal of Sociology

Contents

First year essays

Second year essays

Ayshe Caluda: SC205 Policing, Punishment and Society

- [Compare and Contrast the Macrosociological Perspectives of Punishment. Answer with Reference to at least two of the following Theorists: Marx, Durkheim and Foucault](#)

Vince Eade: SC201 Continuity and Controversy in Sociology: Sociological Analysis II

- [Why is the Physical Appearance of the Human Body so Important to Art, Culture, and our Sense of Self?](#)

Nadine Hendrie: SC242 Sociology of Crime and Control

- [Understanding Masculinity and Crime](#)

Kara Hughes: SC213 Social Psychology (Sociology): Self and Interaction

- [What are the Costs and Benefits of Managing Emotions, in Private Life and at Work?](#)

Nicole James: SC213 Social Psychology (Sociology): Self and Interaction

- ['Ageing is a Matter of Choice'. Discuss.](#)

Gemma Stephenson: SC242 Sociology of Crime and Control

- [With Reference to the Night Time Economy Critically Evaluate its Contribution to Contemporary Developments in Criminology](#)

Ben Wall: SC225 New Media and Socio-Cultural Change

- [Outline and Discuss some of the ways in which New Media are Influencing Contemporary Political Life](#)

Third year essays

Ioana Alexandru: SC394 The Body in Modern Society

- [How do Mary Douglas' ideas on "Purity and Danger" and/or Michele Foucault's notion of "Discipline and Punishment" contribute to the understanding of the Body in the Modern World?](#)

Alex Donaldson: SC361 American Society: Ethnic Encounters in the Making of the USA

- [How do the Writings of Members of the Black Power movement Speak to Issues of Justice and Equality in American Society? Are they Effective in doing so?](#)

Tom Ellis: SC394 The Body in Modern Society

- [The Body in Performance Art as a Means of Emancipation and Social Critique – the work of James Luna and Willi Dorner](#)

Snezhana Ilieva: SC364 Mass Media and Modern Life

- [In the Wake of the Scarman Report (1981) why did Television become the focus of Reforms Designed to Address Racism and Racial Disadvantage?](#)

Samuel Sherry: SC304 Globalisation and Crime

- [Why has Criminology Largely Ignored Crimes of States until the 21st Century?](#)

Chisato Suzuki: SC361 American Society: Ethnic Encounters in the Making of the USA

- [Neoliberalism and the US-Mexico Border Politics](#)

Olivia Wakeman: SC310 Children and Young People: Criminological Approaches – Historical & Sociological Traditions

- ['Children are Naturally Innocent'. Discuss the Statement making Reference to Key Debates in the Literature](#)

Why is qualitative research sometimes given preference over quantitative research? Outline and discuss the main principles of qualitative research in your answer.

Robin Brooker

There is considerable dispute and controversy surrounding the appropriateness of both, qualitative and quantitative research strategy. According to Bryman (2012) even the definition of "qualitative research" is subject to considerable discord. However, for the purposes of this essay, "qualitative research" will be defined as research that focuses on meaning as opposed to focusing on numerical data (one defining feature of a quantitative research strategy). This essay will argue that certain preferences, attributes and values of the researcher influence the preference of research strategy in sociological research. Firstly, the precedence of qualitative research for varying epistemological and ontological standpoints will be addressed. Following this, the influence of theory and theorists for choice of research strategy will be examined. Then, the conflict between the desire for contextual understanding or generalisability will be investigated. Lastly, the relationship between process and reasoning and qualitative research will be assessed.

There is considerable dispute within sociology over the most appropriate epistemological standpoint. Epistemology is defined as the 'philosophical theory of knowledge' (Scott and Marshall, 2009: 221). It can be asserted, that those who take an interpretivist epistemological standpoint (that is one based on gaining understanding of the world through the perspective of its participants and the meanings they give to social action) are more likely to favour qualitative research methods (Bryman, 2012). This is due to qualitative research methods allowing deeper insight into individual behaviours and the meanings associated. There are numerous research methods that take a qualitative approach, including ethnography/participant observation, focus groups and qualitative analysis of documents and texts. The interpretivist stance often rejects a quantitative research strategy, arguing that quantitative methods provide an understanding of human behaviour, but no meaningful explanation for it (Bryman, 2012). If the researcher is concerned with cause, quantitative methods are more suitable, with correlations and numerical comparisons being possible (Bryman, 2012). However, if the researcher requires a world-view, qualitative research is more appropriate (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative research methods largely involve subjective interpretation, criticized by those who give preference to objectivity and the natural scientific method. However, Schutz (1962) argued that there is an explicit contrast between the subject matter in sociological study (humans and social behaviour) and natural scientific study (that is atoms, molecules etc.), rendering research strategy modelled on the natural sciences incompatible (cited in Bryman, 2012).

In contrast, researchers who take a positivist epistemological view – arguing that sociological study should be based on the natural sciences - are likely to reject qualitative methods for quantitative alternatives. Quantitative methods are often defined as methods that involve the collection and analysis of numerical data (Scott and Marshall, 2009). The collection and analysis of numerical data is considered largely objective, contrasting to the subjective interpretation of meaning occurring in qualitative methods. In addition, positivists assert that research needs to be value free, ensuring that error is limited, thereby maximizing the validity of findings (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, positivists who

favour quantitative research argue that qualitative methods are open to researcher bias and false interpretation (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). It should be noted that epistemology is not limited to interpretivism and positivism, they are augmented by the emergence of a new epistemology, "queer theory", which is concerned with the apparent bias in sociology towards heterosexuality, with queer theory emphasizing the value of homosexual-voices being heard (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). The choice of research strategy applicable to emerging epistemologies is unclear, with the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Hence, it is likely that the researcher's ideology and other variables will influence their preference of methodology in their sociological research.

Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to see through the eyes of the people being studied (Bryman, 2012). Arguably, the most effective method by which the researcher can take the perspective of those being studied is participant observation. Armstrong's (1993) study into football hooliganism, involved Armstrong becoming a participant himself, by becoming a supporter of Sheffield United Football Club (cited in Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) asserts that by becoming a participant, Armstrong could see through the eyes of the people being studied. Interpretivists favour research methods that allow the researcher to see through the eyes of the participants, as they are the most effective at showing meaning and individual interpretation. This stance is largely empathetic (Bryman, 2012), so preference for qualitative research methods may be preferential to those who argue that the role of the sociologist is to help individuals, especially those on the edges of society, such as the homeless, elderly and ethnic minorities.

Moreover, qualitative research takes on a constructionist ontological position (Bryman, 2012). Ontology is defined as any means of attaining understanding of the world (Scott and Marshall, 2009). Constructionists assert that social properties and meaning are constructed through social interactions and interpretation, and do not exist independently of these (Robson, 2011). Therefore, constructionists argue that the only way to gain insight into these meanings is through the micro-level study of social interactions using qualitative research methods. Robson (2011) asserts that constructionists argue that there are many social realities, and the role of the researcher is to understand the many constructions of meaning. Becker (1982) adds that social reality is in a constant state of reconstruction, with social reality being formed by social interaction (cited in Bryman, 2012).

Furthermore, the suitability of qualitative research methods depends on the interaction being researched. Qualitative research is useful in researching minority groups or groups of individuals not directly involved in mainstream interactions of societies, such as the homeless and the elderly, with the use of appropriate sampling techniques to reach these populations, such as snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012). Quantitative methods often fail to reach these groups. For example, postal-questionnaires fail to reach the homeless population; therefore data on this minority group is not obtained. Qualitative methods, such as ethnography and unstructured interviews with the minority groups, are therefore, more likely to provide more accurate data. Moreover, certain quantitative methods may prove difficult with certain closed settings (Bryman, 2012). Mattley's (2006) investigation into working for a sex-fantasy phone line, would have been difficult without covert observation, a research method whereby the researcher undertakes a role within a group, without giving true acknowledgment for the real reasons of the individual being there, being used (cited in Bryman, 2012). Surveys and other quantitative methods are unlikely to stimulate accurate and truthful answers from individuals in these settings. Additionally, many individuals may refuse to give consent for the study, meaning limited data is gathered. Therefore, the suitability of the research method is dependent on the research setting and those being researched.

Competing theories and their ascribed theorists often favour one research strategy. Durkheim, who is associated with functionalism, relied heavily on statistical evidence (quantitative data) in his theory of suicide (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). Durkheim (2006) used the representativeness of statistical data with its large base of participants and cultural variability, to create a generalised overarching theory (Durkheim, 2006). However, constructionists would assert that the diversity of meanings, mean an overarching theory is not possible, with the rejection of the quantitative methods used to arrive at this conclusion. Interpretivists are likely to assert that qualitative methods, such as unstructured interviews and observational techniques should be used to come to understand the individual meanings attached to suicide. They argue that it is this that creates the social reality. The theory of suicide asserted by Douglas (1967) can be described as interpretivist.

Those who take a feminist stance are likely to favour qualitative research methods. Many writers assert that qualitative research methods are associated with feminist ideology (Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) asserts that qualitative research arguably provides women with a voice, and in contrast to quantitative research, women are not treated as objects and controlled by the procedures of the researcher. The objectivity, structure and distance between the researcher and participant is largely incompatible with the feminist values (Bryman, 2012). However, it should be noted that in recent times, many feminist researchers have relaxed their aggressive stance towards quantitative methods (Bryman, 2012).

Furthermore, those who take the theoretical stance of Symbolic Interactionism are likely to favour qualitative methods. Symbolic Interactionism was developed by the Chicago School (Becker, 1999). Symbolic Interactionists argue that social interaction consistently takes place, with variation and changes in an individual's perception of social reality (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). Therefore, qualitative methods that allow the researcher to see through the eyes of the participant to gain a micro-level understanding of the perceptions and meanings given by the individual, allow for the criteria of Symbolic Interactionism to be met. However, a conflict exists with the common view that the Chicago School, and the theoretical stance of Symbolic Interactionism, associated with qualitative research strategy, is inaccurate (Becker, 1999). Hughes (1897-1983), a renowned sociologist of the Chicago School, who had close links to development of symbolic interactionism, favoured both quantitative and qualitative research strategy (Hughes, nd, cited in Becker, 1999). Thus, the theoretical stance is not always indicative of preferred research strategy.

What is more, qualitative research methods often provide significant amounts of description, with much of this description being trivial (Bryman, 2012). Geertz (1973) argued for a 'thick description' of the social settings, events and the individuals within it (cited in Bryman, 2012: 392). According to qualitative researchers, this descriptive detail allows for contextual understanding of social interactions, whereby social behaviour can be understood in terms of the environment in which it operates (Bryman, 2012). For example, to understand why some Muslim women wear the burka, it is necessary to understand the wider Islamic belief system. However, it can be asserted that the findings of qualitative research, because of the focus on the context of particular communities, cannot be generalised across societies and cultures (Bryman, 2012). In contrast, quantitative research usually takes place on a greater scale, with more participants, thus allowing for increased generalisability of findings. For example, large-scale surveys, such as the UK Census provide vast amounts of quantitative data, thus showing generalisability. However, many researchers argue that the desire for descriptive detail and contextual understanding

is greater than the importance of generalisability. Highly generalisable findings mean increased representativeness for the overall population. This has practical implications. If government bodies fund the research, highly generalisable and representative findings are required, as the likely intention of research is to influence social policy. Therefore highly representative and generalisable findings are arguably more suitable than qualitative methods such as participant observation, which has high contextual understanding, but low representativeness and generalisability.

Qualitative research is arguably more suitable for researchers who have made general observations, as opposed to those who have already formulated theories to be tested. Qualitative research commonly involves an "inductive" reasoning process, with a grounded theory (Bryman, 2012). This involves initial observations and formation of broad research questions; following this, data is collected and then a theory is formulated based on the data collected (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, if current literature and research on a particular subject is limited, it is likely that qualitative research will be given preference (Bryman, 2012), if only to provide a baseline understanding which would allow for informed quantitative research and the formation of an initial theory.

In the late 1980's, Sudhir Venkatesh carried out an ethnographic study in a large Chicago ghetto that was located next to Chicago University (Venkatesh, 2009). One research technique used in ethnography is participant observation, whereby the researcher becomes a member of the group being studied and engages in the social and cultural practices of that group (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Prior to data collection, Venkatesh had limited knowledge of street gangs in the Chicago ghetto and theories and concepts were developed during data collection based on the observations made (Venkatesh, 2009).

In contrast, quantitative research methods are usually associated with deductive reasoning (Macionis and Plummer, 2012). To give a simplified illustration of the process, deductive reasoning involves the formation of a theory and associated hypotheses, data collection and analysis, and then the formation of conclusions and findings (Bryman, 2012). In short, the goal is to test a specific theory. The formation of surveys, interviews and questionnaires would be difficult without an initial theory being used, thus quantitative methods often use a deductive reasoning process. Phil Zuckerman (2008), in his research on religion in Nordic countries, relied heavily on interviews with the citizens of Denmark and Sweden (Zuckerman, 2008). It would have been difficult for Zuckerman to develop the questions required for interview, without having an initial theory to base the questions on.

In addition, deductive reasoning reflects the processes that occur in the natural sciences (Bryman, 2012), thus the association of quantitative methods and deductive reasoning, increases the preference of quantitative methods for those researchers who take the positivist epistemological position. Furthermore, some researchers may argue that starting an ethnographic study with the intention of testing theories, researcher confirmation bias is likely to occur, whereby data and observations will be collected that complement the theory being tested. Thus, deductive reasoning is incompatible with qualitative methods. Therefore, the choice of whether quantitative or qualitative research methods are used depends on whether the researcher already holds specific theories, or whether the researcher plans to develop theories based on the data obtained. However, research studies that have followed the inductive reasoning process are often iterative. Whereas deduction occurs at the end of a study and following formation of a theory based on data collection, further data will be collected to support and test the theory that has been formulated (Bryman, 2012).

The preference over the flexibility and structure of the study will affect the suitability of qualitative research methods. According to Bryman (2012), qualitative research methods are more flexible and lack structure, with a rejection of determined formats for study (Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) asserts that if structured plans are used, the researcher is beginning the study with preliminary ideas of what they are going to encounter, thus a true picture and an accurate worldview of the participants cannot be obtained. Thus, researchers favour qualitative methods when they desire lack of structure and flexibility, to allow the genuine perspectives of the participants to be revealed. Moreover, this allows for deeper description and a contextual understanding that is fundamental to the qualitative research process. The researchers enter with a limited knowledge and through qualitative methods make rich, descriptive observations. This contrasts with the reasoning process of deduction, whereby a theory has already been formed, thus the researcher will concentrate on finding specific concepts and data to support the theory and reject contradictory findings.

In conclusion, researchers often prefer qualitative research strategies over quantitative research strategies. Qualitative research strategies are often given preference when the researcher takes an interpretivist epistemological standpoint, whereby the researcher is concerned with the meaning given to social action by the participants. Likewise, those who take an ontologically constructionist position, are more likely to favour qualitative research. Furthermore, there is a close affiliation between the inductive reasoning process and a qualitative research strategy. The theoretical stance of the researcher will influence adherence to their preferred research methods. In contrast, functional positivists who give preference to the natural scientific methods of objectivity and value-free sociology, often prefer quantitative methods. However, it should be noted that reasons for preference of a qualitative research strategy are not limited to those stated within this essay.

References

Becker HS (1999) The Chicago School, So-Called. *Qualitative Sociology* 22(1): 3-12.

Bryman A (2012) *Social Research Methods* 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Douglas JD (1967) *The Social Meanings of Suicide*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Durkheim E (2006) *On Suicide* (R Buss, Trans.). London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Hammersley M and Atkinson P (2007) *Ethnography: Principles in practice* 3rd edn. Abingdon: Routledge.

Macionis JJ and Plummer K (2012) *Sociology: A global introduction* 5th edn. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Robson C (2011) *Real World Research: A resource for users of social research methods in applied settings* 3rd edn. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Scott J and Marshall G (2009) *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Venkatesh SA (2009) *Gang Leader For A Day: A rogue sociologist crosses the line.* London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Zuckerman P (2008) *Society Without God: What the least religious nations can tell us about contentment.* New York: New York University Press.

Is Ethnography the Best Way to Research Deviant Populations? Justify your Answer using Examples from Published Research.

Katherine Chambers

Ethnography is a social science research method. It is described as a form of qualitative research that involves the researcher participating in or closely observing an individual or group in order to gain a better insight into their social practices and daily interactions. According to social research scientist John Brewer, ethnography is:

> The study of people in naturally occurring settings or fields by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them directly (Brewer, 2000:6).

Ethnography first emerged in the twentieth century; it finds its roots in social anthropology worldwide, it was however, more predominantly used in Britain. At this time, researchers focused on an approach that involved close acquaintance with pre-industrial groups and cultures by close immersion and observation. The second wave of ethnographic study was used by the Chicago School in the 1920's and 30's; they used observational techniques to explore groups on the margins of urban industrial society in the United States (Brewer, 2000). Although social anthropologists called this type of research, ethnography, sociologists referred to it as participant observation or field research, despite a difference in name, both meant the same thing in regard to the manner in which the research was carried out.

By investigating both the positive and negative attributes of using ethnography to study deviant populations, the possible dangers the researchers may face and other methods that have the potential to be effective, we are able to see that ethnography is indeed the best method of research to use when studying deviant populations.

Social scientists that use ethnography to research deviant populations choose this particular research method for various reasons. Society's deviants tend to fall into the category of 'hidden population' (Bloor, 1997:59) meaning they exist in a somewhat hidden community and are involved in practices separate from the rest of society. These groups are far more difficult to reach out to and gain insight into their lives. Ethnography allows the researcher to see, first-hand, the daily lives of deviants. They can immerse themselves fully into their research because they become part of the community through their research. This leads to a better understanding of the group that they are researching, their reasons for engaging in deviant behaviour and also some of the consequences they face as a result of doing it. The researcher can then share their findings so that everyone else can begin to understand these hidden populations far better.

When choosing to carry out an ethnographic study it is important that the researcher establishes a connection with the group or individual they wish to collect data from. Brewer explains that 'entry to the field is affected by whether the research is overt or covert' (Brewer, 2000:83). Overt refers to research that requires access to be 'negotiated and permission obtained' (Brewer, 2000: 83) and covert refers to research that is disguised

and permission not being needed. Covert research does require the researcher to take on a role that 'warrants ones presence in the field…Such as asking questions and taking notes' (Brewer 2000:83). If a connection is needed, it can be virtually impossible for those without it to gain access to the subjects they wish to study.

For some, this task is simple because they may already have a connection, for example a friend or family member who is involved or who knows someone that engages in deviant behaviour. For those who do not have a connection, it can take months or even years to build relationships and gain the trust of the people they wish to study. As the majority of ethnographers choose not to reveal their true identity or to disclose their true motives, they need to, in theory, create a whole new identity for themselves. This could include the way they dress, the type of language and voice they use and even their life history.

When conducting research on deviant populations, the researchers are putting themselves in immediate danger. Becoming involved with groups of people or individuals who have the potential to cause you harm, all in the name of research, is one of downsides of ethnographic research. If, for some reasons their true identity becomes exposed, they can face serious and in the worst possible case, fatal consequences. An example of the serious dangers attached to ethnography would be Ken Pryce's infamous book "Endless Pressure" (1979). Ken Pryce was a Jamaican born sociologist who set out to investigate the lives of West Indians living in Bristol. Despite Pryce being West Indian himself, he found that alone did not guarantee an immediate connection with the people he wished to research. He established a connection by sheer luck:

> As I was boarding the No. 11 bus going into St Pauls, a very friendly and garrulous Jamaican saw me and asked if I was new to Bristol…When we parted that night, we agreed to meet again' (Pryce, 1979:280).

Pryce's research took him to Jamaica where he investigated the high murder rates and crime and deviance that occurred on the island. Whilst exploring the country and conducting his research, Pryce went missing. His body was later found, washed up on a beach having been murdered by the very people he was attempting to research.

Pryce's fate highlights the possible dangers that ethnographers face whilst researching deviant populations. Whilst ethnographic study allowed him to study his subjects in the flesh and to gain a first-hand insight into the lives of West Indians it also left him vulnerable. Having a connection with the subjects does not guarantee the researcher being fully accepted by the individual or group nor does it guarantee their safety. A key feature of ethnography is asking questions, asking just one could rouse the subject's suspicions and could lead to them to doubt the identity you have given to them. Deviant individuals and groups tend to be extremely private, a person appearing practically out of nowhere may cause them to believe you are a police informant, or a potential rival, all of these factors could potentially result in the demise or serious injury of the researcher.

Although the outcome of Ken Pryce's research is one of the more extreme eventualities, the risk of ethnographers being killed or seriously injured is high. Harm does not just mean physical harm; physiological harm is also a potential danger of ethnographic study. James Peterson set about investigating the dangers attached to ethnography whilst conducting ethnographic research regarding the prevention of H.I.V and AIDs amongst drug users who inject, both he and his students were harmed; 'I contracted Hepatitis A and most of my students spent time in a private clinic at one stage or another' (Hopkins et al, 2000:105).

When deciding to conduct ethnographic research, it is important for the researcher to take into account the effect that their research may have on the very people they are researching. It is argued that 'being researched can create anxiety or worsen it, and where people are already in stressful situations research may be judged to be unethical on these grounds alone' (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007:213). They use an example that involves research carried out on the relatives of people with terminal illness and also the professionals who deal with them. They argue that in this particular line of research, the researcher has to be considerate in ensuring that they do not worsen the emotional and physical wellbeing of those they are researching.

It is important for the researcher to ensure that their research remains ethical. Troyna and Carrington (1989) have directed criticism to studies that they believe reinforce racism. They critique that certain researchers use whilst asking questions, for example asking them to list the typical characteristics of particular ethnic groups can encourage racism wither intentionally or unintentionally. They go on to argue that the researcher could be perceived as behaving in an unethical manner if he or she witnesses racist or sexist talk or behaviour and fails to challenge the individuals (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007:213). Whilst conducting their research it is important for ethnographers to ensure that they do not exploit the emotional wellbeing of their subjects, this ensures that they are behaving in an ethical and professional manner.

Despite the potential dangers, there are also many positive attributes of using ethnography to study deviant populations. Alternative research methods are unsuitable for researching deviant populations, in depth interviews for instance. As mentioned earlier, deviants are part of the 'hidden population' and finding a deviant to conduct an in-depth interview with is very unlikely; even if the researcher does have a close connection to a deviant individual or group the chances of them agreeing to an interview about their lifestyle is slim to none. If the researcher does manage to find a subject to interview, the individual may choose not to disclose certain pieces of information about their lifestyle or to manipulate the truth from fear of intervention from the authorities. They are also less likely to feel comfortable with the interviewer, as they are, essentially an outsider. Ethnography ensures you see, with your own eyes the true goings on during the time you are with them. The deviants are far more likely to trust a person they believe is one of them and therefore disclose information about themselves or their lifestyles that other research methods would have no chance of obtaining.

Whilst there are obvious dangers associated with ethnography, there are also reasons why it is the best method to study deviance. When society does not understand something or someone, it is easy for them to make assumptions and build stereotypes, for instance, assuming that all deviants engage in dangerous crimes. Deviance comes in various forms, from very petty acts against the norms and values of society to very dangerous acts against the law. Whilst in some cases that may be true, in that deviants do indeed engage in dangerous crimes, that does not mean that it applies to everyone and it is unfair of society to assume so. Ethnography is a good way to discover what really happens in the lives of deviants. Being able to immerse themselves in the everyday lives of their subjects enables them to witness first-hand the true, unfiltered lives of this otherwise secret population. In doing so they can also dispel any misconceptions that society has about them.

Many people believe that deviants are deviants because they generally enjoy causing trouble or acting out against the law. Ethnography allows us to understand the real reasons people engage in deviance, for example some may have problems in their home and family

life and view deviance as an escape from their problems. Others may be victims of peer pressure and feel as though they have no other choice than to behave in that way. Ethnography allows us to get to the heart of these questions and see a side of the deviants that very few have access to.

Ethnography can also help us to understand the statistics that quantitative data gives us. Whilst there is a vast amount of data available that give us the statistics relating to deviants, for example, a survey that tells us the percentage of people that have witnessed deviant behaviour occurring in their neighbourhoods, or the number of people who have been involved in deviant behaviour themselves. This research method tends to give more of a general overview of deviance; social research aims to explain and help make changes to certain behaviours. Quantitative data would do very little to reach these aims in regard to deviant behaviour, this is because it lacks depth and does not get to the heart of the meanings behind deviance. It does not, for instance, tell us why this deviant behaviour occurs in that particular neighbourhood, why those people commit it or the types of deviant behaviour that occur. Ethnography can give us a more in depth picture of deviance, thus allowing us to implement changes to understand the deviants and help to dispel and control the deviant behaviour that occurs.

In relation to the study of deviant populations, ethnography is the best possible research method that social scientists can use. The researcher is interacting, face to face with the subjects ensuring that a clear and accurate picture is being given about what they are witnessing. Seeing the behaviour and daily practices of deviants, ethnographers are also able to suggest ways they think deviance can be stopped or measures that can be out in place to control deviant behaviour. Ethnography gets to the core of what you are researching, thus ensuring that society is given a clear picture on deviant behaviour and that the appropriate measure can be put in place to tackle it.

References

Atkinson P and Hammersley M (2007) *Ethnography: Principles in practice* 3rd edn. Abingdon: Routledge.

Bloor M (1997) Addressing Social Problems through Qualitative Research. In D Silverman (ed) *Qualitative Research: Theory, method and practice.* London: Sage, 221-238.

Brewer JD (2000) *Ethnography.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Hopkins RK, Peterson JA and Lucas KJ (2001) Tales from the 'Hood': Framing HIV/AIDS Prevention Through Intervention Ethnography in the Inner City. *Addiction Research and Theory* 9(4): 339-363.

Pryce K (1979) *Endless Pressure: A study of West Indian life-styles in Bristol.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Troyna B and Carrington B (1989) Whose Side Are We On? Ethical Dilemmas in Research on 'Race' and Education. In RG Burgess (ed) *The Ethics of Educational Research.* London: Falmer Press, 205-223.

When is qualitative research most suitable for a research design? Outline and discuss the main principles of qualitative research in your answer

Raluca Carmen Ciceu

Qualitative research is a significant research strategy that has the focus on words rather than numbers. This type of research observes the world in a naturalistic way, interpreting situations with the purpose of understanding the meanings that people bring to various realities of life. This essay will focus on the main principles of qualitative research, the contrasting characteristics of qualitative and quantitative research, issues with qualitative research and it's suitability for various research designs.

Qualitative research is a complex research strategy, characterized by several features and methodological principles. For instance, through this type of research, the emphasis is set on humans and the way they perceive the world and general phenomena. Different from the quantitative research, qualitative research puts a greater emphasis on the participant and what he/she believes of a certain topic, that may or may not directly affect them, this view being expressed through their own words (Cook and Farmer, 2011). As such, if a researcher decides to examine the difficulties of raising a child, he/she would discover some factual issues that will raise awareness, which can be beneficial for scientific world, as well as for people affected by the issue.

The anthropologist, Geertz (1973) explains that the purpose of such an analysis is to form, what he calls, a "thick description". This term is being used in many fields nowadays and it refers to the idea that phenomena are defined in the structures that give them substance, as well as situated. In order to explain his theory, Geertz (1973) gives the example of a wink as opposed to a simple blink. If these actions are photographed, the difference between them is unnoticeable. However the context in which a wink occurs need to be examined, as it determines the meaning of it.

Very often, in qualitative design, the research is participant driven; the researcher is conducting the interviews himself, being directly implicated in the research. Some advocates of quantitative research might prefer not to get involved with their subjects (most quantitative research being based on online or postal questionnaires, or even hired interviewers), as they believe it provides an objective approach of the research, which makes it valid (Bryman, 2012). This is not necessarily the case because in qualitative research, the validity of the research has different criteria. Internal validity is the reassurance of the researcher that there is correspondence between theory and observations, whilst the external validity, which in some cases causes problems to qualitative researchers, refers to the applicability of the findings to a larger social setting (Bryman, 2012). It can be seen that, when analysing qualitative research, the criteria has to be adapted to the strategy, as it has different aspects, compared to quantitative research.

Regarding the process of generating the theory or discovery, qualitative research is characterized by the inductive approach. This refers to the process in which the theory is concluded from observations concerning the topic of the research. A perfect example for this kind of thinking is the grounded theory, which was developed by Glaser and Strauss

(1967) who define the way theory emerges from data. The developers of this theory destroy some critiques, which argue that only written theories, gathered from numbers and raw data, are valid. They explain that a theory is not considered a theory because of its form, but its capacity to explain and predict something (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Being inductive is not affecting the importance of qualitative research, as it is just as valuable as the deductive approach, specific for quantitative research.

The study design in qualitative research is a bit more complex than the quantitative research, as it is mostly naturalistic and holistic. This means that the location of the subject is not relevant, whether it is at home or in a particular context; the focus is on the natural-occurrence settings. As such, qualitative research uses designs appropriate for different situations or units of analysis, which can give a weaker or a stronger indication of a causal relationship. Additionally this type of research is adaptable and it does not have any prearranged limit or end (Draper, 2004). The research questions are flexible and can be changed during the research, as a result of new data and the requirement of new inquiries. Even though some argue that this flexibility is not a good thing, mainly because of the issue of reliability, it can be useful because it enables the researcher to discover the certain issue in a way that does not exclude the natural world.

Methods and data in qualitative research are composed of interviews and observations of social life. Qualitative research is an approach, which allows researchers to discover the meanings of individual behaviours, as well as social aspects, through the words and opinions of the participant. Thus, information about these topics can be obtained through personal and usually private data collection from observations and in-depth interviews (Lapan et al, 2012). The process of collecting data is determined by researcher's choice of paradigms, which will guide the design of the research.

The approach to analysis and interpretation is significantly different in the qualitative research. Two notable approaches stand out, these being the interpretative phenomenological analysis, which refers to how people make sense of a particular phenomenon in a given context, and framework analysis, which provides a favourable structure for interpretation, that arises from asking various questions regarding the collected data (Hatch, 2002). Therefore, the analysis of qualitative research data is based on a bottom-up approach, its aim being the search for an emerging theme and/or concept, not the enforcement of already established ideas.

There are several arguments regarding the quality of qualitative research. Undoubtedly, as well as for the quantitative design, the quality represents an important matter for qualitative research; as a result, researchers put a great emphasis on theory, transparency and scientific rigor. This professional approach is set to discard any impressions that qualitative research is less valuable than the quantitative research, since it requires the personal implication of the researcher. Consequently, a number of strategies of rigor are adopted in order to obtain such validity (Draper, 2004). However, it is rather difficult to discuss about rigor without acknowledging that it is highly unlikely to have the same theoretical assessment for both types of research, qualitative and quantitative.

This discrepancy between the two sides had determined May and Pope (2000, cited in Draper, 2004) to reject the opposing points of view and adopt the "subtle realism". This term claims that it more important to represent reality than to obtain the truth (cited in Draper, 2004). Furthermore, they mention that the same criteria should be used when trying to critically assess the two research approaches. Fade (2003, cited in Draper, 2004)

extends that idea, arguing that it can be misleading if the same terminologies are used for both types of research, 'as the term "validity" in particular does carry different meanings when applied to qualitative research' (Draper, 2004: 645). Because quantitative and qualitative researches are so different in their process of collecting and analysing data, it is rather naïve to assume that the same criteria of evaluation carry the same signification for both of them.

A significant difference between qualitative and quantitative research is the application of findings, which can reveal the contrasting purposes that each have as a research strategy. It is often said that qualitative data cannot be generalized successfully, compared to quantitative research, mainly because it presents a small sample of participants. This issue presents the general misconception that the qualitative research seeks for an empirical generalizability. Unlike the quantitative research, which gathers statistical data, representative for a wider part of the population, to confirm or to contradict a theory, qualitative research is 'more concerned with developing concepts, understanding phenomena and theoretical propositions that are relevant to other settings and other groups of individuals' (Draper, 2004: 645). The strategies used in this type of research do not expect to be representative in a statistical manner, but rather in units of study (for example, individuals), which can be relatable for the initial research question.

Furthermore, a distinctive characteristic of qualitative research is represented by the type of questions that are raised during the research. Qualitative research promotes questions such as "what", "why" and "how" in order to form the research and collect data. On the other hand, quantitative research only focuses on "how much" or "how many", in order to produce raw, statistical data (Draper, 2004). The result of these types of questions is a smooth development of the research and the gratifying outcome of a social feature that can concern and enlighten a larger proportion of the population.

After establishing the types of questions that are used in the qualitative research, it is important to analyse the main steps of the research process. Since it is an inductive method, the theory is not outlined from the beginning, but is actually the outcome of the research. As a first step, the researcher has to consider the topic and/ or social context that he/she wants to explore and develop general research questions, after a thorough research in the literature for similar findings. As a second step, the researcher has to select suitable subjects and settings (Bryman, 2012). For example, if the researcher desires to discover what effects hospitals have on people, he/she will choose the hospital, patients and staff to study. . As a third step, there is the collection of data. In this step, the researcher has to decide the type of research method to use (such as ethnography) and plan the ways in which collection of data is made. This process can last a long period of time, depending on the type of method and it can require a lot of energy spent to observe the setting, for example, participation at patients' social gatherings, using the same services as patients, visitors or staff and personal interviews.

After all the data is gathered, the research progresses to the fourth step, which is the interpretation of data. This is not a simple process, considering that all the data collected, from verbal data to observation and mediated data represents a lot of broad information, from which only a few elements matter for the research (Flick, 2009). In spite of the demanding process, it can have insightful and unexpected results; for example, patients from the interviews who admit that relatives who visit them can provoke a state of anxiety. In the fifth step, the researcher has to select relevant data, to represent a clear cause and effect relation and link similar patterns (Bryman, 2012). This step has two subordinates,

tighter specification of the research question and collection of further data. Through these processes the researcher can narrow down the data to the aspects that are relevant for his/her research. During these steps the researcher will identify the areas of concern and he/she will explore and collect more data for it; further interviews and collection of data might be necessary.

After reducing the data to the only relevant aspects, the researcher will get to the sixth step, which is the writing up of the findings and development of a conclusion. In this step, the structure and principles are the same as in the quantitative research. The aim of the research is to convince the population about your findings and to show them why it is relevant to our society (Bryman, 2012). It is not necessarily a way of telling people that urgent measures are required in order to fix the bad sides of our social lives, but rather present a different perception and view, which can make them aware. Finally, it is very important to follow all these steps in order for the research to be well constructed and be considered valuable by the scientific society.

Of course, as in most scientific theories, qualitative research is believed to have certain disadvantages, which can make it unreliable and insignificant in the scientific world. One of the critics frequently mentioned is the fact that because the researcher is directly implicated in the entire research process, he/she may influence the data collected, which would result in subjective findings (Bryman, 2012). Because of this direct implication, the researcher can personally decide what is relevant or not, which is looked down upon by the adherents of quantitative research. Another critique is the difficulty to replicate, considering that the process of the research is dependable on the researcher's dexterity and intelligence. So it is almost impossible to replicate the research in its entirety, since there are not any basic procedures to be followed (Bryman, 2012). For instance, in the case mentioned before where the researcher explores the effects of hospital treatment on people, the researcher during his fifth step might not have the ingenuity of picking to perfect questions in order to prove an inkling of the topic. Or, on the contrary, he might handle the research so well, that future researchers will not be able to replicate it.

Moreover, it is often claimed that qualitative research has a limited scope of findings, which cannot be representative for a larger sample of the population. It is argued that data collected from one or two cases, present in the same location or organization, cannot be applicable for other social settings (Bryman, 2012). Of course, qualitative researchers contradicted this argument, claiming that case studies are not drawn from only one case and a particular population. It is very important to understand that through qualitative research, the generalization is created for a theory, not for a population. Furthermore, the lack of transparency is considered another disadvantage of qualitative research. This represents the fact that it is not clear what range of participants were uses, as well as what was the actual process of analysing the data (Bryman, 2012). These issues are very important because people have the right to know where were the research samples taken from and how exactly did the researcher reached to the conclusion of the research.

It is often believed that most research designs are suitable only for a particular type of research strategy (whether quantitative or qualitative). However, this is not the reality, as qualitative research, as well as quantitative research, can have multiple research designs. The qualitative research can, mainly, be suitable for four research designs. Firstly, qualitative research integrates aspects of longitudinal design. This design is used in ethnography, when the researcher is conducting interviews in a location for a longer period of time or in more than one occasion (Bryman, 2012). Secondly, qualitative research

can be incorporated elements of cross-sectional design, in cases of semi-structured or unstructured interviewing, involving a number of people. Thirdly, qualitative research can be structured in the form of a case study, as this design focuses more on the thorough observation of a setting (Bryman, 2012). Fourthly, qualitative research can be conducted in the context of comparative research, in the form of a multiple-case study (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, qualitative research can use elements from various research designs.

In conclusion, qualitative research has numerous valuable characteristics that are very helpful when trying to understand the meaning that people give to the world. Even though many people discuss critiques regarding the way that the research is conducted, it is very important to understand that this research is different from the quantitative research and the criteria of analysis has to be adapted to it. As it has been mentioned, it is an inductive research, so the purpose of the research is to for a theory. Qualitative research is, as such, suitable for a couple of research designs, such as ethnography, all guiding the research in the right direction, making it a great asset in the pursuit of understanding society.

References

Bryman A (2012) *Social Research Methods* 4th edn. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cook D and Farmer L (2011) *Using Qualitative Methods in Action Research: How librarians can get to the why of data.* Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries.

Draper AK (2004) The Principles and Application of Qualitative Research. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* 63: 641-646.

Flick U (2009) *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* 4th edn. London: SAGE.

Geertz C (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected essays.* New York: Basic Books.

Glaser BG and Strauss AL (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory; Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Hatch JA (2002) *Doing Qualitative Research in Education Settings*. Albany: State University of New York.

Lapan SD, Quartaroli MT and Riemer FJ (eds) (2012) *Qualitative Research: An introduction to methods and designs.* San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

The 'Race' to Humanity

Chris Cunningham

Abstract

By recognising that the concept of race is a socially constructed idea that shapes the identity of the individual; it is possible to deconstruct this idea and promote an individual freedom of identity within the sphere of humanity. This paper aims to challenge the concept of race by providing evidence, which suggests that it is a socially constructed idea that shapes the identity of individuals through group classification. By recognising this, the paper will continue by providing an alternative view to race, which enables the individual to classify their own identity within the group of humanity, as opposed to groups of socially constructed racial categories. A short introduction to the concept of race will be discussed, which will highlight how and why the idea was initially created and has continued throughout history, until today. Examples will be provided to examine how the idea of race affects how the individual views themselves and how they are viewed by society. This relationship of value and classification, will then be challenged by the proposal that: it is the individual self who values and classifies identity – not another. By comparing and contrasting how racial categories differ across nations, a firm foundation for this proposal is provided. Evidence will then be presented which demonstrates that this proposal is not only imaginable, but that it has been demonstrated through the emergence of society's desire to classify new racial groups.

The Origins of Race

It is suggested that the concept of race was established in the eighteenth century, during the time of writers such as Kant; who argued that geography and history are intertwined (Gilroy, 2000). This relationship between geography and history lays the foundations for the evolutionary theory proposed by Darwin. It is claimed that anthropological studies based on the theory of evolution, which made an attempt to connect history and geography, presented a view where:

> Races were not merely to be distinguished on the basis of their various climatic origins and adaptive environmental differences; they were to be ranked in a hierarchy deriving from their relative positions on the temporal evolutionary ladder (Gilroy, 2000: 329).

The ideology of European thinkers, which classified the "white" peoples of Europe as more advanced in evolutionary terms, than the "black" peoples of Africa, was used as the theory behind the "racial terror" practised by the political administrations of Europe's colonial empires (Gilroy, 2000). In South Africa, the growth of the mining industry in the late 1800's produced job colour barring policies, which were later to become the basis for the racial categorization of apartheid (Dolby, 2001). The mine owners preferred to hire unskilled, underpaid "black" labourers, as opposed to semi-skilled "white" labourers; this create 'a small, but politically astute and experienced group of white workers to band together along racial lines to save their jobs' (Dolby, 2001: 20). This division along the lines of skin colour, further created a distinction between class, employment opportunities and race, as in 1906 the government imposed policies that would prevent "white" unemployment (Dolby,

2001). These examples explain how the formation of racial distinctions based on skin colour, separate and create a hierarchy among human beings.

Race Across Nations and throughout History

The separation of human beings through a hierarchy based on race, as discussed previously, was the driving force behind the work of W.E.B. Du Bois. Writing in 1903, in the United States of America, Du Bois published his inspirational work *The Souls of Black Folk* (cited in Du Bois, 1994). As a sociologist, historian, civil-rights activist and Pan-Africanist, he was a prominent figure in the struggle against the inequalities of society, divided along racial segregation. Du Bois proposed the concept of a "double consciousness", which formed his identity as an "African American". At the heart of this concept, was the belief that he was unable to obtain a "true self-consciousness", due to the restrictions of the American world in which he lived – a world dominated and controlled by "white" people. Double consciousness provided an opportunity to embrace both his "African" and "American" identities. Within this concept of having two "selves", he viewed both as important as each other; which when combined together created his identity, which could be justified to both himself and the society within which he lived (Du Bois, 1994). The concepts of race in the American context, as well as the world over, are both complex and ever changing. Evidence suggests that as the segregation of peoples was established along the lines of skin colour, providing a classification for different groups, this provided a platform for the ideology of hierarchy to be extended further. For example Irish people within the United States were referred to as "black", suggesting that it is not just skin colour, which determines the hierarchy, but the group classification (Dolby, 2001).

The group classification along racial divisions discussed in the American context can also be examined from a South African perspective. It has been mentioned how the labour movements within South Africa in the 1800's provided the foundation for racial division, along the lines of skin colour. The ideology of racial segregation was the basis of the apartheid regime, which was enforced from 1948 to 1994 (Dolby, 2001). Under apartheid, the population was divided into four categories based on race: African, Indian, Coloured and White. During this time, the ideology, which viewed the ruling white class as "superior", was strictly enforced. During the black conscious movements of the 1970's, the shared oppression of Africans, Coloureds and Indians within South Africa, led to a reclassification of these groups being amalgamated and renamed "black" (Dolby, 2001); although in contemporary South Africa "black" is the term used for Africans (Dolby, 2001). This amalgamation of races, which created a distinction between "black" and "white" in South Africa, can also be seen in the history of America, with the introduction of the "one drop rule". This theory suggested, that if an individual had 'one drop of black blood, then they were black' (Multiple Heritage Project, 2007). The amalgamation of race in South Africa, which was founded on a need to unite and fight oppression, is different from the "one drop rule" of America, which was founded by the white power holders to create separation, as opposed to unity. It is suggested that this idea of "one drop" has extended beyond just the United States, and can be seen in local education authorities and social care practices across the UK today (Multiple Heritage Project, 2007).

These examples of race classification and definition across nations and throughout history highlight how the individual identifies themselves through the impact of social and political values; and demonstrates that race is not restricted to skin colour. It is through the classification and separation of groups that circumstances of racism arise.

Race and Racism

Lawrence Blum (2002) presents a definition of racism that consists of two perspectives – inferiorization and antipathy. These can include personal or institutional treatment, or feelings of different races as being inferior to one's own. The examples of slavery, segregation, imperialism, apartheid, bigotry, hostility and hatred are given to describe racism. It is suggested that it is the view of the individual working within the institution that creates institutional racism (Bowling and Phillips, 2007). Institutional racism effects how the individual characterises their identity, through the direct impact of racism. For example: 'Police treatment of minority groups reflects a larger history of explicit institutional racism on the part of successive UK governments which, from the 1950s through the 1980s, systematically sought to restrict the influx of "coloured" immigrants over other groups' (McGoey, 2014). This example shows how the definition of "coloured" people is similar to the "one drop rule" of America, which creates a distinction between "white" and "non-white" – or "black". This example brings to the fore, how people who are, or were, viewed as "coloured" in the UK, and subsequently have, or had their identity created by sociological and political forces, may experience, or have experienced the double consciousness proposed by Du Bois (1994). In contemporary South Africa, an attempt has been made by the government to address the history of unequal employment opportunities based on race, which were a result of the job colour barring policies of apartheid, discussed previously. Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a controversial issue within South Africa; with some people believing it is "reverse racism" against "white" people, and others seeing it as a re-adjustment of inequality (The White Slums, 2014). This example of BEE, highlights the complexity of understanding race and racism, and demonstrates that the categorization of people into groups based on race is a continuing and ever changing power struggle.

From Race to Ethnicity and Culture

When discussing issues of identity relating to nationhood, Gilroy (2000:102) suggests that it is possible to manufacture groups of people, so that they become 'cogs within the machine' of a nation. This mechanical definition of the individual, which incorporates them into a coded description, eliminates the possibility of an identity of individuality. In order for the "machine" to work, every "cog" must be in its correct place. This metaphorical analysis offers an explanation as to why governing bodies and institutions may find it essential to categorize people. As issues of race politics and racism became widely understood and challenged by society, there became a need for these governing bodies and institutions to change the way they categorize people into groups (Gilroy, 2000). For example, the UK census of 2001 (see Appendix One), asked people how they classify themselves, if they were from a "mixed background"; whereas the UK census of 2011 (see Appendix Two), asked people to classify themselves if they were from a "mixed/multiple ethnic group" (Multiple Heritage Project, 2007). It is this shift towards an explanation of "ethnicity", which is of particular relevance in this example. It is suggested that:

> Anthropologists have historically made a distinction between race and ethnicity. Race is that social construction which sees people as different because of something they cannot change such as their skin colour; ethnicity is seeing someone as different because of their cultural differences (Canessa, 2014).

Although the definitions of race and ethnicity may differ, they still serve the same purpose when it comes to categorizing individuals into groups. Crucially, the connection between

ethnicity and culture, and the imagination of understanding the differences between people by understanding these concepts, were the underpinnings of apartheid in South Africa (Dolby, 2001). Canessa (2014) suggests that 'in theory you can change your ethnicity but not your race'. However, in the case of the 2011 UK census, if one was to describe their "ethnic group" as "black British African", then it seems unlikely that this is possible. Another view presented by Canessa (2014), is that 'in contemporary Britain, "ethnicity" is often a polite word for "race"' which supports the idea that a change in societal definition, has led to a change in institutional definition. Therefore, this evidence suggests that the concept of "ethnicity" is a categorization to replace "race". This view is supported and extended further by Dolby (2001), who conducted an ethnographic study of a "multi-racial" school in Durban, South Africa. The study proposes that 'taste has replaced race', as 'biology, culture, and history lose their force, as youth meet in a school saturated with dynamics that are markedly different than those that existed a generation ago' (Dolby, 2001: 17). The idea that individuals are able to create their own identity through "taste" was the vision delivered by Nelson Mandela, who promoted a 'spiritual and physical oneness' that South Africans shared through a common connection to the 'homeland' (Gilroy, 2000:111). This vision presented opportunities of individuality in an environment of togetherness, not divided by race, ethnicity or culture.

The study of Fernwood School, conducted by Dolby (2001), presents an arena within which different identities come together and reconstruct through the influence of each other. However, it is crucial to note that the study also presented the underlying racial tensions, which are still prevalent in contemporary South Africa. Dolby (2001) suggests that beyond these underlying tensions, there is the creation of a platform on which the concepts of race and race politics can be reworked. Examples from the study include Nicki, who suggests that being "coloured" is a crucial part of her identity, and uses the examples of her taste in clothes, which she uses to portray this identity. Chermaine on the other hand, whose father is "Indian" and mother is "coloured", states that people find it difficult to distinguish her race. The difference between these two students is the way that they view race. Nicki's description was focused on how she sees herself; whereas Chermaine's was focused on how she is viewed by others. These two perspectives can be used to represent the study at a micro level, as they are a crucial part of Dolby (2001)'s findings that:

> Each student profiled takes a different approach to working the borders of race, and their experiences and lives exemplify tales of possibility, which focus our attention not on the what is and what was of race, but the potentialities of its future' (Dolby, 2001:18).

The Future of Race
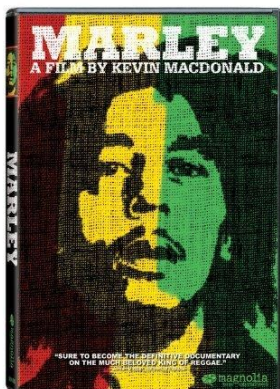
'My father is a white and my mother black. Now them call me half-caste or whatever. Well me don't deh pon nobody's side. Me don't deh pon the black man's side nor the white man's side. Me deh pon God's side. The man who create me, who cause me to come from black and white'

(Robert Nesta Marley, 2012)

In order to discuss the future of the concept of race, it is important to consider how society categorizes, and identifies children born from parents of different races, as it is suggested that within the UK, 'mixed race was one of the fastest growing ethnic groups between 2001 and 2011' (Smith, 2011). The above quote by Robert (Bob) Nesta Marley demonstrates how he defined his own identity as not being defined by colour or race. Marley's resilience not to let race, ethnicity, or skin colour define his identity highlights the strength of his own personal identity, as he was living in an environment where an imagined identity, shaped by society was constantly being thrust upon him. In the documentary of his life, as presented above, his cousin describes how his grandmother used to call him "the German bwoy", even though his father was English. When asked if he was "teased for being mixed", Bunny Wailer replied "yeah, worse than teased. Teased is not the word. You call it rejected" (Marley, 2012, 7:40). It is suggested that Marley's strength of identity was rooted in his faith of Rastafari, which is founded on the belief that Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, was the reincarnation of Jesus Christ (Marley, 2012). One of Selassie's most famous speeches, which Marley subsequently made into a song, was his speech to The United Nations in 1963, during which he discredited the concept of race (see Appendix Four).

Bob Marley's experiences of growing up being described as a "little red pickney" in Jamaica in the 1950's, and being "rejected" by society, may not be too far removed from the experiences of children from parents of different races, growing up in the UK today. As society struggles to find a way to categorize these people by racial or ethnic divisions, like the children of Fernwood School in South Africa, it is the individual who creates their own identity. The Mix-d: project of the UK is a platform for children of parents from different racial backgrounds to discuss the topics of race and identity. Evidence suggests that the most common and accepted definition used is "mixed race" (Aspinall, 2009). However the Mix-d: project shortens this definition to "Mix-d". The project aims to give voice to a silent group who may experience difficulty, confusion or conflict regarding their racial identity. The project clearly states that it 'is not a quest to manufacture new racial types' (Multiple Heritage Project, 2007), as:

In our view Mix-d is not a homogenous group. By its very nature it is diverse, cutting across cultures, religions, regions, nationalities, histories and ethnicities. There is no such thing as a mix-d community in a geographical sense. The ties of culture, tradition, history and religion, do not bind the mix-d population as a separate ethnic grouping. Quite the contrary – many of these things primarily bind mix-d people to other ethnic groups

(Multiple Heritage Project, 2007).

Despite the fact that being "mix-d" cannot be described as a "separate ethnic grouping", this is exactly what the governing bodies and institutions attempt to do, as is demonstrated in the 2011 UK Census (see Appendix Two), where "mixed/multiple ethnic groups" are offered for definition.

Beyond Race

The "Mix-d" concept offers a sense of expression for individual identities of "mixed race" people of the UK (see Appendix Three). However, it is important to note that the concept of being "mixed race" is an already established identity reinforced by government policies such as, the census. If these same people were to cross borders to a place where "mixed race", was not a socially accepted ethnic group, would these people still identify themselves as "Mix-d"? This was the thought of a "white British" musician from the UK, married to a "black South African". Upon the birth of their first child, Cuninam The Hobo (2006) wrote a song for his son stating:

> 'Twinkle twinkle little star,
> People gonna try tell you what you are,
> Some say black, some say white,
> Some say dark, some say light,
> Half-caste, coloured, or mixed-race,
> Put 'em in their place,
> Stand bold an', make sure you told 'em,
> You're Golden!'

Inspired by the fact that within the UK, society would define their son as "mixed race", whereas in South Africa, he would be defined as "coloured", due to his skin colour (Dolby, 2001), although the Afrikaans language spoken by the coloured people of South Africa has no relevance to the child's cultural heritage; and similarly inspired by the fact that "white" people would view him as "dark skinned", and "black" people would describe him as "light skinned"; this prompted Cuninam The Hobo to construct his own concept of "Golden". The "Golden" concept suggests that all human beings possess a Golden soul given by God; that all human beings are of the same "race", all with different identities. The most important part of this concept is that, it is the individual who creates his or her own identity, not society. This concept is not new, and is demonstrated in Bob Marley's description provided. Similarly, Gilroy (2000) proposes a concept of "planetary humanism"; Du Bois (1994:35) stated that 'all men are created equal; endowed by their creator' and Martin Luther King Jr. argued that 'every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole' (cited in Gilroy, 2000:11). Although the concept of race was an integral part of the self-identification proposed by Du Bois, and it was the inequality between races with which his work was concerned; it is essential to note, that the idea of double consciousness results from how the individual is viewed by society.

The example of a "mixed race" family, which consists of three separate races or ethnicities – "black", "white", and "mixed race", offers an explanation to how identity is constructed by the individual, and not society. Through shared life experiences, values, norms, beliefs, and customs; the parents of different races are able to construct their own identity of culture. For example, the "white" father is influenced by the South African culture of his wife, such as language, traditions, food, etc.; and similarly, the "black" mother is influenced by the English culture of her husband. As these cultures, understandings, values, and norms meet, they naturally become interconnected and reconstructed to form a common understanding. This understanding, or culture, is reminiscent of Nelson Mandela's vision that people are connected by a common ground. This "common ground" is then transferred to the children. This suggests that the identities of the individuals within this family are all influenced by both "black" and "white" experiences – from a societal definition. Within society's creation of identity, based on the concept of race, the father would supposedly

have the same characteristics of "other white people", whilst in reality, he may share many of the characteristics of "black" people, through a shared experience or understanding. This is similar to the Mix-d: project's understanding that "Mix-d" people are often bound to other ethnic groups; meaning that the "mix-d" concept transcends racial divisions, and supports the "Golden" philosophy. This understanding was demonstrated in an earlier song by Cuninam The Hobo (2001), which stated:

> I'm left here alone, working out my own culture,
> Fighting the vultures,
> And finalising my life sculpture

Conclusion

> According to Fanon, the capacity to address the future, both as politically abstract and as personally concrete, was a precondition for health and healing, for recovery from the alienating and corrupting antisociality of "race". (Gilroy, 2000:336).

This paper has addressed the future in a politically abstract and personally concrete way by deconstructing the concept of "race", and proposing that each individual is unique within the unity of humanity. The paper recognises how the concept of race is used as a categorization for governing bodies and institutions to align people within the workings of society that acts in a mechanical way. It has also been recognised how the concept of race, is able to adapt to meet the requirements of a changing society, such as with the introduction of "ethnicity". It is possible to examine other means of categorization at greater lengths, and across concepts, however this research is too in-depth for this paper. Similarly, it is essential to note that the methods within which society's values and understandings are shaped, such as by the media, or popular culture, have not been the focus of this paper. Instead, what this paper has argued is how society is able to define people and create their identity, based on the colour of their skin, which in turn influences how they view themselves; and also, how this definition of identity changes across time and space, resulting in an identity which is dependent upon societal classification. The paper proposes a concept, which discredits this current reality, by promoting an understanding where the individual is able to develop and recognise his or her own identity from within.

References

Aspinall PJ (2009) 'Mixed Race', 'Mixed Origins' or what?: Generic terminology for the multiple racial/ethnic group population. *Anthropology Today* 25(2): 3-8. http://www.mix-d.org/files/resources/anthroptoday.pdf

Bowling B and Phillips C (2007) Disproportionate and Discriminatory: Reviewing the evidence on police stop and search. *The Modern Law Review* 70 (6): 936-961.

Canessa A (2014) [SC107: Introduction to Social Anthropology] *Introducing Social Anthropology*. University of Essex Unpublished Class Handout. 3 March 2014.

Cuninam The Hobo (2001) *Ordinary Life*. Colchester: Harwich Road Records. Track 13.

Cuninam The Hobo (2006) *Dear Son*. Ipswich: Stupid Fresh Recordings: Track 6.D

Dolby N (2001), *Constructing Race: Youth, identity, and popular culture in South Africa.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Du Bois WEB (1994) *The Souls of Black Folk.* Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Gilroy P (2000) *Against Race: Imagining political culture beyond the color line.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Marley (2012) [Film] Directed by Kevin Macdonald. USA: Magnolia

McGoey L (2014) [SC111: The Sociological Imagination] *The Politics of Race, Racism, and Identity.* The University of Essex Unpublished Lecture. 14 January 2014.

Multiple Heritage Project (2007) *Mix-d:* http://www.mix-d.org. Accessed: 5 March 2014.

Smith L (2011) Mixed Race Britain: Charting the social history. *The Guardian.* 4 October. http://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/oct/04/mixed-race-britain-social-history Accessed: 5 March 2014.

The White Slums (2014) *Reggie Yates's Extreme South Africa*. Episode 1. BBC Three. 28 April.

Appendix One: UK Census 2001

Appendix Two: UK Census 2011

Appendix Three: Mix-d: UK

| Introduction | Highlights | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012/13 |

Multiple Heritage Project to Mix-d:

The concept and research began in 2005 - We've gathered first-hand the largest collection of data on mixed-race identity in the UK.

Mix-d:
C/o Multiple Heritage Project
Innospace
Minshull House

About Mix-d:
Terms of Use
Privacy Policy
Contact

Twitter
YouTube
Flickr
Facebook

Appendix Four: Emperor Haile Selassie I

H.I.M. Haile Selassie I Speech to the United Nations:

"…until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned: That until there are no longer first-class and second class citizens of any nation; That until the color of a man's skin is of no more significance than the color of his eyes; That until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all without regard to race; That until that day, the dream of lasting peace and world citizenship and the rule of international morality will remain but a fleeting illusion, to be pursued but never attained; And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes that hold our brothers in Angola, in Mozambique and in South Africa in subhuman bondage have been toppled and destroyed; Until bigotry and prejudice and malicious and inhuman self-interest have been replaced by understanding and tolerance and good-will; Until all Africans stand and speak as free beings, equal in the eyes of all men, as they are in the eyes of Heaven; Until that day, the African continent will not know peace. We Africans will fight, if necessary, and we know that we shall win, as we are confident in the victory of good over evil…"

Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, 1963

Challenges when Using Digital Documents and how to Overcome Them

Alexander Dodd

The problems that sociologists face when using digital documents are wide ranging in nature. At times, the use of digital media can lead to a lack of variety of sources, at others, information overloads can occur around one big event. The quality of information and where it comes from leads to yet more problems, such as authenticity and the authority of those who mediate the information. To overcome these problems, not only do we have to look at approaches similar to those when using physical documents, but also be able to think flexibly about what makes a document valid and reliable. While describing what a digital document is may be difficult, it is clear it is an evolution of what we think of as documents (Buckland, 1997).

One of the issues that is apparent when using digital documents for research is the potential bias of sources. This is an issue that has to be taken into account with physical documents, so the same methods for ensuring the validity of the data can be employed. One of the first issues of bias that is encountered when using digital documents is that they are normally hosted by private companies or individuals, whose motives are not always clear (Allen-Robertson, 2013). Allen-Robertson observes that it is often a simple motivation for profit that drives owners of digital content. This can take the form of pay walls, where content is unavailable without some form of payment, which could lead to some information being hard to obtain, narrowing the range of sources available. Further, since there is an incentive to attract users to a website if there is a profit motive served through ad-revenue, the potential for abuse is ripe - with misleading headlines, sensationalist warping of events or outright lies to try and attract more users. Lastly, since information is now considered a commodity, the issue of intellectual property can also cause problems (Allen-Robertson, 2013). Making sure that the information you find and use does not infringe on these rights means that the collection of data in a digital environment can be legally troublesome. Also, some information may just not be available due to the owners not wanting it in the public domain.

Some of these challenges can be addressed in the same way researchers approach physical documents. For example, the profit motive is something that is a part of most traditional media, so researchers are experienced in dealing with it as an issue and find it easy to recognise. Similarly with access to data, while it may not always be possible to gain access to all the information possible, there is normally enough available to construct a reliable picture of events. Sensationalist or misleading information can be dealt with by being aware of the type of sources and the motive for producing it. If it is unclear, the information can be crosschecked with other sources to find out quickly which information is more reliable and therefore more useful for research. However, some information will never be available due to the owners not allowing anyone to see it, in which case, little can be done. The best we can do is account for the lack of information and note the incompleteness of the data, but there should be enough information for this not to detract from the validity of the overall data.

Allen-Robertson (2013) found that when using digital documents, the most useful sources are those, which have been traditionally considered unreliable. Due to the

subject of his research, traditional media produced by professionals were unhelpful when compiling data, and instead he had to rely on amateurs. The issue that arose then was that the biases and motives of the amateurs were unclear when compared to those of large media organisations, thus making it harder to factor them into the data. The best approach when dealing with potential bias is to crosscheck the information. Creating a digital historiography means that the researcher can check new data in a document against it, making it easier to spot misleading information. One interesting thing to note is that since there is no pressure for websites to appear to be neutral, it is often the case that they wear their biases clearly. Websites are based more and more around personalisation, as Pariser (2011) noted, we are drawn to sources that reinforce our opinions, for better or for worse. Allen-Robertson (2013) noted that Torrent Freak presented itself with unabashed support for Pirate Bay, thus allowing him to keep in mind their bias when using Torrent Freak as a research document. When searching for information through search engines, another problem emerges. As Pariser (2011) explains, the way that search engines filter results based on past searches can create a personalised bubble of information. Using algorithms to determine what types of information you are looking for, it can lock you into only seeing one side of an issue. Also, when trying to create an overview of an event, it is extremely problematic if you are unable to find certain types of documents. Once we are aware of it however, it becomes very easy to deal with. Using search engines that do not use these algorithms is one option, as is using the private browsing mode available on most browsers. On the other hand, if we are aware of how search engines work, we can refine our search terms to find documents with opposing viewpoints of the data that has already been gathered. However the danger is for those who are unaware of it and thus can pose an obstacle when gathering data.

In research using physical documents, the authenticity of the sources is something that is considered of great importance. Original documents are considered better than copies, since information may be lost or changed when transcribing information. However, in the case of digital documents the originals can be edited, thus copies can be closer to the original than the "original" over time (Allen-Robertson, 2013). Levy (1994) in fact argues that physical documents can be as fluid as digital documents, although there is greater chance of digital documents being fluid. The way to overcome this is to realise that the old definition of what authenticity is no longer fits in a digital medium. Once authenticity is established in this new environment, it is then possible to use this new definition to make sure collected data is reliable. Authenticity may no longer have to be tied to the idea of being original for it to be considered authentic. It is possible to go further and say that authenticity might not have a place when discussing some forms of digital documentation. A document that can be changed at any moment does not warrant the label of authentic. Instead we can look at the validity of documents from another angle, instead of relying on the idea of authenticity. Allen-Robertson (2013) found that although articles often link to their sources, actually determining the original document is difficult. If we rely on an old perception of what an authoritative document consists of and chase it in a digital environment, it can lead to a lot of wasted time and may still produce no results. Instead Allen-Robertson (2013) suggests that instead, it is better to approximate the original by using the amalgamation of the articles it spawns, which simply repeats the information in varying ways.

Because of the way that the Internet works, the sources that can prove most useful usually come from "amateurs", who may or may not be anonymous, but whose sources probably will be. If the research that is being carried out requires the use of digital

documents, then some problems can occur regarding the authority of this anonymous information and therefore how much trust we can place in the data. So when doing research, it is important to find out which information can be trusted. On the Internet, this is done in a similar manner as in "real" life: certain authors of information gain trust over time and using aggregation sites you can quickly discover which authors are considered trust worthy by the online community. While it is true that some sources are harder to trust, there is still an advantage of using digital documents from those who are considered insiders. When researching piracy, Allen-Robertson (2013) found that some information came directly from the people involved, even though the activities being discussed were illegal. So, although there are problems with amateurs, there are also opportunities for more direct sources of information than are available within traditional media and sources, which do not have the understanding or the first-hand knowledge of the subject being discussed. This brings a challenge to the traditional ideas of authority, normally reliant of trusted sources. However, on a digital platform it is the people who would normally have the least authority who prove most useful.

There is another aspect to the Internet, which provides an understanding of which sources are reliable and thus gives them greater authority and that is the comment system that many websites employ. The comment section of many websites acts as an editor for the articles they follow. In much the same way that the articles are presented by interested amateurs, the comment sections also tend to attract those who have a particular interest in the subject and will contribute to the discussion. Comments can link to other articles or documents, including the original, or simply point out inaccuracies with evidence, effectively doing some of the work for the researcher. The use of digital documents may pose new challenges but it also provides new solutions as well.

When a significant event occurs, there is a propensity for a surge of information from many different sources on the Internet. The rush of information, a lot of it from unreliable sources, can cause confusion about an issue. Contradictions at this time are common but since there is such a large amount of information, it becomes much harder to work out which is correct. Further, due to how a proportion of information comes from interested amateurs, there are times where some articles infer or presume things from other sources. Factual errors are perhaps the easiest to root out as a researcher. Since there is such a large volume of documents around these events comparing sources to find agreed upon facts, which then can be used to discover falsehoods. In a similar circumstance, Allen-Robertson (2013) described the experience of Internet "echoes" wherein a large number of websites would report on the same topic but would have small, but important, differences. For example, some articles have involved interviews or finding new sources. The first problem to arise during this explosive period is the inflation of the importance of an event, since it is easy to connect volume to value, but this problem should not be too severe as long as we are able to objectively compare events retrospectively. It becomes easily to see the true importance of an event when we compare it to the other events that make up the overall research. The second problem is that it becomes very time-consuming to check all the different sources of information. Part of the reason why it is necessary to look through all the available sources is that the differences in information can help to discern the truth of an event, allowing us to work out the agreed-upon facts of the online community. There can also be small, but important bits of information hidden in only a few sources. It is made even harder by the fact that some articles are simply commenting on the fact that another source is reporting the information (Allen-Robertson 2013).

If we are solely reliant on digital documents for our information there is sometimes an issue of an over reliance on a few sources. The nature of the Internet means that there is sometimes a lack of sources for information, which can be due to several factors. For one there is a greater chance that information is simply deleted or destroyed when compared to physical documents (Dougherty and Schneider, 2011). If copies are not downloaded onto a physical drive, when an author decides to delete their documents then they are simply lost. Even if copies are made, they may never be returned to the Internet, only existing on hard drives in the hands of a few individuals. There are very few custodians who spend time collecting and preserving documents that are put on the web. Not only can authors decide to take down their work, certain websites might delete pages after a period of no activity, or even entire websites that host documents can be taken down without warning. To alleviate this problem, the importance of a historiography is once again shown. Being able to see if information makes sense, either biographically or chronologically, is a great tool when dealing with limited sources (Allen-Robertson, 2013).

There is also a distinct lack of material guiding researchers on the problems surrounding digital documents. Compared to research using traditional documents, the protocol for interacting with information within a digital space is undefined. There is a reliance on adapting old theories and solutions to a new medium for information. This is demonstrated by the challenge to the idea of authority and authenticity that is commonly used in research. With such little support, it is easy for researchers to fail in gathering data online that is valid or reliable. This problem is made even harder to overcome, since the solutions are counter-intuitive, given what most researchers have been taught in the past. To ensure that the data that they are collecting is valid and reliable the researchers have to understand the differences that occur when dealing with digital documents. While many of the old techniques, such as the creation of a historiography to cross-check new sources of information, are still applicable there are two areas that need to be re-evaluated - what constitutes authoritative sources and what makes a document authentic.

The challenges that digital documents present to sociologists are a mixture of old problems that appear in physical documents, as well as problems that are unique to the medium. In overcoming these problems, a different approach to what makes a document valid or reliable is required. In the end it is the lack of information on the topic that presents the hardest issue to overcome. For someone who is inexperienced with the digital world, it may be hard to navigate effectively in gathering information.

References

Allen-Robertson J (2013) *Digital Culture Industry: A history of digital distribution,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Buckland MK (1997) What is a "Document"? *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 48(9): 804-809.

Dougherty M and Schneider SM (2011) Web Historiography and the Emergence of New Archival Forms. In DW Park, NW Janowski and S Jones (eds) *The Long History of New*

Media: Technology, historiography and contextualizing newness. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Levy D (1994) Fixed or Fluid?: Document stability and new media. *European Conference on Hypermedia Technology 1994 Proceedings*: 24-31.

Pariser E (2012) *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you.* London: The Penguin Group

The Medicalisation of ADHD and its Effects in Education

Vikki Nevill

Introduction

The letters ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) had no significance to my life throughout my childhood. I knew the letters were an abbreviation for a condition, generally applied to children who were naughty and had difficulty in sitting still. However, my perspective on these four letters changed when my eldest son received a diagnosis of the condition.

I had always known my son's behaviour was different compared to other children his age. At just 3 years old, while my son was attending nursery, the staff asked me to remove him due to his behaviour. Although I had taken my son on numerous occasions to the local G.P, assurance was given that his behaviour was normal. Furthermore, the G.P suggested it was my poor parenting skills that had led me to believe my son had a problem. However, my son's behaviour became an evident problem once he entered full time education. I became aware of other parents commenting on how different my son was. Furthermore, parents subjected me to verbal abuse in the playground regarding my son's behaviour. My son's disruptive and violent outbursts were causing problems with the staff and the children. I was intrigued how members within education, were able to recognize my son's behaviour as unusual and not just him being naughty. Through members within education, and with my permission, my son received a referral to see a paediatrician for health assessments.

Medical professionals are a significant factor in my son's life. Throughout the last four years, my son has seen a variety of doctors and specialists. To elaborate, cognitive

behaviour therapists, occupational therapists, educational psychologists and mental health doctors have been present at various stages within the diagnosis. The assessment and actual diagnosis is a long and difficult process. Identification of my son's behaviour occurred at the age of five. However, the diagnosis of ADHD did not occur until December 2012 at the age of eight. Although my son has a diagnosis of ADHD, additional disorders such as Autism, Oppositional Defiance Disorder (ODD), and challenging behaviour are also evident. Personally experiencing the process with my son led me to explore and research ADHD. Furthermore, the continuation of my son's educational and medical needs have inspired me to write this journal.

How This Topic Relates with This Module

In conjunction with my own personal interest in this subject, the topic of the pharmaceutical industries explored in the sociology module, highlighted new areas of interest to me. Whilst learning about the pharmaceutical companies, the term "medicalisation" pinpoints a particular interest. This particular area interested me as it refers to 'the increasing attachment of medical labels to behaviour regarded as socially or morally undesirable' (Abercrombie et al, 2006:244). Children with ADHD often display unsociable behaviours, including temper tantrums in public places, talking when meant to be quiet and often violence towards people such as teachers, parents, siblings and other children. Additionally, medicalisation suggests medicines have the ability to cure a variety of disorders.

Specific Issue and Questions

I debated whether the term "medicalisation" could be associated with the disorder ADHD, as the behaviours with this disorder are socially undesirable. Furthermore, children with a diagnosis of ADHD receive medication to help them control his/her behaviour. Generally, medications prescribed enable children to concentrate within the school setting. Hence my question for this journal; Is ADHD a "medicalised" term, furthermore, how are children labelled with ADHD identified in schools and what are the effects on the staff and pupils within the school setting? Additionally, I am curious to discover whether educational professionals or parents are more likely to seek a diagnosis.

Organisation of Journal

I aim to begin this journal by defining ADHD including the symptoms associated with the disorder. I will provide a timeline concerning the history of ADHD. The diagnosis process provides information collected via the informal interview with Doctor A. The medicalisation of ADHD explores label attachments to medical disorders. Additionally, the discovery of medications, prior to the existence of medical labels encouraged the emergence of a medical condition becoming necessary. The effects of ADHD in schools provide information concerning how staff and pupils manage a child who has a diagnosis of ADHD. Furthermore, educational viewpoints, concerning identification and medicating children with ADHD are included. I aim to provide a conclusion as to whether ADHD is a medicalised term and how having a diagnosis affects not only the child, but also those within the educational environment.

Theorists

I have mentioned previously the word labelling; therefore, I shall be referring to the work of Howard Becker's 'labelling theory' (Becker, 1963, cited in Busfield, 2011:114). However, the adaptation of labelling theory by Thomas Scheff, (Scheff, 1966, cited in Busfield, 2011:114) who was the first to apply the label to mental illness, provides foundations concerning the attachment of labels. To address specific areas within the ADHD disorder, I will be referring to books including David Cohen's *Critiques of the 'ADHD' enterprise* (2006), Lydia Furman's *ADHD: What do we really know* (2009), Sami Timimi and Jonathon Leo's *Rethinking ADHD: From brain to culture* (2009), Elizabeth Connelly's *Conduct Unbecoming* (1999), Peter Conrad's *Identifying Hyperactive Children* (2006), Russell Barkley's *Attention-Deficit Hyperactive Disorder* (1998), and finally, George DuPaul and Gary Stoner's *ADHD in Schools* (1994). Due to my personal involvement with my son's ADHD, I have spent many years reading books, attending parenting courses and accessed multiple Internet pages, to learn and understand the term ADHD. To further my understanding, I have undertaken my own research by conducting informal interviews with two educational professionals and a health professional.

It is important to mention the interviews conducted do not provide the names, locations or positions of those interviewed. I will be referring to the health professional as Doctor A. Similarly, the interviews conducted within schools are identifiable as School A and School B. Consent forms provided information regarding the aims of my interviews and received signatures before commencing.

What is Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)?

Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder is a condition, which affects behaviour mainly in children but can also affect adults. Whilst reading various books on ADHD it became apparent, the specific cause of this disorder is unclear. To emphasize, ADHD could be a 'Childhood psychiatric disorder' (Barkley, 1998:3), 'developmental disorder of self- control' (Connelly, 1999:27), additionally 'neurological factors, hereditary influences and even toxic reactions' (DuPaul and Stoner, 1994:9) are also suggested as causes. The informal interview conducted with Doctor A, who specialized in ADHD, further provided evidence suggesting the cause for ADHD is unknown (See appendix 3). Doctor A mentions genetic components are a distinctive factor however there is no specific ADHD gene. Furthermore, Doctor A highlighted that poor parenting cannot cause ADHD. Although the cause of ADHD is unclear, the symptoms of this disorder are conclusive. Children diagnosed with ADHD present significant problems with attention, impulsiveness, and over activity (Barkley, 1998; DuPaul and Stoner, 1994; Timimi and Leo, 2009; Cohen 2006; and Connelly, 1999). Children present these symptoms according to Cohen (2006) before the age of seven and continue throughout childhood and can last into adulthood.

As mentioned, the symptoms associated with ADHD cause significant problems for children within the school environment. DuPaul and Stoner (1994:4) denote difficulties of having ADHD include 'academic underachievement, high rates of noncompliance and aggression, and disturbances in peer relationships'. Barkley also highlights underachievement in schools by children with ADHD, and identifies the difficulties referring to the 'inattentive, impulsive and restless behaviour in the classroom' (Barkley, 1998:99). However, the information from these books although relevant, is out-dated. Subsequently amendments have occurred within the educational system to enable children with ADHD to perform in compliance with the educational board.

ADHD is now associated with a variety of other labels and disorders. Comorbid conditions as proposed by Furman (2009) include conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, major depression and learning disabilities. Additionally, the informal interview with Doctor A, confirmed such conditions (see appendix 3). Therefore, identification of ADHD cannot simply rely upon the conclusive symptoms proposed to diagnose this disorder.

History of ADHD

In the early 1900's, the medical term ADHD did not exist. The timeline below shows significant developments regarding the history of ADHD.

<u>1902</u> – Sir George Frederick Still describes children presenting ADHD symptoms as having 'abnormal incapacity for sustained attention, restlessness and fidgetiness' (cited in Timimi and Leo, 2009:1).

<u>1937</u> – Doctor Charles Bradley accidently discovers the medication Benzedrine whilst administering the medicine to children who were suffering from headaches, actually helps children's behaviour (cited in Iannelli, 2011).

<u>1952</u> – The American Psychiatric Association (APA) publishes the first edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders; however, it does not mention ADHD (Iannelli, 2011).

<u>1957</u> – Maurice Laufer describes children presenting ADHD symptoms as having Hyperkinetic impulse disorder (cited in Barkley, 1998:7).

<u>1963</u> – C. Keith Conners publishes a study on the effects of Ritalin in emotionally disturbed children (Iannelli, 2009).

<u>1966</u> – Minimal Brain Dysfunction (MBD) becomes a popular term in describing children presenting behaviours associated with ADHD (Iannelli, 2009).

<u>1968</u> – The APA publishes the DSM-II and includes the disorder hyperkinetic reaction of childhood (Conrad, 2006:106).

<u>1969</u> – C. Keith Conner publishes Conner's Rating Scale. (Iannelli, 2011)

<u>1980</u> – The APA publishes DSM-III and includes Attention Deficit Disorder and subtypes of ADD for the first time (Barkley, 1998:21).

<u>1987</u> – DSM-III-R is published and changes the name of ADD to Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder but does not mention the subtypes (Timimi and Leo, 2009:3).

<u>2000</u> – The APA publishes DSM-IV and describes three types of ADHD (Iannelli, 2011).

The Diagnosis Process

A child cannot receive a diagnosis of ADHD due to their behaviour, as all children at some point will display similar behaviours. Professionals both educational and medical should refer to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV) published by

the American Psychiatric Association (2000). Within the DSM-IV, specific criteria explains the characteristics of ADHD. Additionally within the DSM-IV questionnaires provide health and educational professionals a way to identify ADHD. The Conner's questionnaire identifies learning difficulties, and the SNAP-IV (See Appendix 4) identifies the core symptoms. However, the scores from these tests do not confirm a diagnosis. Additionally as Appendix 3, question 3 explains, further investigations are explored. Reports from school and home have to prove the symptoms have been occurring throughout a six month period. Furthermore, alternative causes which could lead a child to be exhibiting symptoms of ADHD need exploring. Once elimination of all other causes has occurred a diagnosis of ADHD can be approved, as explained by DuPaul and Stoner (1994:18) 'the ADHD diagnosis is usually arrived at by establishing the developmental deviance and pervasiveness of symptoms'. Children normally do not receive a diagnosis before the age of five, and most children receive a diagnosis by the age of seven. However, children can be diagnosed as late as eleven using criteria from the DSM-V. (See appendix 3, question 3).

The Medicalisation of ADHD

Prior to 1950, symptoms of ADHD such as fidgetiness and restlessness were not regarded as a medical illness, nor were they treated with medications. So how has ADHD become a medicalised term? As mentioned previously, medicalisation refers to 'the increasing attachment of medical labels to behaviour regarded as socially or morally undesirable' (Abercrombie et al, 2006:244). The history of applying labels began when Thomas Scheff adapted Howard Becker's labelling theory, and applied it to labelling the mentally ill (Busfield, 2011). As societies have developed, members of the public issue the application of labels. Behaviours once deemed "normal" such as morning sickness during pregnancy, and behavioural problems, which were originally personal problems are now identifiable as medical disorders. To elaborate, a person who is displaying unusual behaviour receives a label of mental illness or psychosis. Furthermore, a child having a temper tantrum receives a label of naughty. However, symptoms of ADHD, which are considered as deviant, especially aggression, are similarly presented with labels.

Therefore as Conrad (2006:4) suggests, 'deviant behaviour is being conceptualized as illness'. Information gathered from the interview I conducted with Doctor A, suggests that people in today's society are more likely to label children with disorders. I was shocked to discover parents are readily seeking the label ADHD, as it is a fashionable and trendy label (See appendix 3, question 6). In addition, parents are also seeking medical labels for their child/children to access disability benefits and support within schools (See appendix 1, question 13; Appendix 2, question 13; Appendix 3, question 6). In Essex, within the last eighteen months, investigations for ADHD resulted in an estimated 300 children receiving a diagnosis (see Appendix 3, question 4). Comorbidity of other disorders, identified with ADHD, further increase medical label attachment, resulting in an increase of ADHD diagnoses.

An alternative possible factor could be the accidental discovery of medication by Charles Bradley (cited in Iannelli, 2011). As mentioned in the timeline, Bradley was administering Benzedrine to aid with the relief of headaches in children. However, it became apparent Benzedrine modified children's behaviour. An important factor here is the discovery made by Bradley occurred thirty years before the term ADHD existed. I hereby argue the discovery of medications prior to an identification of an illness, resulted in the creation of a medical label. To emphasise, Conrad (2006:15) suggests 'the label was invented to facilitate the use of a particular social control mechanism, in this case psychoactive drugs'. Conrad

elaborates 'to justify the treatment there had to be a medical label' (2006:15). Evidently, the creation of ADHD has had a significant impact within the pharmaceutical companies. As ADHD can be a lifelong condition, the necessity to provide medications undoubtedly profits the pharmaceutical industry. The increase of children diagnosed with ADHD has prompted the pharmaceutical industry to produce many varieties of different medications.

From personal experience, some medications have little or no affect on my son's disorder. When a situation such as this arises, a doctor will prescribe a different variation and strength of the current medication. Without the medicalisation of the disorder ADHD, pharmaceutical companies would have no need to produce medications.

The Effects of ADHD in School

Whilst gathering information on the effects of ADHD in education, it became apparent; children with ADHD are disruptive to the staff and other children (DuPaul and Stoner, 1994). To understand the effects of disruptiveness to children and staff, I conducted two informal interviews with two primary schools. Additionally, I acquired information regarding medicating children, and the medicalisation of the term ADHD with educational institutions.

The interview conducted with School A confirmed information gathered from the interview from Doctor A. To elaborate, School A uses the SNAP-IV questionnaire when investigating a child for possible ADHD. Importantly, although children with ADHD may display symptoms of ADHD, both the staff and children recognize such behaviours and are able to control the situation. Within School A, children receive Personal, Social, Health and Citizenship Education (PSHCE) classes enabling an understanding of diversity, such as Autism and epilepsy (see Appendix 1, question 8). However, as noted in Appendix 1, question 8, although the children learn diversity based on society's understandings of such disorders, only two thirds of the children fully understand a child in the class may act differently due to a disorder.

Children within School A also learn strategies to ensure concentration and that correct behaviour continues should disruptive behaviours occur. Staff within School A use strategies known to support ADHD behaviours, which include allowing movement breaks. Importantly, emphasis on adapting the environment, curriculum and learning for a child with ADHD highlighted such strategies. Additional emphasis highlighted that at no point should the child be adapted to fit the system (see Appendix 1, question 5). Concerning medicating children at school, School A identifies medications improve the child's behaviours and concentration however, School A argues children should not have to be medicated to fit the system. Concerning the medicalisation of the term ADHD, again, School A confirmed Doctor A's suggestion; children are receiving the label ADHD too easily. The cause of the increase further suggested, parents are now pushing for the attachment of a label, echoing Doctor A's viewpoint.

The interview I conducted with School B differs from the information gathered from School A. The diversities are most notable in the identification of children with ADHD, as the staff rely upon experience and instinct focusing mainly on the symptoms (see appendix 2, question 4). Interestingly, School B suggests children, who exhibit behaviours associated with ADHD, frighten and upset fellow pupils. Regarding the information gathered, it seems evident a child displaying ADHD behaviours within the school B suffers alienation.

The child's condition, discussed amongst parents and other staff members highlight the problems the child is having. It is important to mention here, the above comment only occurs once the parent/s and child who has ADHD have granted permission. However although discrepancies are evident, both School A and School B agree the rise in children becoming diagnosed is due to parents pushing for the label.

Conclusion

ADHD is a common disorder readily applied to children, generally from the age of seven. Although no apparent cause is identifiable, various factors such as genetic, neurological and even environmental factors are considerable causes. Symptoms defined by The American Psychiatric Association are evident in the construction of a diagnosis. The medical label of ADHD applies to children who present deviant and socially undesirable behaviour. Symptoms of ADHD are evidently identifiable and include fidgetiness, inattention, and impulsivity. However, symptoms were evident before a medical label existed. Comorbidity of other disorders now associated with ADHD, have undoubtedly given rise to the number of children receiving a diagnosis. The accidental discovery of behaviour modifying medications undoubtedly led to such symptoms requiring a medical label. Furthermore, the increase of deviant behaviours receiving a medical label is evident. As identification occurs in early childhood, it is no surprise such behaviours are likely to cause problems within school. Notably, schools are educated with strategies to enable staff, pupils and importantly the child with ADHD to maintain behaviours expected within the school setting. Children with ADHD are usually unaware of disruptive behaviours occurring until someone comments on them.

As a mother of a child diagnosed with ADHD, I am against the use of labelling children until a diagnosis has occurred. However, from a sociological viewpoint, the disorder ADHD has become a medicalised term, allowing society to attach medical labels to deviant behaviour.

References

Abercrombie N, Hill S and Turner BS (2006) *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* 5th edn. London: The Penguin Group.

American Psychiatry Association (2000) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental disorders: DSM-IV-TR* 4th edn. Washington: American Psychiatric Association.

Barkley RA (1998) *Attention-Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder: A handbook for diagnosis and treatment* 2nd edn. New York: Guilford Press.

Busfield J (2011) *Mental Illness.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cohen D (2006) Critiques of the 'ADHD' Enterprise. In G Lloyd, Stead J and Cohen D (eds) *Critical New Perspectives on ADHD*. Abingdon: Routledge: 12-33.

Connelly ER (1999) *Conduct Unbecoming: Hyperactivity, attention deficit, and disruptive behaviour disorders*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers.

Conrad P (2006) *Identifying Hyperactive Children: The medicalisation of deviant behaviour.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

DuPaul GJ and Stoner G (1994) *ADHD in Schools: Assessment and intervention strategies.* New York: Guilford Press.

Furman L (2009) ADHD: What do we really know? In S Timimi and J Leo (eds), *Rethinking ADHD: From brain to culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 21-57.
Iannelli V (2011) *ADHD – History of ADHD.*
http://pediatrics.about.com/od/adhd/a/history_adhd.htm. Accessed: 12 March 2014

Timimi S and Leo J (2009) Introduction. In S Timimi S and J Leo (eds) *Rethinking ADHD: From brain to culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 1–17

Appendix 1: Questions for School Interview – School A

Question 1: Within this establishment, how many children have a diagnosis of ADHD?

In 2013 there were 2 children attending this establishment who had a diagnosis of ADHD
In 2014 only 1 child had ADHD
However there are currently 3 children under investigation

Question 2: A Diagnosis of ADHD can often have other disorders associated with it. Do any of the children in this school have a single diagnosis of ADHD without any other disorders being diagnosed?

No the child has other disorders linked with the ADHD

Question 3: Have the amount of children being diagnosed with ADHD risen/ decreased in recent years?

Investigations into children with ADHD have increased. In the last 6 years investigations have increased by nearly 50%. This increase is mainly due to parents requesting investigations on their child/children.

Question 4: How do members of staff differentiate between children who have ADHD to those who are displaying similar behavioural problems?

Observational checklists – SNAP questionnaires
Other professional created questionnaires
School uses – Essex agree guidance

Question 5: As children with ADHD can be hyperactive and be inattentive in the class, how do staff address situations like this?

Strategies known to support ADHD are used
Movement breaks
Chucking activities
Adapt the Environment, curriculum, and learning, but do not adapt the child

Question 6: Are children with ADHD aware their behaviour may be disrupting the class?

It depends on the child. Some may understand that he/she has done something wrong.
However his/her behaviour is part of who he/she is.

Question 7: How does a diagnosis of ADHD affect the educational requirements for children with this diagnosis?

Children are taught in smaller sections rather than completing a whole hour on a specific topic e.g. 10 minutes of English 2 times a day.
The curriculum is adapted to fit the child.
Extra support such as learning support assistants provide 1-1 and small group work sessions.
However it should be noted that a small majority of parents are pursuing ADHD possibilities if their child/children are struggling academically.

Question 8: Are children who have a fellow pupil with ADHD aware of the behaviours associated with this diagnosis?

Children are now taught PSHCE- Personal, Social, Health and Citizenship Education. The aim of this is to teach diversity such as Autism and Epilepsy. However, it is based on society's understandings of

these diversities. Only 2 1/3rds of children fully understand that specific children may act in a certain way.

Question 9: how do the other pupils cope when disruptive behaviour is displayed?

Children are taught strategies which include ignoring the behaviour.
However, some children may copy the behaviour and even, make comments, but they are reminded that their class is similar to a community and within their community a member is different, and as a social community have to learn to accept this member and their uniqueness.

Question 10: Children who have been diagnosed with ADHD are often placed on medication. Are staff members able to notice a difference when children are on and off their medication?

Yes. Schools are places of conformity. Children are part of a system which has a consensus that children are there to learn. Medication helps the child conform to the system.

Question 11: From an educational perspective do you believe that medication for children with ADHD is necessary and beneficial to children?

Children should not have to be medicated to fit in. However, the cost of individual cognitive therapists per child with a diagnosis outweighs the cost of medication needed. I.E, it is cheaper to medicate children than it is to seek other methods to help children with ADHD.

Question 12: Before ADHD became a recognised behavioural disorder how were children who displayed disruptiveness and inattention problems addressed.

Exclusion as could not control the child.
Labelled and stigmatised- Did not fit the system.

Question 13: ADHD has become a popular term to describe children who show identifiable symptoms of this disorder. Do you feel some children are diagnosed too easily with this disorder?

As a society and a school setting definitely. Parents are now pushing for a diagnosis for ADHD. In the past is used to be educational professionals mentioning the behaviour to parents.
The rise in requests for a diagnosis is a concern.

Appendix 2: Questions for School Interview – School B

Question 1: Within this establishment, how many children have a diagnosis of ADHD?

There are currently 2 pupils in this school with a diagnosis of ADHD.
There are also 2 children going through the process.

Question 2: A Diagnosis of ADHD can often have other disorders associated with it. Do any of the children in this school have a single diagnosis of ADHD without any other disorders being diagnosed?

The 2 children have a single diagnosis of ADHD with no other disorders associated. However, this is likely to change.

Question 3: Have the amount of children being diagnosed with ADHD risen/ decreased in recent years?

The number of children being diagnosed has "risen without a doubt"

Question 4: How do members of staff differentiate between children who have ADHD to those who are displaying similar behavioural problems?

Staff members are able to identify children through experience and instinct. Observable differences include constant twitching, constant fiddling with things, unable to control movements, and unable to sit still. Furthermore, children who are constantly unresponsive to requests from the teacher also signify an identifiable problem.

Question 5: As children with ADHD can be hyperactive and be inattentive in the class, how do staff address situations like this?

Ignoring, allow space and time out breaks, provide a safe and quiet space, social skills groups, and fiddle toys and also a comforter from home.
Additionally, buddying sessions allow another pupil to work with the child who has ADHD.
All staff are made aware of the child's behaviour enabling them to recognise when measures such as those mentioned above can be used.

Question 6: Are children with ADHD aware their behaviour may be disrupting the class?

Yes- the child suffers with self- esteem issues and embarrassment. However, the child, when displaying disruptive behaviours is not always aware at that specific time, but afterwards the child sees the situation is wrong.

Question 7: How does a diagnosis of ADHD affect the educational requirements for children with this diagnosis?

Within this school no child with a diagnosis of ADHD has reached year 6. Statements allow a child 1-1 work with mentors inside and outside the schools setting. However, it is very hard for a child to learn and staff to teach everything.

<u>Question 8: Are children who have a fellow pupil with ADHD aware of the behaviours associated with this diagnosis?</u>

Children in the class are not aware of the specific behaviours displayed by the child with ADHD. However, behaviours are explained in situations where both the parents and the child with ADHD give their consent for it to be discussed.
Circle of friends- Allows (with permission from the parents and child with ADHD) staff, parents and children discuss the behaviours or events that have occurred within the school. The problems are then relayed to the parents and the child in a 'positive way' to discourage further problems occurring.

<u>Question 9: how do the other pupils cope when disruptive behaviour is displayed?</u>

Younger children are upset and frightened by the behaviours. However, when the children reach the age of 9 -10 they choose not to be involved with the child in question. Children relay instances and identify children to their parents who then complain to the school.

<u>Question 10: Children who have been diagnosed with ADHD are often placed on medication. Are staff members able to notice a difference when children are on and off their medication?</u>

Definitely, a child on medication can control their behaviour. However, once the medication wears off the child's behaviour is identifiably worse.

<u>Question 11: From an educational perspective do you believe that medication for children with ADHD is necessary and beneficial to children?</u>

Every child is different and medication depends on the child's needs.

<u>Question 12: Before ADHD became a recognised behavioural disorder how were children who displayed disruptiveness and inattention problems addressed?</u>

Exclusion as could not control the child.
Labelled and stigmatised – did not fit the system.
Segregated.

<u>Question 13: ADHD has become a popular term to describe children who show identifiable symptoms of this disorder. Do you feel some children are diagnosed too easily with this disorder?</u>

Yes. Parents are suggesting their child/children have ADHD as it takes the responsibility away from the parents who are struggling with their child/children's behaviour.
Children are being too easily diagnosed with ADHD. Many children who are put forward for assessments show disruptive behaviour, but they can control it. However, they are still being diagnosed.

When Autism was mentioned in the past, there was an increase with the volumes of children being diagnosed with the disorder. Similarly, with ADHD, since the term has become known more children are being diagnosed.

Appendix 3: Questions for Doctor A

Question 1: What causes ADHD in children? (Biological, mental, or psychological). (If the cause is unknown how can it exist without effect?).

There is no known cause for ADHD, however, there are factors which have been considered such as:

Genetic components: - although a specific genetic gene does not exist. Children who have family members diagnosed with the disorder are 4 -6 times more likely to be diagnosed.

Environmental factors:

> *Extreme premature birth*
> *Low birth weight*
> *Foetal Alcohol Syndrome*
> *Emotional neglect from a very young age.*

Poor parenting cannot cause ADHD.

Question 2: Children who are diagnosed with ADHD are generally diagnosed with further disorders. Is it possible to only be diagnosed with ADHD?

Children can be diagnosed as just ADHD, however this is uncommon.
Most children with ADHD can also have:-

> *Co- ordination disorder*
> *Autism*
> *Anxiety*
> *Oppositional Defiance Disorder*
> *Learning disabilities*
> *Conduct disorder which can lead to anti- social behaviour such as lying, stealing and crime related issues.*

Question 3: How do doctors identify children with ADHD (DSM IV)?

Doctors use the questionnaires provided in the DSM- 4 which include:-

> *Conner's questionnaire – identifies learning difficulties*
> *SNAP questionnaire – based on core symptoms*

The scores from these tests are not enough to provide a diagnosis
Reports from 2 environments generally school and home have to prove that the symptoms have been apparent for longer than 6 months. Additionally, the levels of behaviour displayed have to be more severe than those exhibited by children at a similar developmental level. Furthermore, no other causes should be identified.
The symptoms have to be evident before the child reaches the age of 7 and most doctors will not diagnose a child before the age of 5.

DSM – 5 can be used to diagnose children aged 10 -11.

Question 4: How many children in 2013 were diagnosed with ADHD?

In Essex, within the last 18 months over 400 children were investigated for ADHD. 300 of these children received a diagnosis of ADHD.

Question 5: Is this number an increase/decrease from previous years?

In previous years the amount of children being diagnosed with ADHD was averaging at 3-5%. However, today is more likely to be around 9%. Children are not being diagnosed more, but children who were originally diagnosed with disorders such as Autism are now being diagnosed with ADHD.

Question 6: Are parents or educational professionals more likely to request a child is investigated for ADHD?

Parents are more likely to seek investigations while their child/children are at a young age, normally before nursery.
Nursery schools very rarely pick up on children displaying ADHD behaviours.
Primary schools – normally identify pupils towards the last years at primary school, and only after behaviours are frequently exhibited and cause concern for their education.
Secondary schools- see the most amount of children requested to be investigated.
Parents readily seek the label ADHD for their children as it is now seen as a fashionable and trendy label. Furthermore, parents readily seek the label of ADHD for their children to access benefits and additional help.

Question 7: Are medications given because they are easier to provide than allocating cognitive therapists per child?

Medications are given easier than allocating therapists as facilities are not available in all areas.

Question 8: Should children be medicated to make them conform to the regulations and expectations within a school environment?

Medications are provided to help maintain concentration, however behavioural support should be given in schools to help maintain behaviours.

Question 9: Before 1950 children were described as emotionally unstable. Since ADHD became a recognisable term, do you believe it has been easily applied to children who could be naturally boisterous?

Stricter guidelines have been introduced due to (in the past) paediatricians diagnosing children based solely on the scores from the questionnaires received from schools and home.
Today a diagnosis cannot simply be given due to the scores. Extensive historical background information is gathered alongside reports from parents, school and medical professionals.
It is a lot harder for children to be diagnosed than it was previously.

Appendix 4: The Snap-IV Teacher Rating Scale

Appendix 4

The Snap-IV Teacher Rating Scale

Name .. .. Gender .M. ...DOB: .School:.

Name of Rater..... ....Date of Rater... ... ...

For each item, check the column which best describes this child:	Not at All	Just a Little	Quite a Bit	Very Much
1 Often fails to give close attention to details or makes careless mistakes in schoolwork or tasks			✓	
2 Often has difficulty sustaining attention in tasks or play activities				✓
3 Often does not seem to listen when spoken to directly			✓	
4 Often does not follow through on instructions and fails to finish schoolwork, chores or duties			✓	
5 Often has difficulty organising tasks and activities			✓	
6 Often avoids, dislikes, or reluctantly engages in tasks requiring sustained mental effort			✓	
7 Often loses things necessary for activities (e.g. toys, school assignments, pencils or books)		✓		
8 Often is distracted by extraneous stimuli				✓
9 Often is forgetful in daily activities			✓	
10 Often has difficulty maintaining alertness, orienting to requests, or executing directions			✓	
11 Often fidgets with hands or feet or squirms in seat				✓
12 Often leaves seat in classroom or in other situations in which remaining seated is expected			✓	
13 Often runs about or climbs excessively in situations in which it is inappropriate			✓	
14 Often has difficulty playing or engaging in leisure activities quietly				✓
15 Often is "on the go" or often acts as if "driven by a motor"				✓
16 Often talks excessively			✓	
17 Often blurts out answers before questions have been completed			✓	
18 Often has difficulty waiting turn				✓
19 Often interrupts or intrudes on others (e.g. butts into conversation/games)			✓	
20 Often has difficulty sitting still, being quiet or inhibiting impulses in the classroom or at home			✓	

Please turn over for questions 21-40

2

Child's name... ... ...DOB:... ... ...

For each item, check the column which best describes this child:

	Not at All	Just a Little	Quite a Bit	Very Much
21 Often loses temper	✓			
22 Often argues with adults	✓			
23 Often actively defies or refuses adult requests or rules	✓			
24 Often deliberately does things that annoy other people	✓			
25 Often blames others for his/her mistakes or misbehaviour		✓		
26 Often touchy or easily annoyed by others	✓			
27 Often is angry and resentful	✓			
28 Often is spiteful or vindictive	✓			
29 Often is quarrelsome	✓			
30 Often is negative, defiant, disobedient, or hostile toward authority figures	✓			
31 Often makes noises (e.g. humming or odd sounds)		✓		
32 Often is excitable, impulsive			✓	
33 Often cries easily	✓			
34 Often is uncooperative	✓			
35 Often acts smart	✓			
36 Often is restless or overactive			✓	
37 Often disturbs other children				✓
38 Often changes mood quickly and drastically			✓	
39 Often easily frustrated if demands are not met immediately	✓			
40 Often teases other children and interferes with their activities	✓			

Is Ethnography the Best Way to Research Deviant Populations? Justify Your Answer using Examples from Published Research.

Justina Prusinskaite

Most people admit that in order to keep peace and unity within the world the commitment in common norms and laws remains crucial. These determine our understanding of the differences between the right and the wrong: which behaviour is normal therefore preferable and which one is against the laws or considered to be deviant. Those who appear to overcome the boundaries of public morality sometimes may gather into small groups that often eventually compose deviant populations. For figuring out what are the causes of such deviance the comprehensive studies are required. In fact, the most effective research method for the possible capacity to reveal these unnoticed reasons is very often acknowledged to be ethnography.

In this essay I am presenting the clear definition of the term with the regard to different understandings of it within the history in comparison to classical and modern ethnographies. I am also introducing the importance of the study itself as well as the open-ended questioning. In addition, I am offering several advantages of the study, such as that ethnography may reveal the unnoticed matters towards different kinds of perspectives. Furthermore, I am showing different realities in terms of both subjectivity and quantitative research approach. For gaining more objective knowledge, I am pointing out the disadvantaged perspective, which is relevant in the discussion with the concerning time, luck and danger. Even though, the essay produces a wide variety of arguments, which are all, supported by the same ethnographic research of Dick Hobbs who had been studying the East End London culture, mainly focusing on crime, involved people as the members of the deviant unit. Lastly, the main aim of this essay is to have more confidence in claiming that ethnography is the best way to reach deviant populations.

Before going any further, it is key to figure out the meaning of the term and study itself. As it has already been mentioned in the introduction, the ethnography is a research method that focuses on a specific group or a population in order to understand its peoples' values and culture. The classical ethnography very much engages with the regard to participant observation of the particular group or community. Once the scholar gets access to a certain population he/she gets involved in the social setting trying to build as much trust-worthy relationships with the informants as possible. In fact, for the opportunity to capture the most accurate image of the population's reality the ethnographer is expected to immediately maintain a focus on the study.

The researcher's concentration usually starts on the regular observations of the behaviour of people living in that group which can be practiced by listening to their conversations as well as by engaging in them. In other words, the participant observer gives a huge importance to people's behaviour assuming that no one can know about their lives better than they do.

Yet it is important to notice that because of the extended length of time in the classical approach, as the observation may last for years, the more modern approach of ethnography is that there is a greater emphasis on interviewing and less time is used

looking at approaches such as running questionnaires, examining documents, etc. These approaches even sometimes, as a consequence, become the main source of data (Bryman, 2012).

However, following the classical ethnography, if some of the issues that are relevant for the study are never brought up to the conversations neither suspected in people's behaviour – directly interviewing the members of that group may also help to fulfil any lacking gap of the information. In addition, if the ethnographer, on the contrary, did suspect existing patterns in peoples' behaviour but was not able to understand it, the interviews for him may be a chance to avoid any possible confusion and gain a more accurate knowledge on the subject studied.

After all, ethnography is not only the method but it is also the written outcome of the research based on that method (Scott and Marshall, 2009). The whole purpose of the observation is to collect the highest quality data, which could be able to present not only the objective view and clear understanding of the studied population but also the development during the process. The progress may be captured by detailed recordings of the facts and findings that are brought up by the scholar on a regular basis. The most frequent techniques to collect material are, for example, writing down (taking field notes) the witnessed conversations, common characteristics and other thoughts, upholding documents of various sources, using results of the interviews, recording events, taking pictures and other possible useful means.

Even though, there are few definitions of the term, there are some distinguished steps of the research such as the participant observation, the interviews, the documents, the research process and the written outcome of that research (Bryman, 2012). In this essay ethnography refers to the study for any of them.

First of all, for the ethnographer to gain better understanding of the subject it is very important to ask questions that are open-ended giving the chance for the interviewee to speak freely without particular limitations. The opportunity for individuals to reveal themselves is given by the interviews and conversations that are run during the ethnographical study. Then while studying deviant populations that are for instance surrounded by criminal activities the chance of getting to know more about the unreported crimes is at its height. In addition, the study with the open-ended questions creates access to understand not only the basic details and explanations of the purposes of criminal behaviour but also to reveal the reasons and descriptions of the situation.

For example, Dick Hobbs (1988) as a member of social science, a few decades ago was conducting research on London's East End culture. He seemed to be very much interested in the culture's relationship to negotiation, deception, trading, criminal activity and entrepreneurship. Following the open-ended questioning, in Hobbs's ethnographical study, one of the participants (a member of the culture) told a story with the regard to "hidden" situation:

> One night he attempted to rob business premises but was thwarted by security arrangements, and the one accessible article of worth was an ancient wooden ladder. The following day he became a window-cleaner, the next day he decided that he was scared of heights, and by the end of the week had sold the ladder (Hobbs, 1988:155).

The "hidden" is something which public eyes (the "outsider"), such as that of the ethnographer are not supposed to see that however can be revealed by giving freedom for the interviewee to tell. As the man got away with it, such stories as this one are usually kept silently otherwise their reveal could bring the attention of the police therefore a punishment for such illegal activity as stealing.

Lastly, while giving an opportunity for people to frame their stories and opinions, an ethnographer may get some knowledge that other members of the culture are not even aware of. As an associate of a criminal involved group, Nob, opens up to Hobbs, 'sometimes I say to them you know, it's expensive, £50; I sell it to them for £30 and it's only worth £20' (Hobbs, 1988:152). Moreover, he shares other pretentiousness, tips and tricks that he uses in the daily basis of business. In this case, it is reasonable to assume that such personal relationship as feeling sympathy or trust between the scholar and the character may be very useful and sometimes even crucial to get the "hidden" revealed.

Secondly, since the ethnographer is enabled to familiarise himself with people from the settings that are not usually reachable for the public, also known as, outsiders, he is able to know certain information that has never been revealed to him before. As for example, during the study, Hobbs came to understand the importance of the pub. Some people rather than seeing the pub as a matter of place to loosen up, they were looking at it as the place for conducting deals and demonstrating business-like behaviour and the rank (since certain people had certain jobs to take care of) (Hobbs, 1988).

Moreover, he gets a broader view of criminality as a social activity with the regard to thieves that would steal in order to get stolen goods into their "businesses". As Hobbs is introduced to the job of the thief, he notices that the levels of risk and salary are never the same and are very hard to predict. In fact, according to him "for every successful enterprise there are dozens of failures" thus the only possible prediction is that the life of the thief consists from the many ups and downs (Hobbs, 1988:158). The stories of stealing such goods such as bottles of Scotch Whisky, Bibles written in polish, pregnancy kits etc., support such thought emphasizing the importance of the chances and risks that they are ready to take (chances such as stealing the valuable goods and the risk results in going to prison for stealing).

In addition, since ethnographies aim to research people and learn about their stories, it may prove or, on the other hand, deny some of the existing stereotypes and myths about the cultures. For instance, the thought "Once a criminal always a criminal" may be denied as Hobbs refers to, 'the extent of his involvement in criminal activity depends very much upon the risk factor of a particular enterprise rather than any consideration of morality' (Hobbs, 1988:165). This piece could suggest that characters rationally debate their options rather than being motivated to commit crime without a purpose.

Furthermore, ethnographies also serve as a view to how police and other authorized bodies (such as the government) of the society are interacting with people that are in the disadvantaged and excluded position (in comparison to non-deviant populations). Here, ethnographies for social scientists, helps to look at how social context influences people from deviant background sometimes leading to the key question "does it influence them to become deviants?" The ethnography for Hobbs helped to engage understanding in the development on business and identify the change during the years. With the help of the study he revealed out the importance and influence of the entrepreneurship within East End culture.

Thirdly, it often seems that the understanding may be constructed from the words of studied people. Even though while running surveys and questionnaires you get to know about the opinions and beliefs of certain issues, you can never be sure about its accuracy. As anthropologist Margaret Mead once pointed out 'what people say what people do and what people say they do are entirely different things' (cited in Blocher, 2001:13). In other words, it is very often when people may justify their behaviour looking from their own point of view ignoring others therefore leaving a quite subjective answer. The reason for it could be that people are conscious beings so they can be influenced at any time in different levels. Sometimes it may lead to the point when they do not always mean what they say or say what they mean. In order to get the objective understanding, it is necessary to look into the problem from different angles, so the role of the ethnographer is a great option to accomplish it.

Fourthly, even though the quantitative research approach may predict the trends and patterns supported by surveys and statistics giving the objective reality across the studied unit, there are no statistics on earth that could represent the real emotions and feelings expressed by people (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Rather than believing in one objective reality, ethnographers focuses on getting to know different people that represent multiple possible realities. The investigation may involve a comparable small number of cases, however, explored in detail.

In addition, as the explorations are being run further, the ethnographer is able to identify some of the characteristics, patterns and link between the two, even though from the beginning it had little connection with each other.

Lastly, even though the ethnographer seeks to familiarise himself with individual points of views that sometimes may be extremely subjective, he as a researcher is expected never to be judgemental with the regard to interviewees and the spoken. As an example, after listening to the confession of one of the informants, Hobbs choose to flatter the storyteller with the words 'You did well' even though the story is about the deception and lies that are made up to manipulate person and to gain more money (Hobbs, 1988:153).

On the other hand, some people argue that the ethnography is not the best way to reach groups of people. One of the reasonable arguments against the study is considered to be the length of time engaged during the study. As for collecting the most equitable understanding on the research, the project may take much extended period of time. Even though, as mentioned in the beginning, modern ethnography uses interviews and questionnaires in order to save some time, ethnography appears to be a life-long study of culture. Due to the believable fact that society will exist even after the study is over, it become very hard to bring the research to an end (Bryman, 2012:452).

However, the struggles that ethnographers get into and the risks they take during that time are sometimes very dangerous which may ensure tragic results (the risk for the ethnographer getting hurt during the study, especially when it is involving criminal populations). Despite the observations that the ethnographer needs to run, he/she is expected to look for repeatability in people's characteristics, behaviour and values, to find common patterns or relationships that often are taken for granted by the group. Nevertheless, one of the main struggles is a matter of luck: to gain access to certain people (such as useful informants); is to strike the right note in relationships and to be in the right place at the right time (Sarsby, 1984). For gaining a more accurate knowledge the need of

being involved in certain activities and experiencing the situation as the members of the group is a very strong one. Hobbs suggested in his book that sometimes 'it was necessary that I should be involved in certain illegal activities' (Hobbs, 1988:141) that way he places himself in a dangerous situation.

In fact, a high quality study requires comparatively high quality attention and exploration, which consists of the combination of the key elements such as strategic planning, hard work and luck. Even though, the ethnographic research usually requires a few years of studying, which considered as the main disadvantage of the method, no one can have certainty of the study to be successful. In my view, putting oneself in other people's shoes is the only way to understand and feel the way they feel. So every study which does not result with the loss in terms of the health of people involved, without a matter of how many years it lasted, is a successful one considering the challenges ethnographers have to face.

To summarize, I agree that ethnographies are the best way to reach deviant populations. Rather than revealing only the side of personal troubles, which members of the group are facing, the study also shows the public issues that certainly exist. And it also presents the view of how these influence one another building the image of what we understand as a reality. Even though, the arguments against referring that most of the results are very much influenced by the surroundings and luck that may constantly change, sometimes bringing a lot of unpredictability and unexpectedness. However, it does not determine that the study is not able to get significant results. The main goal is to present objective as well as clear understanding and knowledge from the work. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that some of the arguments in behalf of the ethnography listed above are not brought up only while studying deviant populations. Deviant or not, the purpose of every study is to seek for truths about the nature of the particular social unit. Finally, as the ethnography is applied not only to the process of the research method but also to its written outcome, it becomes even more necessary to study as deviant populations and as any other population may be permanent due to the fact that people are mortal. So even if the community will be gone, the made record about it will keep it alive at least in the pages of the history. It is our purpose as the members of social field gather skillful and motivated individuals suitable for the ethnographic research with the intention to develop an insider's point of view so that the story of populations would be told.

References

Blocher LR (2001) Introduction. In LR Blocher, EM Corporon, T Lautzeheiser, ES Lisk and R Miles (eds) *Teaching Music through Performance in Band, Vol. 3.* Chicago: GIA Publications, 1-15.
Bryman A (2012) *Social Research Methods* 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hobbs D (1988) *Doing the Business: Entrepreneurship, the working Class, and detectives in the east end of London.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leedy PD and Ormrod JE (2001) *Practical Research: Planning and design* 7th edn. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Sarsby J (1984) The Fieldwork Experience. In RF Ellen (ed) *Ethnographic Research: A guide to general conduct.* London: Academic Press.

Scott J and Marshall G (2009) *A Dictionary of Sociology* 3rd edn revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press:

The Pharmaceutical Industry and the Transformation of an Emotional Condition into an Illness

Madalina Radu

Picture 1 – Editor

Picture 2 – Med-Health.net (2014)

Introduction

It was an ordinary day: me and my sister watching TV. Between endless series of horrifying news, we see one about the increasing number of both men and women who seek medical assistance and medication for depression. The same report informed my sister and I about the seriousness of the consequences of untreated depression, among these is suicide.

A couple years ago was the moment when I first saw news about depression that triggered my attention. I have experienced quite a few moments when I felt sad and needed to be alone. The constant invasion in the media about depression and how far things can get if not treated, taking into consideration my moments of weakness, have made me to even wonder myself: "What if my moments of sadness are signs of depression? Shall I look for help?"

'Mental states characterized by feelings of sadness, hopelessness, and loss of interest' (Scott and Marshall, 2009: 169). This is how depression is defined in the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology. What is more interesting is the fact that depression is considered to be evolved from melancholia. People feel melancholic because they are homesick or miss a friend.

It is normal to have moments when we miss someone so much that it hurts and we are sad because we cannot be with that person at that very precise moment, so we might wish to have some time for us, alone, to recover. But from experiencing this state of sadness, for the moment to give it a name, depression, there is only one small step in the eyes of the specialists. When I got in contact with the university life and found out more about the society, as well as read Mills' (1959) book "The Sociological Imagination", I further realized that the problems an individual experiences are issues with which the

society confronts to and the dimension is much greater than believed. Therefore, my occasional sadness would probably be called, by specialists, mild depression, but this problem I am confronting sometimes has reached within the society a dimension that challenges me to further investigate the issue of depression.

The pharmaceutical industry has played an important role in the treatment of depression because these companies came up with an entire range of treatments meant to treat depression. However, this story with the pharmaceutical companies as the saviors of the emotional well-being of the people is quite an ambiguous one because it is hard to tell whether at first people experienced depression and then the drugs were invented, or the pharmaceutical industry made the drugs for the emotional recovering from sadness and renamed the state of sadness as depression, and then people started to use them.

In this journal I have chosen to focus on the subject of depression because I feel it is a personal topic. Experiencing minor episodes of depression myself, I would very much like to seek the history of depression and reveal whether depression is socially constructed or not, and acknowledge the true influence of the pharmaceutical industry in the treatment of depression.

The Theory of Social Construction

For a long period of time, the concepts of illness and social reality were regarded as separate. In the 1960s, Szasz (1961; cited in Lachmund and Stollberg, 1992) argued that the psychiatric perceptions about disease are actually social attributes to deviant behaviors because they are not built on an 'organic base' (1992; cited in Lachmund and Stollberg, 1992:10). In 1970, two perspectives were brought. On the one hand, Eliot Freidson (1992; cited in Lachmund and Stollberg, 1992) made a distinction between the social constructed illness and the biological constructed illness and observed how particular problems or conditions of the human beings come to be defined as illnesses and bring a supplementary gain to the medical institutions and representatives. On the other hand, Focault (1970; cited in in Conrad and Baker, 2010) stated that people's behaviors, personal experiences and shape of identity can be influenced by the medical discourse. A few years after Friedson and Focault's appreciations, Einsenberg (1977; cited in Lachmund and Stollberg, 1992) claimed that there should be a differentiation between cultural and biological illness.

In the current society, medical sociologists include some forms of behavior and experiences of the people as 'medical conditions' (Conrad and Baker, 2010: 868). This is why the illness is shaped by a wide range of phenomena such as culture, knowledge, social contact and power; culture has an important meaning because it determines the way in which the illness is experienced, the reaction of the society towards illness, as well as the measures taken to cope with the illness (Conrad and Baker, 2010). A very controversial and well known topic of the present society has been through a complicated process in which culture has played an important role is depression.

"Disease Mongering"

There is a contemporary phenomenon driven by the pharmaceutical industry known as "disease mongering" which consists in the wide spreading by the pharmaceutical companies of the idea that some conditions that affect the society are illnesses (Moynihan et al, 2002:886). The main goal is represented by the daily conditions, generally emotional

conditions. By enlarging the boundaries of treatable illnesses the pharmaceutical industry widens its market and increases its revenues. The problem is that there are enormous amounts of money made by the pharmaceutical industry at the expense of healthy people who are told that they are ill (Moynihan et al, 2002).

At this moment, the term "disease mongering" is used to describe campaigns that wrongly widen the boundaries of treatable illnesses (Moynihan and Henry, 2006). Though extensively criticized for intentionally transforming healthy people into patients, the enormous promotion of treatment through marketing and publicity has positively influenced and improved the lives of the people who suffer from diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Moynihan and Henry, 2006). However, in the case of depression, this phenomenon has done a great harm because too many healthy people are made to believe that their mood, sadness for instance, is actually a disease known as depression and start to take medication to treat it (see picture 3).

The Acknowledgement of Depression as a Disease

Under one name or another, depression has been known to the human race for more than two millennia, but it started to become more and more known only six decades ago (Gilbert, 1992). It has been extensively argued that depression is not a disease, but an emotional condition, and the general disagreement towards the subject of depression has made it a highly controversial one. Though diagnosed as a disease, comparing to other diseases, there is not a visible marker, such as a 'spot on the skin or a blood pressure reading' (Wells et al, 1999: 3). There is no general agreement on the symptoms of depression. Therefore, the name of depression was attributed to a set of symptoms that are part of either changes of mood such as 'crying, sadness, loss of interest, restlessness or tiredness' or behavioral symptoms 'feelings of guilt, sleep and appetite disturbance, social withdrawal, irritability, and so on' (Wells et al, 1999: 23).

However, other voices have looked for a biological explanation of depression so that it officially fits in the category of diseases and is no longer named an emotional condition. Therefore, specialists in mental illnesses argue that depression is a mental illness caused by an unbalance of the level of serotonin, which is a brain chemical (Moynihan and Cassels, 2005). The dimension reached by depression has determined an enormous public reaction. The mass media is full of articles about the damage depression causes to the society, being billed as the second most common 'affliction of mankind' (Healy, 2004: 2). Constantly promoted as a disease, depression was invented and attributed a treatment: the antidepressants.

The Story of Antidepressants and the Prozac case

The antidepressants era began in 1957 with the invention of two kinds of antidepressants by Roland Kuhn and Natalie Kline. Although at this moment the anti-depressants are considered a "breakthrough", when they were invented, they were an "embarrassment" for the company. (Healy, 2004: 2). The availability of anti-depressives increases the chance that individuals start taking treatment for the condition (Donohue et al, 2004). Beyond the effects that they have on people suffering from depression, the antidepressants are the most accessible and wide method of treatment for depression.

Since they were invented and until nowadays, the range of antidepressants available has become more diverse, but there is one particular antidepressant that has been widely criticized: Prozac. Introduced for clinical use in 1986 and produced by Eli Lily, Prozac has been prescribed to millions of people who suffer not only from depression, but also for ADHD and panic attacks (Barondes, 1994). The reason why Prozac was prescribed in high quantities is that specialists believed that its side effects were easier to tolerate by the patients in comparison to other kinds of antidepressants and produced a significant improvement of the general well-being of the patients (Barondes, 1994) (See Picture 4). Still, despite the criticism, Prozac is continuously prescribed by doctors for the treatment of depression.

I took my Prozac today

In the previous, as in the current society, the treatment for any kind of illness was heavily promoted through well planned strategies, but the dimension of publicity in the current society is far greater than it used to be a couple of decades ago. For instance, the marketing strategy that was meant to promote the antidepressants consisted of promoting the success of the drugs in reducing the suicide rates. Ironically, one of the side effects of the antidepressants was precisely the increased likelihood for the patients suffering from depression to commit suicide, which actually happened (Moynihan and Cassels, 2005). Well known for increasing the suicide rates is the case of the Prozac antidepressants. An enormous scandal in the world was caused by Prozac because many of the people who started taking it, even after a few weeks, committed suicide (Healy, 2004).

The Pharmaceutical Industry and its Influence in the Treatment of Depression

A cultural shift has been made in the current society because people regard medicines as the solution for a wide range of problems and by doing so; they transform some problems into illnesses. Therefore, a culture of pill taking has been formed which is likely to advance in the future (Busfield, 2006). The success of pharmacology is due to the identification of new treatments for old and new illnesses. It has been argued that the pharmaceutical industry, the one which is responsible with the manufacturing and supply of medicines expresses an abnormal interest in 'maximizing medicine use and actively encourages this well beyond the meeting of health needs' (Busfield, 2010: 935).

The expansion of the pharmaceutical industry is dependent on the doctors' help and guaranteed if the intervention of the government is limited. A strategy used to increase medicine use is that it 'extends the boundaries' of existing ones considered to require pharmaceutical treatment which the industry heavily promotes (Busfield, 2010: 936). Especially in the Western countries, the number of prescriptions dispensed has registered a significant growth, and this taking into consideration the fact that not all the medicines require a prescription. The visits in hospitals, particularly in US, for instance, have increased as well, for both prescribed and non-prescribed medicines, among the drugs required being antidepressants (Busfield, 2010).

The public is more actively involved in 'relation to health and health care' because they seek for medical help and ask for medicines they have heard about, but that haven't been prescribed (Busfield, 2010:938). Despite the availability of treatments for depression, around half of the people who suffer from it do not receive any kind of treatment, and the duration of treatment taking for the ones who receive medical care is not enough to eliminate the risk of relapse (Donohue et al, 2004). Moreover, many individuals do not receive treatment for their condition because they do not perceive it as an illness, a fully treatable disease, and instead of looking for professional help, they confess to their friends (Wells et al, 1999).

The pharmaceutical industry's interest has increased as well, providing new kinds of treatments for depression and supplying the doctors with them; the industry shows a high interest in producing medicines for long-term diseases such as depression (Busfield, 2010). Moving away from medical institutions, though roughly criticized for it, the representatives of the pharmaceutical industry went for direct-to-consumer advertising and this has led to an increasing trend among the current society's members to purchase treatment for undiagnosed depression. The manufacturing and advertisement of treatment for long-term conditions such as depression are of high interest for the pharmaceutical companies which have enormous economic benefits. Some pharmaceutical manufacturers have even got to the point in which they developed programs that allow the patients to join support groups or to sign up for special electronic reminders meant to acknowledge the patients when they have to refill their prescriptions (Donohue et al, 2004).

The Pharmaceutical Industry and Antidepressants

When released on the market, the antidepressants are a risky measure to treat depression; despite the process it has been through in order to be approved, and by saying risky we take into consideration the possibility of 'drug injury' (Abraham and Davis, 2005:394). The government makes use of regulation regarding the antidepressant, but even so it is aware of the risks that such a medicine can bring (Abraham and Davis, 2005). And one of the risks is addiction, which is quite common amongst the people who not only take antidepressants, but other kinds of pills as well.

Picture 5 – Haro von Mogel (2009)

'A good drug is one you can almost forget you're on, until, of course, you try to come off' (Law, 2006: 9). In case of the antidepressants, there has been observed the so-called 'withdrawal syndrome' (Law, 2006: 9). This syndrome, associated with the increased suicide rates especially amongst the youngsters, has attracted a relatively bad image to the pharmaceutical industry (Law, 2006).

The patients have formed the idea that health, just like everything in the world, has to be bought and the way in which the society is constructed; They achieve their health by buying drugs (Law, 2006). For example, though people are healthier than ever before, in the case of the UK, seven out of ten people take drugs either to treat or to prevent illness of any kind (Law, 2006) (See Picture 5).

There have been concerns among some specialists that too many people who feel 'sad, blue, unhappy or down in the dumps' are too easily diagnosed with depression by the doctors who put questions to which most of us would answer 'yes', even if it is about a mild depression that does not even need treatment (Moynihan and Cassels, 2005: 36). The same specialists emphasize the great harm that doctors do the patients by labelling them with an illness such as depression in the case in which they do not have it. By taking the pills prescribed, a perfectly healthy person is made sick through a wrong diagnostic (Moynihan and Cassels, 2005).

Conclusion

There is an entire debate centred on depression and the pharmaceutical industry. From the research carried, I conclude that depression was not a problem before the invention of antidepressants for a condition that was according to the pharmaceutical companies actually an illness, and before the extensive campaigns carried in order to promote the medication. Since there are no physiological signs that depression is indeed an illness, it is in a high degree likely that depression was socially constructed. Moreover, it can be argued that the treatment was invented before the people acknowledged the problem because before the invention of the first antidepressants people did not know the term of depression. They knew that they were suffering from sadness, but beyond that sadness were emotional, not biological reasons.

The pharmaceutical industry still exercises an enormous pressure on the society, despite the limitations imposed by the government, and it is fast growing. As proof of its increasing influence it is the tendency of the people to take pills firstly to prevent, and secondly to treat, which eventually turns into addiction. Furthermore, there is no differentiation between cultural and biological illnesses. As long as the manufacturer is the pharmaceutical companies, everything can get a name if it doesn't have it, and therefore there is a pill for every illness.

Beyond the social construction of the depression as illness, the pharmaceutical industry, in its efforts to create both illnesses and treatment managed to destroy to a certain extent the image of savior that struggled so much to create. This is because in the case of antidepressants, they did not expect an increase in the suicide rates after the administration of medication and from this to emerge a bad image in the eyes of many members of the society they are trying so hard to make ill and fix at the same time.

References

Abraham J and Davis C (2005) Risking public safety: Experts, the medical profession and "acceptable" drug injury. *Health, Risk and Society*. 7(4): 379-395.

Barondes S H (1994) Thinking about Prozac. *Science*. 263(5150): 1102-1103. Available at: http://encore.essex.ac.uk:61080/jstor/stable/2883414?seq=1.

Busfield J (2006) Pills, Power, People: Sociological Understandings of the Pharmaceutical Industry. *Sociology*. 40(2): 297-314.

Busfield J (2010) A Pill for Every Ill: Explaining the Expansion in Medicine Use. *Social Science and Medicine*. 70: 934-941.

Conrad P and Baker KK (2010) The Social Construction of Illness: Key Insights and Policy Implications. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*. 51: 867-879.

Donohue J M, Berndt ER, Rosenthal M, Epstein AM and Frank RG (2004) Effects of Pharmaceutical Promotion on Adherence to the Treatment Guidelines for Depression. *Medical Care*. 42(12): 1176-1185.

Editor (2012) What is the best treatment for depression? [image]. *Inside the Brain* [blog] 31 January. Available at: http://inside-the-brain.com/2012/01/. Accessed: 10 March 2014

Flores T (2006) Most people in Western countries take medication to treat or prevent illness or enhance well-being [illustration]. *PLOS Medicine*. Available at: http://www.plosmedicine.org/article/info:doi/10.1371/journal.pmed.0030191. Accessed: 14 March 2014.

Gilbert P (1992) *Depression: The Evolution of Powerlessness*. Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gordon K (2012) Multiple Sclerosis and Depression: Welcome to My Prozac Nation [image]. *The Self-Healing* Coach. 4 December. Available at: http://www.theselfhealingcoach.com/multiple-sclerosis-and- depression-welcome-to-my-prozac-nation/. Accessed: 14 March 2014.

Haro von Mogel K (2009) Biofortified Lettuce not a Bitter Pill [image]. *Biology Fortified*. 21 October. Available at: http://www.biofortified.org/2009/10/biofortified-lettuce-not-a-bitter-pill/. Accessed: 14 March 2014.

Healy D (2004) *Let Them Eat Prozac*. New York: New York University Press.

Lachmund J and Stollberg G (1992) *The Social Construction of Illness: Illness and Medical Knowledge in Past and Present*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Law J (2006) *Big Pharma: How the world's biggest drug companies control illness*. London: Constable and Robinson.

Med-Health.net (2014) *Mild Depression Symptoms* [image]. Available at: http://www.med-health.net/Mild-Depression-Symptoms.html. Accessed: 10 March 2014.

Mills CW (1959) *The Sociological Imagination.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moynihan R and Cassels A (2005) *Selling Sickness: How Drug Companies are Turning us all into Patients.* Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin

Moynihan R, Health I and Henry D (2002) Selling Sickness: The Pharmaceutical Industry and Disease Mongering. *British Medical Journal.* 324 (7342): 886-890.

Moynihan R and Henry D (2006) The Fight against Disease Mongering: Generating Knowledge for Action. *PLOS Medicine.* 3(4). Available at: http://www.plosmedicine.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pmed.0030191. Accessed: 14March 2014.

Scott J and Marshall G (2009) *A Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wells KB, Sturm R, Sherbourne CD and Meredith LS (1999) *Caring for Depression*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Digital Research Challenges

Virgil Stoian

With the rise of the digital era and with its potential to open new directions in ethnography, there can be little doubt that the Internet has provided social researchers with great opportunities for a more in-depth approach towards the desired field of investigation. Despite all these, as Murthy (2008) suggests, their infiltration into popular research methods represents a small part of the overall research compared to the online scholarly portals used for research. In this essay, I am going to talk about the challenges which sociologists face when they base their research on digital documents and analyse the way in which these challenges can be addressed whilst ensuring the data collected is valid and reliable.

As Bryman (2012) states, websites and web pages are a potential source of data themselves and can be regarded as potential material for both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The four new technologies which enable sociologists to collect their data are, according to Murthy (2008) online questionnaires, websites, blogs, digital video and social networking; they pose, by the way, an important question regarding their validity and reliability, as not everything which is displayed on the virtual environment is actually sociologically valid.

Despite the fact that today, video-recording and photographing are perceived as techniques of researching, in the second half of the 20th century, these innovations seemed unreliable. As Elliot Freidson observed, in the 1950's, the use of a tape recorder research wise was mocked (Lee, 2004). Later on, Howard Becker (1974) argued that the pictures which the anthropologists take for research purposes are not much different from the ones they usually take on their holidays or what other people take in their vacations. However, according to Murthy (2008), Becker was one of the first sociologists to make practical use of tape recording in the early 1950s. Furthermore, some of the sociologists who took up photography years ago are today reluctant towards the use of video streams or research "blogs" in their research.

As Murthy (2008: 4) suggests, 'the presence of ethnographers in a virtual field site is often physically "invisible"', or as what Ebo (1998: 3) calls, 'cyberstealth', as they read web blogs and take anonymous web 'avatars' in chat rooms of forums. Even if the internet and its domains want to project an image of neutrality, these are, in essence, spaces where power relations are developed, most often from the interactions of the virtual incarnations of racist or homophobic moderators or blog owners with the persons which post comments, as Murthy (2008) describes. Due to this situation, Dicks et al (2005:128) draw attention to the fact that the Internet should never be treated as being a 'neutral' observation space, as it always remains a domain where a researcher's data and analysis are always filled with personal histories, social norms and agendas. As a consequence, the role of observer can still be considered "passive" from the bloggers' and chat room users' point of view if the researcher is not openly expressing his or her goal in their interactions with the other users of the virtual environment. This situation raises some ethical questions regarding the covert electronic research. One example is Denzin (1999), and he admits that during his research, he was passively observing other players without asking their permission for this nor for the use of their postings as quotations. But as all the researchers agree, they have to

consider the act of lurking and its implications as a part of the electronic social research, as Richman (2007) suggests.

From the situations described above, it is clear that there are many problems arising from the ethics of new media-driven research. However, Murthy (2008) implies that there are some researchers which offer support and guidelines towards the correct social observation of the Internet, such as Bruckman's (2002: 21-30) thoughts on 'Human Subjects Research on the Internet', Sharf's (1999) "Ethics of Doing Naturalistic Discourse Research on the Internet" and Schrum's (1995) "Guidelines for Ethical Electronic Research", which respond to many of the questions raised by the online research, such as issues of privacy, online pseudonyms, documentation and informed consent and many other related social research topics. Murthy (2008) encourages internet researchers to use Schrum's (1995) example, which gives a very good set of ethical guidelines towards research, such as treating e-mail correspondence as private unless otherwise agreed and consider themselves as having an "obligation" towards the electronic communities they are conducting their researching on.

Another question is raised by the technique of "harvesting", as Sharf (1999) explains, which is skimming data from online lists, chatrooms, newsgroups and other such environments without the express consent of the users and moderators. Despite the fact that this practice is not forbidden by any law, there are few researchers who are convinced that moderators, bloggers and chatrooms and newsgroups will be comfortable to being subjected to covert observation or their statements being cited and reproduced in any qualitatively environment such as journals, books and newspapers. As Murthy (2008) suggests, one of the aspects that all three researchers, Bruckman (2002), Schrum (1995) and Sharf (1999) agree, is the ethical approach towards the research of the vulnerable and marginalized groups. In this context, Sharf's (1999) suggestion is that researchers should take into consideration the potential harms, such as conflicts with the online group and the benefits for the group, like its legitimacy.

The first digital research method which I examine is the online questionnaires. As Murthy (2008) explains, researchers who wanted to use an online questionnaire on a selected group of people in the 1990s had no other choice but design and program the questionnaire themselves from scratch. As a comparison, today, there is a wide variety of affordable online templates and hosting services which provide a firm and reliable support for the researchers to conduct their questionnaires on, services like "Zoomerang" and "SurveyMonkey". Once the data are collected from the respondents, these online services can then export the results to SPSS or any other quantitative analysis package which will allow them to work with all the data, so they can categorise it in any way they want. Murthy (2008) goes on saying that after this, all the resulted data can be stored in a Microsoft Word document or any other text processing software which will grant them instant access without any need for transcription. The major advantages of the online questionnaires is the huge number of respondents that the researcher can work with, as Murthy (2008) suggests that the numbers are beyond 20,000 participants and the cost attached to this type of research is modest, compared with the traditional survey research methods as Brewer and Hunter (2006) exemplify, and the ease of implementing modifications at a latter stage to the questionnaires, such structuring responses, adapting questions and point-and-click responses technique, illustrated by Van Selm and Jankowski (2006).

Another aspect which gives the online research questionnaires and advantage over the classical questionnaires is that respondent frequently e-mails the online questionnaires to

his friends and co-workers, as Murthy (2008) observed, gathering even more information, which may further be used or discarded, depending on the researcher's needs. Furthermore, respondents are more likely to respond to more "intimate" questions online compared to when they are talking face-to-face with the researcher, as Miller and Slater (2000) confirm.

There are also downsides attached to the Internet research. For example, as Bryman (2012) explains, Clegg Smith (2004) found an e-mail-based distribution list or, for short, listserv, on which General Practitioners in the National Health Service posted their views regarding the organisational changes in the service. This listserv notified all participants that 'members are advised to consider comments posted to lists to be in the public domain'. Due to the fact that there are very large numbers of comments posted, many of these comments may come from users who are no longer active participants, so finding them and asking for their consent to use their comments for research can be very difficult or even impossible. Furthermore, there is great concern regarding the principle of protecting the respondents from harm. As Stewart and Williams (2005) suggest, complete protection anonymity is nearly impossible to maintain in Internet researching due to the fact that the computer generates information about its identity which can often be found in the header and which is very difficult to remove.

The data protection is another concerning aspect. DeLorme et al (2001) explains that the Internet raises the question of the security under which the data is kept, as it is very difficult to know who can access the information apart from the researcher. He gives the example of a message posted on an Internet discussion group that can be accessed by anyone who can use the web. Furthermore, due to the fact that some websites allow "lurkers", which are people who can monitor the activity on a website without letting anyone know they are there, these environments make it difficult for the researcher to secure the confidentiality of the data they collected, if there are users who can identify identities despite the researcher's effort to conceal them.

An important problem related to the online surveys is the sampling. As Bryman (2012) explains, a researcher will set its sampling frame from which he will then select his sample, or the number of individuals whose responses he needs for the project. A sample is the segment of the population which is selected for investigation. This sample represents only a small number of the population. Once the researcher has finished sampling, he can than send the online questionnaires to the respondents to complete them. But there are some issues which can affect the sampling. For example, as Bryman (2012) suggests, a major issue is that not everyone on Earth is online and has the necessary technical knowledge to complete an online questionnaire in either email or Web formats.

Furthermore, there many other issues which affect sampling for an online project. One example can be found in the case in which a respondent has multiple e-mail addresses. This can happen as people often pass their work e-mail addresses as they do not want to be disturbed on their private online addresses. Moreover, individuals may have several Internet providers which make it hard for the researcher to keep track of the actual number of respondents. Another challenge is illustrated through the fact that in any given household, there may be more than one user who share the same computer. One other sampling issue can be the public towards the Internet is addressed. According to Couper (2000), the Internet-users are a biased sample of the population, as they tend to be better educated, younger, wealthier and they often do not represent the ethnic or religious minorities the researchers are looking for.

Another problem regarding the digital documents for researching is that these can often be subjected to re-editing without the researcher being notified of this, and as a consequence, the facts he used from that particular source can no longer be valid and reliable. As Platt (1981), Burgess (1984) and Scott (1990) suggest, it is vital that a document can be confirmed as being authentic. Langlois and Seignobos (1908) explain that in order for a copy to be of some value at all, the text must not be corrupted and altered in transmission. According to Allen-Robertson (2013), when dealing with digital documents on the Internet, if we analyse the true technical sense of a document, we realise that everything that circulates on the Web is actually a copy of a copy. In fact, the process of data transferring from the source to the user's screen involves copying, for multiple times, across multiple spaces for multiple web platforms multiple copies. If in the daily practice such an occurrence would not be considered an issue and we take for granted that what has been copied is an 100% replica of the original, on the Internet, the situation changes. The simple act of changing the document's original file format or simply hosting it in a different archival system can significantly alter it. On the World Wide Web, and under such circumstances, nothing can guarantee that the digital document read now has the same content and meaning as when it was produced and dated as such.

In this digital era that we leave in, documents are subjected to corrections, alterations or even complete rewrites, and there is the possibility that notifications regarding the modifications of the online documents may not be available for the researcher.

Other aspects of online researching which pose a challenge to the researcher are from the present history, which is history that is occurring as the research takes place, and can be described as "internet echoes", according to Allen-Robertson (2013). It is often for a story to appear on one site and other sites report it as well, with slight variations added from one site to another. Despite this, some editors may add other information to the initial report, such as interviews, or any other further information, which the first report did not contain. This means that if a story is taken and edited on an x number of websites, it will have an x number of variants.

To conclude, the digital tools like online and e-mail based questionnaires have proved to be of real help for researchers, as they imply a substantially reduced cost and time consume compared to the traditional post questionnaires, but in the same time, the virtual environment has some well hidden problems which question the quality and originality of many sources, due to the personal views and judgement expressed by the editors in their work.

References

Allen-Robertson J (2013) *Digital Culture Industry: A History of Digital Distribution*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Becker HS (1974) Photography and sociology. *Studies in the Anthropology of visual communication* 1 [online] lucy.ukc.ac.uk/becker.html Accessed: 22 April 2014.

Brewer J and Hunter A (2006) *Foundations of Multimethod Research: Synthesizing Styles*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Bruckman, A (2002) Studying the Amateur Artist: A Perspective on Disguising Data Collected in Human Subjects Research on the Internet. *Ethics and Information Technology* 4(3): 217–31.

Bryman A (2012) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burgess RG (1984) *In the Field.* London: Allen & Unwin.

Clegg Smith KM (2004) "Electronic Eavesdropping": The Ethical Issues Involved in Conducting a Virtual Ethnography. In MD Johns, SLS Chen and GJ Hall (eds) *Online Social Research.* New York: Peter Lang.

Couper MP (2000) Web Surveys: A Review of Issues and Approaches. *Public Opinion Quarterly* (64)4: 464-494.

DeLorme D, Zinkhan GM and French W (2001) Ethics and the Internet: Issues Associated with Qualitative Research. *Journal of Business Ethics* 33(4): 271-286.

Denzin, NK (1999) Cybertalk and the Method of Instances. In SG Jones (ed) *Doing Internet Research: Critical Issues and Methods for Examining the Net*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 107–126.

Dicks B, Mason B, Coffey A and Atkinson P (2005) *Qualitative Research and Hypermedia: Ethnography for the Digital Age*. London: SAGE.

Ebo, B (1998) Internet or Outernet? In B Ebo (ed.) *Cyberghetto or Cybertopia? Race, Class, and Gender on the Internet*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1-12.

Langlois CV and Seignobos C (1908) *Introduction to the Study of History*. London: Duckworth.

Lee RM (2004) Recording technologies and the interview in sociology, 1920-2000. *Sociology* 38(5) [online] digirep.rhul.ac.uk/file/046b0d22-f470-9890-79ad-b9ca08241251/4/Lee_(2004).pdf Accessed: 22 April 2014.

Miller D and Slater D (2000) *The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford: Berg.

Murthy D (2008) Digital Ethnography: An examination of the use of new technologies for social research. *Sociology* 42(5): 837-855.

Platt J (1981) The Social Construction of "Positivism" and its Significance in British Sociology. In P Abrams, R Deem, J Finch and P Rock (eds) *Practice and Progress: British Sociology 1950-1980.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Richman A (2007) The Outsider Lurking Online: Adults Researching Youth Cybercultures. In A L Best (ed) *Representing Youth: Methodological Issues in Critical Youth Studies*. New York: New York University Press, 182–202.

Schrum L (1995) Framing the Debate: Ethical Research in the Information Age. *Qualitative Inquiry* 1(3): 311–26.

Scott J. (1990) *A Matter of Record.* Cambridge: Polity.

Sharf BF (1999) Beyond Netiquette: The Ethics of Doing Naturalistic Discourse Research on the Internet. In SG Jones (ed) *Doing Internet Research: Critical Issues and Methods for Examining the Net.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 243–56.

Stewart K and Williams M (2005) Researching Online Populations: The Use of Online Focus Groups for Social Research. *Qualitative Research* (5)4: 395-416.

Van Selm M and Jankowski NW (2006) Conducting Online Surveys. *Quality and Quantity* 40(3): 435–56.

Compare and contrast the main macrosociological perspectives of punishment. Answer with reference to at least two of the following theorists: Marx, Durkheim and Foucault

Ayshe Caluda

This essay will compare and contrast the main macrosociological perspectives of punishment with reference to Marx, Durkheim and Foucault. Sociological perspectives of punishment attempt to discover the cavernous roles that punishment conducts within society, viewing punishment 'as a complex social institution, shaped by an ensemble of social and historical forces' (Garland, 1991: 115). Punishment varies across time and space with different reasoning for imposing a penalty on criminal behaviour. Similarly, the sociology of punishment provides diverse approaches, as well as diverse elucidations of punishment. For example, Durkheim's perspective of punishment accentuates on the expressive and emotive dynamics; whereas, Marx and Foucault discuss punishment as a calculated measure which highlights underlying power relations – either internally within the penal process or externally, surrounding the oppression of subordinate classes. It should be acknowledged that Foucault's perspective can be seen to encompass parts of each macrosociological perspective of punishment as his work was conducted after both Marx and Durkheim's. Accordingly, throughout this essay, an endeavour will be made to illuminate and expand on the comparisons and contrasts between these macrosociological perspectives of punishment. The essay will begin by briefly elaborating on concepts by Marx which are seen as relevant and connected to the sociology of punishment, and then integrating comparisons of these concepts among Durkheim and Foucault. Thereafter, in order to uphold the judgements, further analysis of the perspectives used by Durkheim and Foucault will be provided, whilst evaluating the links and the contradictions between the two. Attempts will be made to acknowledge the main arguments/concepts within each perspective; although, it should be recognised that due to the extent of each theory, some points (such as the arguments that deem punishment to be ineffective) have been excluded, and some concepts may contain less focus than other ideas within each theory.

To begin with, when discussing Marx and his perspective of punishment it should be understood that little about punishment is treated within his theory, though at the same time it should also be recognised that Marxists have used understandings of Marxism, developed by Karl Marx to provide interpretations and discussions on punishment. For example, Marx (1867; cited in Marx, 1976) interprets a capitalist mode of production, where labour power (including the use and exchange value) converts itself into becoming a commodity – known as the commodification of human labour. Using this theory and applying it to institutions of punishment, it is assumed that such institutions also consolidate the ideas used within a workplace. This shows how capital becomes very influential within the economy. Marxists, for instance, have deliberated penalty with reference to the political economy of punishment. Amongst society, the economic base somewhat determines social inequalities which hence, increases levels of criminal activity. Certain groups are considered to display/have more power in comparison to subordinate classes. Marx believed that societal laws are there; set by the powerful to keep an eye on the rest of society – hence, the law being to punish the poor. This highlights the power that the ruling classes have within society and further explains the idea by Marxists, of crime

occurring due to class struggles. Subsequently, Rusche (1939; cited in Garland, 1991) expands by stating:

> The criminal law and the daily work of the criminal courts are directed almost exclusively against those people who class background, poverty, neglected education, or demoralization drove them to crime
> (1939; cited in Garland, 1991: 91).

Therefore, the Marxist tradition expands on the idea of the ruling class, believing that crime is a revolutionary response due to oppression of subordinate classes. This develops the idea of a class conflict within society – 'an arena for class struggle' (Thompson, 1978: 130). Furthermore, Marx argues that 'the criminal produces not only crimes but also criminal law' (Marx, 1988: 306). The classes who hold power within society, are entitled to decide what a crime is, allowing them to criminalise and punish the behaviour of the poor. Marxists have argued that society punishes crime when it is not in their favour, although, during a period of war (working-class men fighting) crime will not be punished. Once again, this further acknowledges the power which the ruling classes have. Thus far, this essay has attempted to highlight Marx's perspectives on punishment and draw links between his theory and Marxist's developments of this. This essay will now evaluate the challenges and/or comparisons to Marx's outlook that Durkheim and Foucault's macrosociological perspectives of punishment contain.

In contrast to Marx, Durkheim expresses a somewhat beneficial aspect and articulates a positive perspective of punishment. With reference to crime, Durkheim believes that:

> There is no phenomenon which represents more incontrovertibly all the symptoms of normality, since it appears to be closely bound up with all conditions of all collective life… [Crime is] an integrative element in any healthy society (Emirbayer, 2003: 289).

Subsequently, Durkheim (1895; cited in Durkheim, 1982) believes that punishment is also functional as it enhances forms of social solidarity, which are destroyed through criminal activity. This therefore, contradicts Marx's idea that social inequalities have escalated due to the economic base, and hence, opposes punishment being an authoritarian mean of punishing lower social classes for their actions. Although, in comparison with Marx, it can also be argued that Marx additionally holds a perception of crime being unavoidable or inevitable; however, in Marx's case this has stemmed from the social equalities amongst society. Whereas for Durkheim, this inevitability arises from the belief that crime and punishment are needed for society to function *normally* and for individuals to highlight what behaviour is deemed good and what behaviour is deemed "deviant".

Durkheim's perspective of punishment varies in accordance to two differing ideal, social types of society – consisting of mechanical or organic solidarity (Durkheim, 1984). These alternate forms of cohesion, hence, give upswing to alternate modes of punishment. Mechanical solidarity exists when there is little division of labour, hence high levels of "conscience collective". This type of solidarity engenders penal and repressive law. Individuals within a society of collective conscious have similar outlooks and beliefs, functioning as a united strength within society. Consequently, Durkheim's outlook of punishment within a society of mechanical solidarity underpins his belief that punishment reinforces the collective conscience, conveying the values of society. Punishment exists in favour of the majority, and brings members of society together to declare/show what criminal and sacrilegious behaviour consists of. Thus, punishment plays an essential role in

society by maintaining collective and sacred sentiments: '[punishment] serves as a highly dramatic method of affirming collective sentiments concerning the wrongness of criminal behaviour' (Sykes, 2007: 38). Alternatively, with mention to Foucault, it can be understood that both Foucault and Durkheim's macrosociological perspectives of punishment entail exceedingly dissimilar standpoints. As discussed, Durkheim explores and conceptualises punishment by referring to the embodiment of morality and collective sentiments embedded within society. Whereas, Foucault uses terms such as power, subordination and regulation when discussing punishment, linked more closely and with similar concepts to that of Marx's perspective of punishment.

On the other hand, when assessing for an association between Foucault and Durkheim, sections of convergence should be acknowledged. Durkheim, arguably the precursor of Functionalism, understands the role punishment plays and the function it carries out within society. It can also be argued that Foucault too, makes functionalist links when discussing punishment. For example, Brenner argues that 'Foucault conceives power *dispositifs* as systems of coordinated functions, 'functional systems'' (1994, 680). Moreover, connections can also be made via their discussions of penal ceremonies in the *ancien regime.* Durkheim's understanding of penal systems as associated with consequences of absolutism compares with Foucault's understanding of 'punishment in the *ancien regime,* placing visible marks of power on the offender as retribution for trespass against the king's symbolic body' (Ramp, 1999: 81). Durkheim refers to the principle of quantitative change which occurs within a society of mechanical solidarity and explains that, 'punishments inflicted upon the offender will be especially severe when a society is relatively undifferentiated and/or when its governmental power is absolute' (Treviño, 2008: 245). These examples have shown how comparisons and contrasts can be made between macrosociological perspectives of punishment. This essay will now continue by evaluating Durkheim's understanding of punishment within a society of a different type of society consisting of organic solidarity, and continue by examining Foucault's contributory perspective of punishment to criminology – highlighting any comparisons and contradictions with fellow macrosociological perspectives.

Within a highly organised society with a complex division of labour containing different segments, Durkheim argues that the law is responsive to individualism. Due to the diversity across beliefs and heightened individuality, solidarity stems from interdependence and the law focuses on punishments of restitution, instead of retribution. The change in mechanical and organic solidarity in society has also been supplemented with a change in the conscience collective. Durkheim (1984) states that disregarding the fact the functions of punishment are universal, the power of punishment has been altered throughout these varied types of societies. For example, within a state of organic solidarity and the increase of individualism, punishment and its intensity has declined. Durkheim refers to this as a qualitative change, meaning as society develops into secularisation, punishment also develops and a change is witnessed from corporal punishment to incarceration – the prison becomes the 'necessary and natural substitute for other punishments which were fading away' (Durkheim, 1983: 120). This can be compared to Foucault's (1979) argument of punishment developing through modernity, detailing a shift from punishing the *body* (containing sovereign power) to punishing the *soul* (containing disciplinary power). This move from corporal to carceral punishment permitted society to witness 'the disappearance of torture as a public spectacle' and introduced the use of prisons as an increasingly common and greater form of punishment (Foucault, 1979: 7). This then led to Foucault describing punishment as 'the most hidden part of the penal process' (1979: 9).

Both Durkheim and Foucault highlight an alteration of punishment that occurs across time and societies. Therefore, their perspectives of punishment alter too.

Foucault uses the idea of panopticism which he introduced from the panopticon model developed by Jeremy Bentham, to show how surveillance and punishment can have a self-disciplinary function. Prisons with a panoptic influence are architecturally designed allowing for the prisoners to be continuously monitored, theoretically by one guard. This maximises the efficiency of the institution in conveying power, as the prisoners believe they are continuously being watched, and hence, self-police and control their behaviour accordingly – explaining the shift to the punishment of the *soul.* Foucault states:

> So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be the machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers (1979: 201).

By this Foucault refers to techniques of punishment creating a method of self-control amongst the prisoners, who believe they are constantly being watched. Therefore, even if no one is watching and asserting such power, the prisoners feel as if someone is, as they are in a place of endless visibility. Due to this design of the prison, a power relation is created between the guard and the prisoners, which is still independent of the guard who should be exercising it, permitting the panopticon to function by itself. Foucault has argued that this technique of "one watching the many" has been used to exercise power and social control/regulation within society, through the use of CCTV. Comparisons can be made by associating the panopticon model of punishment to Marx's perspective of punishment. For example, both Foucault and Marx discuss the concept of power within the role of punishment; although, Foucault concentrates on power within the penal process and Marx describes power built within society, and set within the unequal mode of production. For instance, Foucault uses the panopticon to focus on and discuss the power relations internal to the process of punishment, examining how institutions of punishment inform knowledge. Foucault analyses how power produces knowledge, but also how knowledge then reinforces power. Alternatively, Marx highlights the power relations existing within different classes upon methods of punishing. Foucault is evidently critical of this emphasis on societal structures and the state, who Marx believes abandons other establishes of power. Despite such differences, it can be argued that Marx and Foucault's perspectives of punishment are complementary to one another due to concepts such as power.

Moreover, another concept within Foucault's perspective of punishment is normalisation. Foucault refers to this as disciplinary power, the ability to apply supreme control with the least amount of force necessary. For example, norms within society are beliefs about how individuals must ideally behave in particular contexts, and anyone who deviates from these norms will be punished. The panopticon's goal therefore, is to use disciplinary techniques in order to reform an individual who has deviated from the norms of society. In contrast to Durkheim's perspective of punishment, Foucault attempts to 'observe the experience of power as a 'hegemony designed for *normalisation*'' (cited in Misztal, 2000: 4). Durkheim, who describes punishment as a product which reinforces and strengthens the moral identity and collective beliefs of society, argues that punishments main aim is not to deter future crimes or even to rehabilitate criminals. Durkheim states that punishment:

> ...constitutes essentially a reaction of passionate feeling, graduated in intensity, which society exerts... over those of its members who have violated certain rules of conduct (Durkheim, 1984: 61).

Foucault, on the other hand, expresses that punishment is a means of discipline and this discipline is a means of normalisation which exists to reform a deviant back to following the norms in society. This elaborates on the differences of emotive dynamics and power relations, existing in Durkheim and Foucault's perspectives of punishment.

Overall, this essay has discussed the macrosociological perspectives of punishment by Marx, Durkheim and Foucault. Comparisons and contrasts have been presented where possible, and the main contributions to the theory of punishment have been acknowledged. To conclude, the macrosociological perspectives of punishment by Marx, Foucault and Durkheim, all have their contributory strengths and weaknesses; although, all perspectives each provide only a fraction and narrow foundation from which punishment can be analysed with. Each approach has therefore been criticised. For instance, neither Foucault's nor Marx's analysis of the concept of "power" can provide a strong and suitable way to study punishment entirely. The same can be said about Durkheim's concept of the "conscience collective". Moreover, the need to acknowledge all macrosociological perspectives becomes somewhat relevant as each perspective expresses a different view. For example, Durkheim's perspective exposes dynamics and emotive sentiments which are not as observed amongst the other macrosociological perspectives. However, Foucault's perspective of punishment offers a profound study of the connections between various modes of punishment through the development of society. Writing many decades after Marx and Durkheim, Foucault was able to reference both Marx's idea of capitalism and the rise of incarceration and to Durkheim's idea of cohesion in varied societies within his work. Consequently, Foucault's perspective of punishment can be seen to encompass sections of both Marx and Durkheim's perspectives. What is more, Foucault further analyses the concept of power-knowledge, highlighting a bond among punishment and epistemology, which highpoints contrasts between the perspectives as this not interpreted or covered fully by neither Marx nor Durkheim. In total, Durkheim who takes a more positive standpoint of punishment contrasts greatly with Marx's outlook. Rather, Marx argues that punishment is another act of subordination of the lower classes. Marxists who develop this argument believe that punishment intends to buttress the capitalism system, by punishing the poor. This essay has thus, compared and contrasted the main macrosociological perspectives of punishment.

References

Brenner N (1994) Foucault's New Functionalism. *Theory and Society* 23(5): 679-709.

Durkheim E (1982) *The Rules of Sociological Method, and Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method.* New York: The Macmillian Press Ltd.

Durkheim E (1983) *Durkheim and the Law.* Edited by Lukes S and Scull A. Oxford: Martin Robertson.

Durkheim E (1984) *The Division of Labour in Society.* Translated by WD Halls. New York: The Free Press.

Emirbayer M (ed) (2003) *Emile Durkheim: Sociologist of modernity.* Malden: Blackwell Publishling Ltd.

Foucault M (1979) *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Garland D (1991) Sociological Perspectives on Punishment. *Crime and Justice* 14: 115-165.

Marx K (1976) *Capital. Volume 1: A critique of political economy.* London: Penguin Books Ltd.

Marx K (1988) Digression: (on Productive Labour). *Marx-Engels Collected Works* 30: 306-318 [online]. Available at: http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1861/economic/ch33.htm.

Misztal B (2000) Goffman's Concept of the Normal as the Collective Representation of Social Life. *TASA 2000 Conference* [online]. Available at: http://www.tasa.org.au/docs/conferences/2000_02/181100%20Misztal.pdf.

Ramp W (1999) Durkheim, Foucault and the Disciplinary Society. In M Cladis (ed) *Durkheim and Foucault: Perspectives on Education and Punishment.* Oxford: Durkheim Press Ltd, 71-104.

Sykes G (2007) *The Society of Captives: A study of a maximum security prison.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thompson EP (1978) *The Poverty of Theory & Other Essays.* London: Merlin Press.

Treviño A (2008) *The Sociology of Law: Classical and contemporary perspectives* 2nd edn. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Why is the physical appearance of the human body so important to art, culture, and our sense of self?

Vince Eade

'The body is the first and most natural tool of man' (Mauss, 1979: 104).

Why is the physical appearance of the human body so important to art, culture, and our sense of self? Using the anthropological model of society as conceptualised by Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger*, specifically her injunction 'What is being carved in human flesh is an image of society' (Douglas, 2003: 143), this essay will explore some possible explanations. The essay argues that although her thesis was developed in the early 1960's, it is still valid in postmodern, twenty first century, Western society. The essay analyses the link between tattooing and sociocultural cohesion and suggests that tattooing is a way for the self to outwardly and indelibly express its individuality, while still conforming to the accepted social norms and values of its particular culture. As MacCormack (2006) notes:

> Skin is the site of encounter between enfleshed self and society. The skin is where the self involutes into the world and the world into the self (2006: 59).

Finally the essay will draw on the distinctive self-portraiture of the early twentieth century Mexican artist, Frida Kahlo who uses her non-permanent, iconic unplucked eyebrows, as a vehicle for an expression of her individuality. This transcends pre and post Mexican revolutionary social borders, much as the permanence of the tattoo enables in others. They also act as a politically unifying symbolic device giving identity not only to indigenous causes, but many other political and commercial causes as well.

The phenomenological approach of Simmel's (2011[1971]) notion of Sociation, where an individual adopts values from social encounters, is a helpful analytical tool to interpret the dynamic interaction between the self and society and will be useful in the essay. Merton's (1968: 105) conceptualisation of 'manifest functions', where in the case of tattoos, their appearance overtly conveys a message of social boundaries, with 'latent functions' communicating the unobserved, unconsciously understood message contained within them, covertly to individuals, will also be applied analytically. Both Merton and Simmel offer useful insights which add support to the contemporary value of Mary Douglas's (2003) injunction.

In *Purity and Danger,* Mary Douglas (2003) argues against the reductionist, and in her view, inadequate and highly questionable, psychological explanations of human ritual behaviour, specifically male and female initiation rites of passage as postulated in *Symbolic Wounds* by Bettelheim (1962). She wrote in defence of her argument, 'What is being carved in human flesh is an image of society' (2003: 143). To further elucidate, Douglas indicates that an individual's body is symbolic of the society it inhabits; it is much more than that which every human has. The individual body symbolises a condensed meaning of society, both the power and the dangers inherent in the structure of society, can be reproduced, in this case via tattoos, at the micro societal level, by using the skin of the body as its manuscript (Douglas, 2003; MacCormack, 2006; Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). Put another way, tattoos, according to Douglas (2003), are visible expressions of individual political alliance that enable individuals to intimately know their own society through the symbolism of

their own physical body. Douglas (2003) further reinforces her thesis that tattoos mirror society when she suggests that the act of tattooing manifestly expresses the individuals private and personal concerns, much like the earlier link identified by Wright Mills (2000 [1959]) between an individual's private troubles and wider public issues.

Fisher (2002) indicates that the ancient Greeks associated the practice of tattooing with other, non-Greek peoples. The Greeks considered these peoples other, or barbarian, and considered their tattoos as stigmata. According to Goffman (1963), the Greeks had a highly developed sense of symbolism, with the Greek word stigma being used to describe these tattooed marks where they symbolised something unusual and bad in the socio cultural status of the wearer. Stigmata tattoos were socially marginalised in ancient Greek culture and so were subsequently adopted by the Greeks to identify the other in the wider Greek society, namely convicts and slaves (Fisher, 2002). These tattoos, often cut or carved into the flesh of criminals, slaves or other social outcasts, offer a persuasive supporting argument to Douglas's (2003) injunction, in that the tattoos reflected a social boundary that had been crossed in early human history.

The use of tattooing as an indelible boundary between an individual's social acceptance or marginality, was then adopted by the ancient Romans as a device for state control over the movements of slaves and convicts (Gustafson, 2000) who then, if they could have had access to Douglas's (2003) thesis, had an image of Roman society permanently carved into their flesh. Tattooing therefore finds its western roots in ancient Greek and Roman notions of the boundaries between criminality, deviance and acceptable forms of social behaviour (Fisher, 2002). Tattooing found its way into Colonial European culture during the expansion of European Empire into Africa, Asia and the Americas. Here it was identified as belonging to primitive peoples, who, much like the Greek barbarian others, were indelibly marked in the minds of the colonists, as inferior, and so therefore, suitable for European colonisation (Fisher, 2002).

Govenar (2000) proposes that a subtle shift in the symbology of the tattoo and the genesis of its social acceptance, as not just a device to mark criminals and deviants, is found in its widespread adoption by the military during the American Civil War of the 1860s. Politically overt expressions of allegiance by soldiers to their particular side in the conflict, were encouraged by military leaders as an important way to reinforce group cohesion in the ranks of soldiers, where there was little by way of physical differentiation, except by the colour of their uniforms, and occasionally, in the case of Union soldiers, by the colour of their [black] skin (Govenar, 2000). Through these tattooed symbols, differences could be created between often politically confused men on either side. The overt symbology of the tattoo, for example the Union eagle tattooed on the body of Union soldiers, elegantly fits Merton's (1968) model of manifest function, ensuring the inculcation of a group identity, an us, to the opposing sides, other. Moreover, Merton's (1968) model of latent function is also satisfied by the unconscious and unintended consequence of having an eagle tattoo, in that it promotes bonding and social cohesion within soldiers; a unification of self-identity. Both Douglas (2003) and Simmel (2011[1971]) would identify with the socio cultural processes provided by the eagle tattoo. Douglas would see it as directly identifying the political allegiances of the soldiers within both themselves and the wider society to which they belonged. Simmel would argue that the groups' collective identity was to be found in the process of their Sociation, that they had coalesced through their own dynamic interactions (Douglas, 2003; Simmel, 2011[1971]).

However, as Fisher (2002) notes, warfare causes great rifts and divisions within society, and although tattoos had their place on the battlefield, at the cessation of hostilities they remained an indelible reminder of conflict and one which society found uncomfortable and intolerable. Society still felt uncomfortable nearly a century later, as after the Second World War, with a desire by society to put the war behind it, to move on and return to social normalcy, Fisher (2002) indicates the tattoo was relegated back over the deviant societal boundary where it was adopted by 'the working class, gangs and drunks' (2002: 97). Society was however, not finished with the tattoo. Fisher points out that in the 1950s, the tattoo became a symbol for teenage rebellion with media reinforcement through images of 'Popeye and the Marlboro man [cigarette advert] having tattoos' (2002: 97). Through the tattoos, Douglas's (2003) injunction becomes real; the image of teenage rebellious society was overtly expressed for all to see as it was indelibly inked onto their flesh. This example also adds credibility to Merton's (1968), latent function thesis as, through the symbol of the tattoo, the unintended consequence of tattooing was the disapproval from older, more powerful, society members (Fisher, 2002), paradoxically, reinforcing the rebellion of youth.

Interestingly, tattoos had enjoyed an earlier fashionable popularity with the British and American upper classes of the late nineteenth century, despite the tattoos continuing association with criminality and deviance (Bradley, 2000; Fisher, 2002).

Fisher (2002), suggests the reason for the tattoos popularity with the wealthy classes can be found in the invention of the electric tattooing machine, therefore making tattoos much more accessible, hygienic and more importantly, dividing the earlier primitive methods of tattooing, the domain of criminals and deviants, with the newer technologically progressive, elaborately patterned and socially acceptable electric method.

Fisher (2002) suggests that the tattoo was a way the upper classes could overtly express their, often false, worldliness, conveying latently to any onlooker that the bearer had been immersed and consumed in other, more exotic cultures that their wealth had allowed them to exploit. Given this was the time of rapid European Colonialism and Empire building, these tattooed displays would be very culturally powerful, enhancing the social status and the corresponding self-identity, of those who wore them. Fisher (2002: 95) refers to this as 'cultural cannibalism' where the wealthy considered other cultures as commodities and so therefore, ripe for acquisition. This would then reflect and reinforce the acceptable, colonising image of their society, to their peers and again, adds credibility to Douglas's (2003) thesis.

Reflexively, I can identify with the process of gaining group allegiance and collectivism through tattoos. During my military training and service it was common for groups of servicemen to spontaneously obtain tattoos, usually after consuming alcohol. The design of tattoos often varied, but for example, groups who were trained parachutists would have their 'jump wings' motif tattooed on their left shoulder in approximately the same place as the cloth badge would be on their uniform. An individual's blood group was another favourite, ensuring swift battlefield blood transfusion treatment if ever required. These tattooed symbols of an individual's important life events (Fisher, 2002), fostered a feeling of us and we and excluded all others as them, illustrating perfectly Douglas's (2003) image of the society of a band of brothers, their self-identity being in this case, inked on human flesh.

A contemporary postmodern insight into the use of tattoo symbology by young Israeli's is provided by Jacobson and Luzzatto (2004). Due to western acculturation, Jacobson and

Luzzatto, consider Israeli youths to be similar in their views and opinions to their American peers. Conscription into the Israeli Defence Force is mandatory, and for males, that means three years in uniform, their body becoming the property of the state for the duration of their service (Jacobson & Luzzatto, 2004). However, unlike youth in America, Israeli youths are not marginalised or demonised by the media, or seen by politicians as a way to a quick fix solution in crime prevention. Israeli youths are seen as a security asset to the state and are treated accordingly well by politicians and the media; they are given political freedom at high school and are treated as individuals (Jacobson & Luzzatto, 2004). Benson (2000; cited in Fisher, 2002), proposes that those groups of people who are closely regulated by their nation state, in this case Israeli soldiers, are the most likely to tattoo their body's. A young male Israeli military conscript, is therefore, confronted with, on the one hand, his individualism which has been fostered and nurtured by Israeli culture, and the collectivism he now feels with his peers, in that for three years, he no longer owns his body in quite the same way as he did before (Jacobson & Luzzatto, 2004). Reinforcing their feeling of belonging to the state is that the geographical area around Israel has been militarily and politically fought over for generations, there would therefore be a real feeling of personal danger and potentially, death.

The act of tattooing their body, according to Benson (2000; cited in Fisher, 2002) not only creates social homogeneity, as has already been discussed, but is also as a result of the individual reclaiming their body in the face of the strict regimentation they experience as members of the military. They have had to reinforce their self-identity and individuality, whilst maintaining visible tattooed allegiances to the group while concomitantly attempting to overcome their loss of agency, felt due to what Fisher (2002) describes as, being 'infected by the state' (2002: 103).

Fisher (2002) points out that tattooing in ancient Greece and Rome, preserved individual self-identity which remained internal and inviolate as they were collectively seen as convicts, slaves or other and therefore, external to the state. The state needed to mark the body with tattoos to carve Douglas's (2003) image of society on the body, but the self-identity of the individual was untouched. Fisher (2002) argues that modern society sees a juxtaposition of those earlier motivations with the state now becoming internalised by the Israeli soldiers through feelings of national pride. They have displaced their self-identity with a national identity, while their self-identity is now expressed externally in the form of tattoos (MacCormack, 2006). In this instance, tattoos are required to partially claim back the body which now belongs to the state (Fisher, 2002; Jacobson & Luzzatto, 2004). The elegant flexibility of Douglas's (2003) injunction and Simmel's (2011[1971]) Sociation thesis, therefore, still hold a contemporary validity. Douglas's (2003) image of society being carved into the flesh is no longer that of Israeli society as a whole, but the society formed by a group of young soldiers, importantly, seeking cohesion in the face of state control of their bodies whilst maintaining a modicum of self.

Paradoxically, the permanence of the tattoo contains the seed of its own destruction with Fisher (2002) indicating that as a symptom of our western, late capitalist society where permanence is considered bad and old fashioned, and where progress is measured in the next software upgrade or obtaining the latest i phone, tattoo studios now not only offer tattoos, but also their laser removal. Tattoos, and the youth cultures that embrace them, have become fashionably commoditised mainly due to their increasing disposable income (Klein, 2001). Their income has then prodded into action the sleeping giant of consumer capitalism, who now recognises youth as an exploitable resource (Billig, 1999; Fisher, 2002; Klein, 2001; MacCormack, 2006).

If, as has been so far discussed in this essay, Douglas's (2003) injunction can be successfully applied to the permanence of tattoos inked onto the flesh, can it be just as successfully applied to the transiently fickle nature of art? In particular, the early twentieth century 'folk art' (Baddeley, 2005: 50) self-portraits of Mexican surrealist (Kettenmann, 2003), artist Frida Kahlo. An image of society is, this time, grown onto her flesh in the form of her bushy mono eyebrow and unplucked moustache. Kahlo's art, seen through the lens of Merton's (1968) manifest and latent function thesis, manifestly expresses her own personal pain, suffering and patriotism which then, latently, echo's that of indigenous Mexicans and diasporic Chicanos in the United States of America. Kahlo's image, according to Baddeley (2005), has raised her profile to that of a religious icon. Helping Kahlo present her indigeneity overtly, thereby gaining popular indigenous support is through her choice of simple indigenous clothing. These clothes not only act as a powerful cultural identifier, they also symbolise, along with her distinctive features, an acceptable face of popular nonconformity and 'non-specific radicalism' (Baddeley, 2005: 49); much as the images of Ché Guevara and Bob Marley have also provided (Baddeley, 2005; Kettenmann, 2003).

Baddeley (2005) singles out the paining *The Two Fridas* for a special mention. Not only was this the large canvas that propelled public imagination towards her lesser known works, but it also illustrates the symbiosis between Kahlo's indigeneity, inherited from her mother, clothed in traditional ethnic Mexican dress from the Tehuana region, and the European Colonial dress of her father. These two images of Kahlo then transcend and unify the traditional social boundaries in post-revolutionary Mexico that pre-revolutionary, Colonial, Mexico would not have tolerated. This powerful iconology, then symbolises the unbowed and proud indigenous Mexican's future in a post revolution, post-colonial and, potentially, socially inclusive Mexico (Baddeley, 2005). Kettenmann (2003) indicates that the 1929 painting *Time Flies*, provides a similar synergy to The Two Fridas between her Spanish Colonial, mestiso, and indigenous heritage. This painting then symbolises her national pride and self-identity in that the colours she uses, green white and red, are the colours of the national flag of Mexico. This 'Mexicanism' (Kettenmann, 2003: 26) then symbolising that she is a true Mexican woman and a culturally inspirational role model for Mexicans and Chicanos to ground their ideas of post-colonial self-identity, as her husband, Diego Rivera explains:

> The classic Mexican dress has been created by people for people, the Mexican women who do not wear it do not belong to the people but are mentally and emotionally dependent on a foreign class to which they wish to belong i.e. the great American and French bureaucracy (Diego Rivera; cited in Kettenmann, 2003: 27).

The iconography and art of Kahlo are then, a compelling and persuasive argument that Douglas's (2003) notion of society's image does not need necessarily to be literally carved onto the flesh, it can be achieved just as efficiently though the mass socio cultural appeal of a distinctive, inspirational image. Simmel's (2011[1971]) concept of Sociation is also helpful in this analysis as it illustrates that Kahlo's commercial and cultural success has largely been brought about by the dynamic interactions between individuals, a little like the spreading ripples in a pond radiating out from a thrown pebble.

Interestingly, this almost meteoric rise from the relative obscurity of a naive folk artist to that of the face of 'non-specific radicalism' and 'religious icon' has been due, according to Baddeley (2005), as a result of the publication of the book Frida in 1983. The entertainer Madonna, who bought several Kahlo paintings and the Hollywood release of the 2003

biopic starring Salma Hayek have also been instrumental in her popularity. The enabling mechanism for this rise in popularity resides in consumer capitalism, where demands for a product, in this instance Frida Kahlo, is manipulated and controlled by mass marketing. This is often at the unconscious level, within those potential consumers (Billig, 1999; Klein, 2001) and is a thoroughly postmodern social phenomenon.

Evidence presented in this essay demonstrates that not only Mary Douglas's injunction that 'What is being carved in human flesh is an image of society' (Douglas, 2003: 143), stands contemporary critical scrutiny with respect to the tattoo, but it also translates successfully via iconography when projected into the social milieu by powerful and inspirational cultural symbolism, such as found in Frida Kahlo's art. Any social theory can stand the test of time if it is malleable enough to find an accord with a contemporary society; Mary Douglas's thesis stands this test and therefore demands to be respected as a useful model in the quest for continuing sociocultural understanding. The theses of Simmel's Sociation and Merton's manifest and latent functions have also been helpful in supporting Douglas's injunction, and can be seen as fundamental in the explanation for the operation of a healthy society. The essay has demonstrated that It should be of no surprise then, that as social animals, human beings find a deep seated cultural and artistic importance in the body's physical appearance; the focus may have subtly shifted from that of the ancient Greek and Roman's concrete notion of a barbarian other to today's postmodern manifestation of a progressively inclusive, individualistic society, but the underlying message is the same. This essay has demonstrated that human beings identify culturally, politically and personally with each other through the dynamic, often unspoken, symbols and interactions that exist between each other. Moreover, the essay has illustrated that those interactions are frequently informed by our body image, the tattoos and the artistic self-images, we present to the rest of society.

References

Baddeley O (2005) Reflecting on Kahlo: Mirrors, Masquerade and the Politics of Identification. In *Frida Kahlo*. London: Tate Publishing, 47-53.

Bettelheim B (1962) *Symbolic wounds: Puberty rites and the envious male*. New York: Collier Books.

Billig M (1999) Commodity Fetishism and Repression Reflections on Marx, Freud and the Psychology of Consumer Capitalism. *Theory & Psychology*. 9(3): 313-329.

Bradley J (2000) Body commodification? class and tattoos in Victorian Britain. In Caplan J (ed) *Written on the body: the tattoo in European and American history*. London: Reaktion books, 136-155.

Douglas M (2003) *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Fisher J A (2002) Tattooing the body, marking culture. *Body & Society*. 8(4): 91-107.

Goffman E (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. London: Penquin.

Govenar A (2000) The changing image of tattooing in American culture, 1846–1966. In Caplan J (ed) *Written on the body: the tattoo in European and American history*. London: Reaktion books, 212-233.

Gustafson M (2000) The tattoo in the later Roman Empire and beyond. In Caplan J (ed) *Written on the body: The tattoo in European and American history*. London: Reaktion books, 17-31.

Jacobson Y & Luzzatto D (2004) Israeli Youth Body Adornments Between Protest and Conformity. *Young*. 12(2): 155-174.

Kettenmann A (2003) *Frida Kahlo, 1907-1954: pain and passion*. Koln: Taschen.

Klein N (2001) *Patriarchy gets funky: The triumph of identity marketing, in No Logo*. London: Flamingo.

MacCormack P (2006) The great ephemeral tattooed skin. *Body & Society*. 12(2): 57-82.

Mauss M (1979) *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*. Translated by Brewster B. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Merton R K (1968) *Social theory and social structure*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Mills C W (2000 [1959]) *The sociological imagination*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scheper-Hughes N & Lock M M (1987) The mindful body: A prolegomenon to future work in medical anthropology. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly.* 1(1): 6-41.

Simmel G (2011[1971]) *Georg Simmel on individuality and social forms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Understanding Masculinity and Crime

Nadine Hendrie

In 2001 the Home Office reported that 19% of offenders were female, therefore 81% of offenders were male (Westlake, 2004). Over the last decade the figures have remained static and comparable to international statistics. The United Nations report that between 1975 and 1985 male crime globally outnumbered female crime, and that women were also convicted of committing less serious crimes compared to their male counterparts (Westlake, 2004). This essay will demonstrate knowledge and understanding of how 'masculinity' emerged as a key way of theorising crime. It will give a brief overview of key writers and their respective theories. However, as the area of masculinity is complex and merges with gender studies this essay will specifically focus on Sex Role Theory and Hegemonic Masculinity to analyse how masculinity therefore relates to crime. Masculinity is not simply the idea of being male but of gender relations, specifically the positions of the gender order (Connell, 1995). This essay will then demonstrate a sound and accurate knowledge of key theoretical concepts that provide a historical backdrop in order to understand the issues surrounding working class employment with relation to late modernity, industrialisation and post industrialisation. Finally it will demonstrate awareness of how masculinity theories contribute to key contemporary debates surrounding the politics of crime and control. It will look specifically at how masculinity theories can be applied to criminality in the areas of domestic violence, sporting events and consumerism.

Masculinity has been an academic concept within criminological discourse since the early 1980s, building upon the work of gender studies across the social sciences. Criminology shifted its gaze from gendered assumptions about women, prevalent in the 1960/70s with the rise of radical feminism, and in the 1990s 'men' became part of the equation (Westlake, 2004). Early work on gender differences and biological assumptions of what constitutes being a male or female are central to Social Psychology and the Sex Role Theory. Both Edwin Sutherland (1947) and functionalist sociologist Talcott Parsons (1964) analysed sex differences, how each gender is socialised and then looked at the maleness of criminal behaviour. Parsons focus was the role of the family with social learning being a central element , girls being socialised in feminised roles and boys rejecting feminine qualities in favour of 'being powerful, rough and tough' (Westlake, 2004: 67). Sutherland (1947) argued criminal behaviour is a result of learnt behaviour, his theory of criminal behaviour being the concept of differential association. The concept of masculinity developed further with the work of Cohen (1955) and the delinquency studies of the 1950/60s. Cohen (1955) argued that boys are unsure how to be masculine in a feminised home environment, therefore they resolve their issues on the streets, by way of breaking rules. Taking risks, asserting power which can then provide expressions for young males to be masculine (Westlake, 2004).

Connell (2005) discusses the merits of Sex Role Theory in explaining gender differences in the first instance. Its initial challenge is to move us from the base ideas of biology as a way of explaining sex differences in behaviour; by directing us to consider the process of learnt social expectations (Walklate, 2004). Next, the Sex Role Theory provides a mechanism to comprehend how social construction can be applied to a person's individual personality, therefore emphasising the importance socialisation plays in defining gender. The obvious

concern here is how institutions and structures can influence the socialisation process. Connell (1987) analyses how sex role theory and the element of socialisation can offer a 'politics of change' (Westlake, 2004: 69); simply meaning that if socialisation and oppressive experiences can change process, then it can also change the behaviours of men and women. Connell argues that gender virtues are significant but have a 'central difficulty embedded in them' (Westlake, 2004: 69), the difficulty of how criminology applies the Sex Role Theory. Criminology uses terms such as the female role and male role aligning the biological assumptions with the dramaturgical roles the genders are assumed to play. The biological dichotomy therefore treats the genders as separate entities; Connell (1987; cited in Westlake, 2004) describes this as 'the roles being tacitly treated as equal' (Westlake, 2004: 69). The blending of biological assumptions and dramaturgical roles also creates social expectations, creates normative ideas about what it is to be male or female instead of the reality of the empirical occurrence. Sex Role Theory is used to explain why crime is so male dominated. However, the critique of Criminology is that it fails to reflect upon its value as well as the obvious limitations of the sex role framework itself.

The limitation is acknowledging the power relations within the gender relations. Arguably, developing a more than working understanding of masculinities will give criminology a broader understanding that can be analysed alongside the radical feminist ideas of gender and power relations (Westlake, 2004).

The main contribution to masculinities studies is Hegemonic Masculinity (HM):

> ...a set of ideas, values representations and practices that are associated with being male......a dominant position in gender relations in a society at a particular historical moment (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2006: 199).

HM as a concept emerged in 1987 as a reworking of Gramsci's Hegemony concept of class inequality and legitamisation. Connell (1995) uses this concept to explain how unequal gender relations can reproduce themselves (Connell, 1995). He studied the concept of masculinity as a hierarchal system that includes subordinate masculinities as well as dominate ones. Connell argues that subordinate masculinities are comparable to femininity, and are also affected by race and class (Connell, 1995; McLaughlin and Muncie, 2006). Since the emergence of HM in the 1980s HM has become a lens with which to view crime and the role masculinity plays. HM is a type of masculinity that dominates a situation. This is not just the dominance of women through forced subordination but HM is an idealised form of masculinity which is generally linked to a Western ideology of what it is to be male. HM is defined by culture and is dominant in various male expressions, for example status through employment, the notion of man as a provider, authority over women which ultimately leads to the subordination of women , hetrosexism , control and aggression with the potential for violence (Connell and Messerschmitt, 2005).

The debate concerning masculinity in late modernity has been conceptualised as a problem of transformation and crisis (Tierney, 1996) the crisis Tierney notes is based upon:

> ...wider concerns and anxieties around the meaning of social, economic, cultural changes since the 1980's, not least those between men and women (Tierney, 1996: 330).

He concludes that something is happening to men and the shift in masculinities can be linked to criminality (Tierney, 1996). The 1980s was a pertinent decade in relation to the

economic framework mentioned above; this decade represented a change in government administration and the introduction of a Neoliberal ideology through Margaret Thatcher's government in 1979. It is argued that Neoliberal ideology created the marketisation of society and ultimately the decline of the manufacturing industry in the United Kingdom (UK) taking us from an Industrial era to a Post-Industrial era (Hobbs, 2006). Masculinity in relation to crime can be understood therefore, as a linear concept when looking at how the shift from an Industrial era to the current post Industrial era affects the construction of masculinity against this backdrop. Post War Industrial Britain saw high levels of employment and relatively low prison populations. Deindustrialisation in the late 1960s/70s marked the rise of unemployment and the inevitable rise of the prison population (Hobbs, 2006). The question of how a man 'does masculinity' or 'does gender' within a changing economic framework is a factor when considering the aetiology of crime. Masculinity as a social construct is negotiated through various structures. However, those negotiations are changeable depending on the time and space of the economic system in situ. The industrialised man would have a sense of identity in his job, in his ability to provide a secure future based on the 'job for life' adage. Today's Post Industrial era has seen high unemployment and the destruction of working class jobs. New markets such as the service sector have emerged and masculinities are having to reconstruct with regard to work (Hobbs, 2006; Carrabine et al, 2006). The post-industrial service sector is arguably, highly feminised and this can also challenge masculinity constructs (Harvey, 1990). Messerschmitt (1996) hypothesises that when resource for achieving masculinity is blocked, i.e. a steady job that affords a stable family life then criminal behaviour can be a way of achieving masculine success. This can also lead to violence as an outlet of the masculine trait of toughness (Messerschmitt, 1996, cited in Krienert, 2003).

The decline of working class occupations simultaneously created new occupational opportunities. The free market approach of the Neoliberal Government encouraged entrepreneurial endeavor, the characteristics of an entrepreneur celebrated as all that was successful and all that, represented HM. Edwin Sutherland's (1949) concept of White Collar Crime or Crimes of the Powerful (cited in McLaughlin and Muncie, 2006) can be analysed to explain how HM can create criminality by a person from a higher social status and within the course of his occupation (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2006). Criminality is usually considered to be a working class issue and the inability to achieve HM can be argued a reason for this belief. HM can also be applied to explain Sutherland's (1949) concept of white collar crime. The power relationship that requires the ability to achieve HM is ultimately dominance and control. Person's engaged in white collar crime are often in positions of power, or higher up the hierarchical structure, therefore gender relations have been negotiated. They tend to be tenacious and driven to succeed and when legitimate means are exhausted, illegitimate means can be employed to achieve HM (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2006).

When considering HM with regards to gender power relations and normative ideas of the sex roles, we can easily demonstrate how the area of masculinity and perhaps the 'new' area of masculinity forged by the decline of traditional male jobs, can contribute to key contemporary debates surrounding the politics of crime and control in the high profile area of domestic violence. Home Office Circular 19/2000 (cited in Walklate, 2004) states that domestic violence is:

> ....any violence between current or former partners in an intimate relationship wherever and whenever it occurs. The violence may include physical, sexual, emotional, or financial abuse (Walklate, 2004: 127).

The Economic and Social Research Council (2002; cited in Walklate, 2004), report that the police receive a call every minute asking for help with a domestic violence incident. We know that there is an underreporting of this type of crime (Carrabine et al, 2009), HM argues that dominance and gender power relations are at play. HM can also give an explanation to why and how this type of crime can start and escalate.

To analyse how useful the concept of HE is we first place it within the context of Sex Role Theory and the assumptions made about male and female roles. Societal norms of men being the provider are historical as well as cross cultural as is the notion of women being the weaker sex (Walklake, 2004). HM is a type of masculinity that dominates therefore, in a relationship situation; the roles played are important in understanding how violent situations can occur. The factors that create HM are job status, man as provider, subordination of others, independence, hetrosexism (uncontrollable sex drive), control and aggression with the potential for violence (Connell and Messerschmidt , 2005). Therefore, when these factors are challenged, blocked or unattained the HM lens would view violence as a way to gain subordination, through domination, in order to retain control. Westlake, (2004) draws a comparison between differing physical acts of domestic violence. Her example being the breaking of an arm and the engagement of emotional abuse, the motivation for both acts she argues, is the subjugation of their partner (Westlake, 2004).

Giddens (1991) however, takes the HM notion slightly further arguing that male violence is a manifestation of insecurity and inadequacy rather than the assumption of patriarchal dominance, therefore violence he argues 'is a destructive reaction to the waning of female complicity' (Giddens, 1991, cited in Westlake, 2004: 140). Giddens is alluding to the changes that have come with late modernity and the evolving role of women today.

Expressions of masculinity can also be seen on the sports field and there is current contemporary research inferring a possible link of sport and domestic violence in the UK (Williams et al, 2013). The research conducted so far is in its infancy and therefore requires more substantive work, however early indicators have found a link between sport and domestic violence and infer that HM is a key factor. Williams et al (2013) conducted a preliminary investigation to see if reported domestic violence incidents increased on football match days between two specific football clubs in Scotland. Williams et al (2013) draw upon the work of Wenner (1998; cited in Williams et al, 2013) and list, with regards to how HM is an element, of what they term 'the holy trinity' of sports, alcohol, and hegemonic masculinity within the context of domestic violence (Williams et al, 2013: 2). The research found statistical significance of the sports event and the increase of domestic violence reports within a 24hr period after the matches. The research infers that the opportunity and social acceptance to consume pre match alcohol, mixed with the opportunity to show aggressive forms of masculinity through competitive tension is an indicator of potential domestic violence incidences (Williams et al, 2013). When considering how HM contributes to key contemporary debates surrounding the politics of crime and control within the area of sport, alcohol and domestic violence, the possibility of HM to be used in crime reduction policies is evident. This particular research worked closely with the Scottish Violence Reduction Unit (Williams et al, 2013). Further research and inference could in deed become policy in the future, viewing domestic violence through the lens of HM, with reduction being the main focus.

HM is defined by culture and is culturally relevant within the context of space and time. A contemporary example of how culture can influence masculinity which can influence

criminality can be seen in the work of Harvey et al (2013). *Swagger, Ratings and Masculinity* list where the construction of contemporary teenage masculinities is discussed in the wake of the London 2011 riots. A qualitative research of teenage boys was conducted in two London Boroughs between June and August 2011; the research focused on private and online identity in relation to masculinity (Harvey et al, 2013). They explored how the teenagers viewed:

> …everyday experiences of negotiating global and local norms of masculinities, in which capitalism, technologies and shifting practices of self-formation are entangled (Harvey et al, 2013: 1).

Consumerism, they concluded, is a key factor of how masculinity is negotiated, for example the teenagers saw 'Swagger' (hip hop term) as a visual form of what it is to be a dominant male. The term swagger has been identified as a combination of material signifiers (Gabriel, 2011) and draws upon Bourdieu's concept of Cultural Capital (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993) in relation to designer labels, expensive jewellery and technology as a power relation. The young men saw the visibility of swagger as a means of power and therefore protection. A hierarchal structure, that creates masculinities on various levels according to social structures. Messerschmidt (1993) supports this view:

> Research reveals that men construct masculinities in accord with their position in social structures and therefore their access to power and resources (Messerschmidt, 1993: 119)

Consumerism, they argue, is a way the teenage boys gain access to power and resource, in order to elevate their social position or pursue the ideal HM within their milieu. It could be argued that the looting of consumer goods was a crimogenic signifier of the London 2011 riots and revealed how the illegitimate means of the young disenfranchised males secured the HM status to attain their Swagger as dominant males (Harvey et al, 2011). This research analyses the relationships with consumption and is rooted in the work of Hall's Cultural Criminology of the late 1970s. The media reporting of the London 2011 riots depicted a feral underclass; Criminology can redress the assumptions made about the London rioters through the understanding of masculinity and the deconstructing of the 'other'.

This essay has demonstrated knowledge and understanding of how 'masculinity' emerged as a key way of theorising crime. It gave a brief overview of key writers and their respective theories. However it acknowledged how broad the area of masculinity is across the Social Sciences and how the complexities often blur with gender studies. Therefore it specifically focused on Sex Role Theory and Hegemonic Masculinity to analyse how the concept of masculinity relates to crime. It demonstrated a sound and accurate knowledge of key theoretical concepts that provided the historical backdrop of political economy and how this affected issues surrounding working class employment in relation too late modernity, industrialisation and post industrialisation. Finally it demonstrated awareness of how masculinity theories contribute to key contemporary debates surrounding the politics of crime and control. It looked specifically at how masculinity theories can be applied to criminality in the areas of domestic violence, sporting events and consumerism using up to date research on the London 2011 riots as well as fledgling research connecting sport and domestic violence.

References

Bourdieu P and Johnson R (1993) *The field of cultural production*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Carrabine E, Cox P, Lee M, Plummer K and South N (2009) *Criminology : A sociological Introduction*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.

Connell R (1995) *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Connell R W and Messerschmidt J W (2005) Hegemonic masculinity rethinking the concept. *Gender & society*, 19 (6): 829-859.

Cohen A (1955) *Delinquent boys*. Glencoe, Ill: Free Press.

Gabriel B (2011) Toward a reading of post-Kanye Hip-Hop. *The New Inquiry*. Available at: http://thenewinquiry.com/essays/toward-a-reading-of-post-kanye-hip-hop/.

Harvey D (1990) *The condition of postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey L Ringrose J and Gill R (2013) Swagger, Ratings and Masculinity: Theorising the Circulation of Social and Cultural Value in Teenage Boys' Digital Peer Networks. *Sociological Research Online*. 18(4). Available at: http://www.socresonline.org.uk/18/4/9.html.

Hobbs D (2006) East ending: dissociation, de-industrialisation and David Downes. In Newburn T and Rock R (eds) *The Politics of Crime Control.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 117-164.

Krienert J L (2003) Masculinity and crime: A quantitative exploration of Messerschmidt's hypothesis. *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, 7 (2). Available at: http://www.soc.iastate.edu/sapp/masculinity2.pdf.

Messerschmidt J W (1993) *Masculinities and crime: critique and reconceptualization of theory.* Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Mclaughlin E and Muncie J (2006) *The Sage dictionary of criminology*. London: SAGE.

Parsons T (1964) *The structure of social action*. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Tierney J (1996) *Criminology*. London: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Walklate S (2004) *Gender, crime, and criminal justice.* Cullompton: Willan Pub.

Williams D J, Neville F G, House K and Donnelly P D (2013) Association Between Old Firm Football Matches and Reported Domestic (Violence) Incidents in Strathclyde, Scotland. *SAGE Open*. 3(3).

What are the costs and benefits of managing emotion, in private life and at work?

Kara Anne-Marie Hughes

The notion that feelings are a purely spontaneous biological response to the external environment has become increasingly challenged by the sociological analysis of emotions and how they are formed. Rather, it is suggested that the 'personal' emotions felt by an individual are a product of the manipulation of the social norms and values that one is born into. Although much empirical research has proven that the different kinds of emotions that can be felt are universal (Ekman, 2003), the way in which these emotions are managed differs quite extensively amongst societies, cultures and even gender. The term emotional management refers to both the consciously cognitive and unconscious means adopted in order to cope with the emotions felt by an individual in a way that coincides with what is deemed as socially acceptable. Hochschild (1975 and 1983) describes the physical act of emotional management as a result of socialization, whereby culturally specific 'feeling rules' become a crystalized indicator that determines which emotional work is employed in order to feel a particular way, for present situations and potential future contexts. 'Feeling rules' are informal social expectations that suggest what emotions should be expressed and which should be concealed within a certain condition or towards an object or person, therefore it is this process of 'managing emotion that creates emotion' (Hochschild, 1983: 18). It is evident that in everyday mundane life emotional management is performed frequently and intensively, whether this is in the private home life or public realms of work. Participating in emotional management provides many benefits that eases the generic pains of life, however, this comes at a cost, which can often be equally socially and psychologically damaging, as it is profitable (Bowen and Schneider, 1988).

Hochschild (1979) draws upon the works of Erving Goffman and his conceptions of the performing self and impression management (Goffman, 1999) in order to explain her principle of emotional work. Emotional work is the ability to match our emotions to the feeling rules of a given situation of which vary in effort and therefore emotional management. It is similar to Goffman's theory of impression management because the individual attempts to convince their audience that they are feeling and therefore expressing the expected emotion that society dictates they should be; this is normally achieved by 'performing' or in Hochschild's words, a form of 'acting' (Hochschild, 1983). The type of acting is dependent upon the kind of emotional management that is needed. For example, within home life, there is often an unconscious desire to satisfy the emotional needs of all the family members. Due to the traditional emotional divisions of family labour, the women are more subjected to this need of emotional management as societal and cultural norms suggests that the women are under more emotional pressure to fulfill the domestic, maternal and martial roles that are integrated so heavily within the private realm (Lasch, 1977). Each of these roles are accompanied with their own feeling rules; the stronger the bond to these roles are, the higher the degree of emotional work and management the individual will perform in order to successfully acclimatize with these normative family expectations. Furthermore, this blood and love tied bond induces the deepest form of acting due to the disposition of wanting to feel the socially desired emotion (Hochschild, 1979). The mere act of performing this emotional management in a 'deep acting' way for so many roles, produces the cost of potential role-overload. The extensive management of emotions in relation to multiple and sometimes contradictory feeling rules,

exhausts the actor as they are unable to maintain the continuous, 'inescapable' pressure of dealing with their emotions. As a result the actor can be affected by a constant 'drained' or 'confused' feeling that could lead into a physiological or psychological breakdown, where they struggle to function in everyday life. However, women are more vulnerable to this specific cost, rather then men due to the gender beliefs regarding the primary responsibility for emotional management within the home (Berk, 1985) and a female's preference of 'deep acting' as a form of emotional management (Erickson and Wharton, 1993).

Deep acting, as oppose to surface acting, is where the actor 'works' and manipulates their emotions to endeavor to express the emotions that they feel they 'should' be feeling or for emotional role-taking purposes, whereby they present and share emotions for another person (Hochschild, 1979). This type of emotional management is beneficial to perform because the act of working upon the emotions to fit with the feeling rules relating to family, friends and intimate relationships, contributes to a smaller and therefore restricted dissonance between what the actor feels and what they 'should' feel. Therefore, the actors are less likely to feel continuous guilt or resentment when their authentic emotions do not match what is expected from them because they are already attempting to devise how they feel to fit with social convention (Hochschild, 1979). Consequently, the private relationships, which involve this form of emotional management would benefit because ideally the actors within them would be feeling emotions that are harmonized both with each other and society's moral code. This homogeneity then strengthens the personal relationships and enables healthy development of bonds between actors in a favorable manner (Goleman, 1996). However, arguably, this type of emotional management could cause the very opposite. The act of having to cognitively alter and strategically change ones authentic emotions could induce feelings of guilt and self-blame because initial feelings are deviant to the ones that are expected. Nonetheless, this way of managing emotions allows the actor to avoid the pain of being identified as 'abnormal' and prohibits the consequence of being socially excluded or personally out-casted for not conforming to the expected emotional norms (Keltner et al, 2006).

Yet, another disadvantage of this deep acting is that it can be damaging to the psyche of the actor. Not only are they creating an illusion that differentiates from their original feelings, they are deliberately neglecting the signaling function of what these primitive feelings are intended to suggest. A cost of this is that their spontaneous/biological emotions begin to lack significance and the very signaling functionality of emotions denies its own purpose (Freud, 1923). Moreover, the constant manipulation of emotions not only affects the degree of how we 'listen' and therefore act upon what we are feeling, but the very capacity we have to feel (Hochschild, 1983). By working and devising oneself to feel in a specific way, the personal element of emotions becomes disregarded and replaced by a formation of societal demands. This increases Hochschild's human cost of 'emotional deadness', whereby the true self, the actor behind the performance becomes unidentifiable. The lack of ownership that actor has over their feelings has been revealed as one of the primary contributing factors to identity crises'. The individual no longer feels authentic emotions and as a result questions who they are, their purpose in life and the meaning behind the emotions, highlighting another significant cost of emotional management (Craib, 1988).

Despite these negative repercussions of emotional management, having the ability to regulate ones a feeling cognitively, is a highly regarded skill to attain and engage in. This is because people that lack this capability tend to have to use alternative, more intrusive measures such as medication to control their emotional state. Those who suffer from

severe depression or anxiety are overwhelmed by emotion and therefore can not, or struggle to manage emotions that are pursuant to the feeling rules of their dominant culture. The administration of drugs such as anti-depressants aid the individual to manage their emotions, however, this comes with side-affects like possible addiction, distorted sleeping patterns and nausea. It is therefore, beneficial and in the actors interest to participate in emotional management techniques that will not cause physical dependency or biological harm (Keltner et al, 2006). Conversely, according to conducted research within the anti-depressant field, it is suggested that the predominant use of this type of medication is a *cause* of the burnout activated by intensive emotional management within the patients work life, rather than a *result* (Virtanen et al, 2007).

Within the public realm and work hemisphere emotional management is also used in order to meet the demands that employment requires. Both deep and surface acting can be used interchangeably in private life and work, however surface acting is often how employees manage their emotions, especially if working with the general public. Hochschild's notion of emotional work is transmuted from private living to the public sector and what once had intrinsic value has now been converted into a social commodity with the value purpose of exchange rather than use. The capitalist market of today's society injects a commercialized element into jobs, which transgresses emotional work into emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labour is the act of engaging and performing emotions that are socially desired by the consumer for a profitable wage (Hochschild, 1983).

Surface acting therefore is the most efficient and easily accessible way of managing emotions that the consumer of the service is demanding. Instead of working upon and manipulating emotions to fit with their expectations, employees simply pretend to feel the expected emotional state by expressing desirable emotions and suppressing true but detrimental feelings that customers would deem as unfavourable. Hochschild's (1975) research into flight attendants highlighted this concept of emotional labour, as the employees constantly had to portray a positive and friendly demeanor despite in reality, not truly feeling this way. Stearns (1986) suggested that the highly controlled/monitored/reinforced emotional labour is what causes an increased pressure to manage the emotions related with their job role and this is particularly prominent within the service industry. The actively enforced sanctions that are distributed when emotional labour and the management of this labour is not successful reminds employee's of the importance of creating a character that emotionally satisfies the consumer in every way that they desire. This will come at the cost of having to hide negative emotions that could be a result of the customer themselves.

However, this 'masking' (repressing of true feelings) type of emotional management performed here is beneficial to both to the employer and employee in economic terms (Jackall, 1998). The successful exchanges of pretense but positive emotional displays for a service purpose results in immediate gains for the company as their sales instantly increase. Consequently, the degree of success has potential encore gains, as customers are more likely to return, repeat and recommend this exchange (contagion gains), which not only prevents employee redundancy and increases job prosperity for the employees, but also benefits the employer in terms of long-term profitability. Personal benefits are also produced from this emotional management as there are increased chances of receiving bonuses, awards and pay rises if the appropriate emotions are expressed and the character that is created is not broken (Totterdell, 2002). Moreover, this praise from managing emotions and the creation of an 'organizational identity' can then benefit the employee's self-esteem and sense of achievement that would not only give them the incentive to work

harder but to continue to participate in successful emotional management, which is expedient for both the company and their workers (Gibson and Schreoder, 2002).

Surface acting, rather than deep acting, is also beneficial as it acts a 'protective shield'. By putting on a façade and performing a character that is in line with expectations of ones job title, allows criticism, complaints and insults that arise from working with the general public to be ineffective and non-damaging to the actor. They do not take the negative feedback personally as it is not directed to their 'true self', rather, the self in which they are acting (Hochschild, 1983). However, the very creation of this façade is costly to the actor and could potentially impinge on not only their way of looking at the world but impact on their quality of life. Firstly, the compliments and praise that they are awarded whilst engaging in surface acting are more than likely going to be deflected and disbelieved due to the false nature of the self that they are presented. Furthermore, the overuse of this false self could lead to estrangement from oneself and their job and alienate oneself from the authentic self. This can affect the employee's quality of life as the 'phoniness' felt as a result of the displacement they endure stimulates a 'cynical' attitude and representation of the world that surrounds them (Hochschild, 1983).

Further cost of this type of emotional management is the 'interaction fatigue' employees in the service sector suffer from (Katz, 1996). The constant falseness that they have to present to customers affects their relationships outside of work. This premise was supported in Hochschild's flight attendant study whereby the employees admitted that even when they were 'off the clock', they still were displaying false tones of voices and phrases that were required when working and interacting with clienteles and passengers (Hochschild, 1983). Employees would also become tired of the false relationships they build and their desires and capability to socialize outside of work were negatively affected because of this (Katz, 1996). This shows that although emotional management is needed in order to undertake roles both within work and in ones private life, the costs of performing this emotional management in one realm can directly affect the other. For instance, the surface acting methods to manage emotions in work is often associated with becoming exhausted of pretending, to the point of reaching a 'burnout'. The continuous pretending to feel emotions that one, in reality, is not truly feeling, causes psychological stress that can impair sleeping abilities and provoke participation in heavy drinking or recreational/prescribed drug abuse as a means of 'escape' (Hochschild, 1983).

The repetition of forcing oneself to act the same emotion so frequently to the point that it can be performed on demand is also a cost that jeopardizes the authenticity of the employee's true self. The actor is in danger of not being able to distinguish between what they believe their core self identity is and their acting self. This produces a struggle to regulate which self is presented and in front of whom. Instead of being separate entities, they merge together which could cause conflict in relationships within the private life of the actor because they may apply the pretending element of emotional management to intimate relationships that should be based upon truth (Hochschild, 1979). Similarly, conflict can also be formed within oneself through the masking of their authentic negative emotions.

The repressed feelings that are deemed as unacceptable in the realm of work could build up to the optimum point where the actor uncontrollably performs an 'outburst' of these emotions due to the length of time they have been suppressed. Although this consequently has a cathartic affect, which allows the actor to feel relief at the exposure of these emotions, the affect of the 'outburst' could have destructive costs to the individual in their private and

work life, i.e. – the breakdown of the professional performance resulting in employment dismissal (Keltner, 2006).

Emotional management therefore has a contradictory status. It is evident that it is a crucial element necessary for human interaction and successful role integration, however, the affects of manipulating and coping with emotions to coincide with societal expectations is an intensive task that comes at a cost of potential psychological and physical disturbances. Despite this juxtaposed nature, the management of the heart will continue to be the center of human behaviour because societal norms will forever suggest how we should feel and behave. It is debatable that the benefits of emotional managements outweighs its costs, especially when considering the damage that can be caused when it is performed extensively over a long period of time. Nonetheless, the social, economical and personal gains formed when participating in emotional management are significant enough to suggest that it is a worthy sociological practice.

References

Ahola K, Aromma A, Honkonen T, Lonnqvist J, Vahtera J and Virtanen, M (2007) Work stress, mental health and antidepressant medication findings from the Health 2000 Study. *Journal of Affective Disorders.* 98(3): 189-197.

Berk F S (1985) *The Gender Factory: The appointment of work in American households.* New York: Plenum.

Bowen D E and Schneider B (1988) Services, marketing and management: Implications for organizational behaviour. *Research in Organizational Behaviour.* 10: 43-80.

Craib I (1998) *Experiencing Identity*. London: Sage Publications.

Ekman P (2003) *Emotion Revealed: Recognizing faces and feelings to improve communication and emotional life.* New York: Times Books.

Erickson R and Wharton A (1993) Managing emotions on the job and at home: Understanding the consequences of multiple roles. *Academy of Management Review.* 18(3): 457-486.

Freud S ([2001]1923) *The Ego and the Id*. London: Vintage.

Gibson D E and Schroeder S (eds) (2002) *Managing Emotions in the Workplace - Grinning, Frowning, and Emotionless: Agent perceptions of power and their effect on felt and displayed emotions in influence attempts*. New York: John Wiley.

Goffman E (1999) *The Presentations of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Peter Smith Pub Inc.

Goleman D (1996) *Emotional Intelligence*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Hochschild A R (1983) *The Managed Heart*. Berkeley: University of California.

Hochschild A R (1975) *The Sociology of Feeling and Emotion: Selected possibilities*. New York. Anchor.

Hochschild A R (1979) Emotion work, feeling rules and social structure, *American Journal of Sociology*. 85: 551–75.

Jackall R (1998) *Moral Mazes: The world of corporate managers.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Katz D (1996) *Social Psychology of Organisations*. New York: John Wiley.

Lasch C (1977) *Heaven in a Heartless World*. New York. Basic.

Oatley K, Keltner D and Jenkins J M (2006) *Understanding Emotions*. Malden: Blackwell.

Stearns C Z (1986) *Anger: The struggle for emotional control in America's history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Totterdell P. (2002) Emotional Management esrccoi.group.shef.ac.uk/pdf/whatisemotion_management.pdf. Accessed 26 November 2013.

'Ageing is a Matter of Choice'. Discuss.

Nicole James

Age is one of the first characteristics we notice, it is a social marker that influences our interactions and attitudes towards other people (Cuddy and Fiske, 2002). The concept of ageing refers to the inevitable process of deterioration that is experienced during the life-course (Woods and Clare, 2008). Even though the concept of ageing is widely recognised as a biological process; gerontologists study it because of the social and psychological aspects that have influential effects on how ageing is perceived in society. This essay will explore the interdependence of the biological, social and psychological perspectives when understanding ageing, focusing on the older generation. Also, it will conclude whether ageing is considered as a matter of choice.

Firstly, the ways in which one can measure age can determine whether ageing can be considered as a matter of choice. Age can be measured chronologically in terms the amount of years lived according to the Western calendar. In 1901, the life expectancy in England and Wales was approximately in the late 40s whereas, in 2010, it was between the late 70s and early 80s (Office for National Statistics, 2012). This shows how ageing has changed over time and how the stages in the life-course have shifted with the increased life expectancy. Also, due to factors such as the improvement of modern medicine and advanced technology, it has been easier to live a healthy lifestyle, resulting in the increasing life expectancy.

Moreover, social ageing refers to how society has an influence on the meanings and experiences of ageing. This influence has an impact on the norms and values surrounding ageing such as behaviour and abilities (Morgan and Kunkel, 2006). The concepts of age and ageing have been socially constructed; the norms and expectations in society are enforced on us, which causes us to unconsciously internalise the conventional behaviours and attitudes towards ageing. These age norms have an influence on what we are expected to achieve or experience by a certain age. Age norms force people to become aware of their own timings in comparison to the societal standard. For example, there is an expected age for women to "settle down and have children" before they are negatively viewed by society. Age norms are historically relative; as society is constantly changing, the norms and expectations associated with ageing will also change. Furthermore, Neugarten (1980; cited in Harris, 2007) discusses the issue that we are now living in an "age-irrelevant society", due to the flexibility of age norms; there is no longer a set age to participate in particular social roles. For example, it is not surprising to see a student over the age of 30 at university. However, one could further argue that although age norms are flexible, they still play a significant role in society. In this example, students who are over a certain age are categorised as "mature students" and therefore, are often stigmatised such as, in bars and clubs on a student night.

Cumming and Henry (1961; cited in McCann and Giles, 2002) proposed the disengagement theory, which suggested the process of ageing causes individuals to withdraw from society, as there is less social interaction. For example, there are societal pressures that enforce the assumption that young people have new skills that are necessary in the workplace and therefore older people are not needed, and required to retire. For this reason, retirement can be considered as a consequence of ageing. The stigma of retirement is not only an

individual problem but also a social issue (Streib and Schneider, 1971). Until 2011, employers were legally allowed to terminate contracts of employees over the age of 65 without reason (The Employment Equality Regulations, 2011), which arguably has had influence on the stereotypes that are present in society. The well-known myth "you cannot teach an old dog new tricks" refers to the belief that after 65, an individual should not work because they do not have the adequate capabilities in comparison to an individual under 65. There is common assumption that older people are not able to use technology such as computers, mobile phones and the Internet so are therefore "useless" in our technologically advanced society. In addition to this, the term 'infantilization' (Hockey and James 1993; cited in Featherstone and Hepworth, 2005:357) can be used to describe becoming dependent again, similar to a child. The assumption that all individuals over 65 need to be dependent on others has influenced how people perceive ageing and can be considered as the reason why they are not regarded as independent actors and "forced" out of society.

However, Havighurst et al (1968; cited in Harris, 2007) proposed the activity theory, which criticises the disengagement theory. It acknowledges that older people experience role loss in society but states that it is our society that withdraws from the individual rather than the individual withdrawing from society (cited in Harris, 2007). We live in a youth-orientated society, so it could be said that older people are "forced" out of society. Despite this, rather than withdrawing completely, older individuals create substitutions. One example of this is the transition from prioritising and focusing on work commitments to leisure activities such as membership clubs and societies. Therefore, it could be said that ageing is a matter of choice because, in this case, these retired individuals have made the decision to overcome the potential disengagement caused by retirement and continue to play an active role in society in spite of the societal pressures.

Moreover, the concept of ageing can be considered as a social construct due to the way it is viewed and how this has changed over time. In the colonial era, old age suggested wisdom, honour and respect. This changed with the industrial revolution as older workers were seen as redundant and replaceable in the capitalist society where profit in the workplace was the imperative goal (Palmore, 1999). This notion can be recognised as the foundation for some of the stereotypes about ageing and the aged in contemporary society. One example of a stereotype that has a negative impact on how older people are perceived is the belief that there is a strong association between old age and decline in health, which makes individuals assume that old people are less independent and more frail. Allport (1954; cited in Cuddy and Fiske, 2002) argues, 'the human mind must think with the aid of categories. Once formed categories are the basis for normal prejudgement' (1954; cited in Cuddy and Fiske, 2002:5). We categorise the information received about a person and base it on perceived similarities and experiences. However, ageism can occur as a result of this cognitive categorisation. Ageism can be defined as the 'discrimination or holding of irrational and prejudicial views about individuals or groups based on their age' (Scott and Marshall, 2009:11). The most common type of ageism is towards the elderly, who are constantly being marginalised in society because they are 'deteriorating towards death' (Mordini and Mantovani, 2010:50).

There are gender differences in regards to the concept of ageing. Women are said to age faster than men, the 'double standard of ageing' (Harris, 2007:48) refers to how society has influenced the way in which we perceive gender and age. According to Plato, the prime of a woman's life is at the age of twenty years old, while for men, it is thirty years old (Harris, 2007). Even though this notion was conceptualised in Ancient Greece, we are still living in an age hostile society. Femininity is associated with beauty, youthfulness and sexual

attractiveness, which starts to diminish as a woman gets older. In addition to this, there are certain norms and values regarding age and gender in society that are learned in the mass media and through socialisation. One example of this is the expectation that women should be married with children before a certain age but this expectation does not apply to men. Although, it could be argued that there is a biological aspect to this expectation due to women experiencing menopause as they get older and therefore become unable to have children.

However, others would argue that ageing is not a matter of choice because it is unavoidable. The biological perspective of ageing refers to the physical changes that human beings experience, as they grow older (Harris, 2007). The biological perspective can be thought of as the most prevalent as the changes are arguably more obvious due to 'universal ageing features' (Stuart-Hamilton, 2006:23) such as wrinkling of the skin, grey hair and balding. These features, which develop over time are inevitable, despite this, attempts have been made to try and stop and prevent the process of ageing.

The biological perspective is mutually dependent with the social perspective as the norms and expectations about ageing are enforced on society through different mediums, for example in television advertisements. As a result of this, individuals tend to perceive old age and ageing in a negative light. 'Modern technological societies woo the idea of decelerating, arresting or postponing ageing.' (Mordini and Mantovani, 2010:50). Prevention techniques such as facial creams and serums, hair dyes and cosmetic surgery has allowed people in society to alter their appearance. 'What was once viewed as a natural process is now seen as a social problem' (Cuddy and Fiske, 2002:3); wrinkles, grey hair and baldness are perceived flaws in today's society. The term "anti-ageing" is constantly being used in magazines and television advertisements. This term has a negative connotation in the sense that it implies that 'age is an enemy of beauty' (Clarke, 2010:2) and must be controlled. Therefore, the media, beauty and cosmetic surgery industries are thriving off of the natural process of ageing because people believe that they need young and perfect skin to be accepted and considered beautiful in society.

Furthermore, the biological perspective considers the changes that we cannot directly see such as the deterioration of the brain and other organs through ageing, disease and lifestyle choices. We construct our bodies to suit a specific lifestyle whether it is through cosmetic surgery, healthy eating or exercise. The notion of the body project is very individualistic; the body is seen as an entity, which should be worked on. (Shilling, 2003). Thus, ageing would be a matter of choice because individuals choose their body projects and can decide whether to conform to a healthy lifestyle, which consequently could prevent some illnesses or diseases and cause them to live longer. For this reason, the body project can be regarded as a type of insurance against death.

In addition to this, some forms of employment do not value older age, such as, sports, modelling and dance. As ageing is predominantly associated with senescence – the decline of physical functioning, dependency and frailty; there is often an unspoken expectation to retire from these body-based professions at a certain age (Schwaiger, 2012). One example of this is that the retirement age of dancers is usually between their late twenties and mid-thirties. In comparison to this, people who do not work in the dancing profession are only in the middle of their career (Schwaiger, 2012). Furthermore, this expectation of retirement is not only specific to body-based professions. For example, there has been discussion about the issue on whether Sir Alan Haselhurst, an Essex MP, should be able to run in the next election at age seventy-seven or retire (McGurran, 2014). Age plays an

important role in these professions therefore; it shows the inevitability of this natural process and how it can have an effect on social life.

Psychological ageing signifies the 'changes in personality, mental functioning and the sense of self during adult years' (Morgan and Kunkel, 2006:4). Psychological ageing can be simultaneous with biological ageing as once an individual increases in age, they can experience psychological decay. Memory decline is a form of psychological ageing. Results from a study comparing older adults' performance on memory tasks with young adults showed that older adults performed worse on the long-term memory tasks linking it to episodic memory. However, the results also showed that semantic memory remains stable as individuals age and may even increase (Brickman and Stern, 2009). Therefore, ageing would not be considered as a matter of choice because this type of psychological decline would limit an individual's abilities and affect their daily routine.

Granting all this, similar to the prevention techniques used to postpone biological ageing, there are numerous amounts of ways people use to try and enhance themselves psychologically. One example of this is in games such as Nintendo's Big Brain Academy, which use mini-games to test an individual's mental acuity, resulting in the calculation of their "brain age" (Nintendo, 2006). This example slightly differs from the biological ageing prevention techniques due to the fact that a higher brain age, in comparison to the individual's real age, would signify a good mental acuity. In this case, age is seen in a positive light, as it is associated with intelligence and wisdom rather than dependence and frailty.

Furthermore, Alzheimer's disease, a form of dementia, is a degenerative brain disorder that results in cognitive difficulties such as, memory decline, impairment of judgement and a deterioration of personality (Harris, 2007:100-101). Although this disease can affect people at any age, it is commonly associated with the elderly and viewed as a consequence of ageing. In addition to this, it can be difficult to prevent or alter the effects of psychological ageing, as they are not "physical flaws" which can be easily hidden. Despite the fact that there is no cure for dementia, there are other alternatives to help the sufferers continue with a happy lifestyle. One example of this is the Hogewey care facility in The Netherlands, which resembles a gated community and has all of the aspects of a village such as a restaurant, a minimarket, a theatre and activity clubs. The "residents" all suffer from severe or extreme dementia and are cared for by qualified healthcare workers who aim to make living there as "real" as possible (Henley, 2012). This type of care facility allows individuals who suffer from dementia to remain active and age positively. However, one could argue that this type of care facility forces these individuals to withdraw from society, possibly without their knowledge, as they are living in a closed off community.

Additionally, Jaques discussed the concept of the mid-life crisis. There is an increased awareness of personal death, which can cause individuals to realise the limitations of time in the life course and thus, acknowledge their plans and ambitions and how much time they have to accomplish them (Jaques, 1965). Therefore, there is a psychological impact when this realisation of potentially not being able to fulfil positive ageing occurs. It can awaken negative feelings such as dissatisfaction or abandonment, which can result in individuals making significant changes in their life, for example, in personal relationships, in their career or their appearance.

In conclusion, this essay has shown that there is interdependency between the biological, psychological and social perspectives of ageing. It is clear that although ageing is a

biological phenomenon, it can also be seen as a social construct due to differences in gender and time and the role of stereotypes. Also, there are many prevention techniques that are used that make it possible to either hide or alter the ageing process such as hair dyes and medication. In my opinion, ageing is not a matter of choice because ageing and its perceived consequences cannot be avoided and therefore, we would not be able to control if or how we age. For example, we can try to hide wrinkles with creams or cosmetic surgery but this will only hide the physical ageing that we can see rather than the ageing and deterioration of the brain and other organs. However, I do believe with the development of technology and modern medicine, there will eventually be a way to slow down ageing or even prevent it to a certain extent.

References

Brickman A M and Stern Y (2009) Aging and Memory in Humans. *Encyclopedia of Neuroscience* 1: 175-180. Available at: http://www.cumc.columbia.edu/dept/sergievsky/pdfs/agingandmemoryinhumans.pdf

Clarke L (2010) *Facing Age: Women growing older in anti-aging culture*. Blue Ridge Summit: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Cuddy A and Fiske S (2002) Doddering but Dear: Process, content and function in stereotyping of older persons. In T Nelson (ed) *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 3-26.

Featherstone M and Hepworth M (2005) Images of Ageing. In M L Johnson (ed) *The Cambridge Handbook of Age and Ageing.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris D (2007) *The Sociology of Aging.* 3rd edn. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Henley J (2012) The Village Where People Have Dementia – And Fun. *The Guardian.* 27 August. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/society/2012/aug/27/dementia-village-residents-have-fun. Accessed: 11 March 2014.

Jaques E (1965) Death and the Mid-Life Crisis. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. 46: 502-514. http://0-www.pep-web.org.serlib0.essex.ac.uk/document.php?id=ijp.046.0502a.

McCann R and Giles H (2002) Ageism in the Workplace: A communication perspective. In T Nelson (ed) *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 163-199.

McGurran D (2014) Essex MP Sir Alan Haselhurst Fights to Stand Aged 77. *BBC News.* 11 February. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-26128859. Accessed: 14 February 2014.

Mordini E and Mantovani E (2010) Ageing in the Information Society. In E Mordini and P De Hert (eds) *Ageing and Invisibility* [e-book]. IOS Press: Amsterdam. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/universityofessex/docDetail.action?docID=10425029.

Morgan L and Kunkel S (2006) *Aging, Society and the Life Course.* New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Nintendo (2006) *Big Brain Academy*.
http://www.bigbrainacademy.com/ds/what/index.html. Accessed: 4 March 2014.

Office for National Statistics (2012) *Mortality in England and Wales: Average Life Span, 2010.* London: National Archives. Available at:
http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_292196.pdf. Accessed: 5 March 2014.

Palmore E (1999) *Ageism: Negative and positive* 2nd edn*.* New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Schwaiger E (2012) *Ageing, Gender, Embodiment and Dance: Finding a balance*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Scott J and Marshall G (2009) *A Dictionary of Sociology*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shilling C (2003) *The Body and Social Theory* 2nd edn. London: SAGE.

Streib G and Schneider C (1971) *Retirement in American Society: Impact and process.* London: Cornell University Press.

Stuart-Hamilton I (2006) *Psychology of Ageing: An introduction.* 4th edn. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

The Employment Equality (Repeal of Retirement Age Provisions) Regulations SI 2011 (1069)

Woods B and Clare L (2008) *Handbook of the Clinical Psychology of Ageing.* 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

With Reference to the Night Time Economy Critically Evaluate its Contribution to Contemporary Developments in Criminology

Gemma Stephenson

As service and leisure-based local economies have replaced nineteenth century manufacturing zones and their commercial and bureaucratic infrastructures, the night time economy has become a marked characteristic of many late twentieth century Western cities (Hobbs et. al., 2002). It is evident that the night time economy has opened up a vast amount of new possibilities for crime to be committed, and even for novel forms of crime to become apparent. Statistics illustrate the significance of the night time economy in modern day society for example, over the past twenty five years on-licensed premises have increased by 30% which consists of approximately 110,300 pubs, bars, restaurants, hotels and clubs just within England and Wales (Hobbs et. al., 2003). Following this and the upsurge in alcohol consumption and binge drinking, the crime which occurs within the night time economy is not surprising. Throughout this assignment, there is going to be a critical evaluation of the night time economy's huge contribution to contemporary developments within criminology with reference to bouncers, surveillance and the presentation of the self (Goffman, 1959). By focusing on the presentation of the self and branching off into issues of masculinity, this will provide an insight into micro sociology by concentrating on private issues which could in turn shed light on more public issues relating to structures in modern day society (Mills, 1959). The first paragraphs shall outline how the night time economy has emerged as a key way of theorising crime. This will then be followed with a discussion of the impact of surveillance in the night time economy. Throughout the whole assignment an on-going discussion will occur which continuingly refers back to how this area of study has contributed to key contemporary debates and developments surrounding the politics of crime and control. Finally the conclusion will provide a summary of what has been discussed throughout the entirety of the essay.

The Night Time Economy

The prosperous modern day night time economy has developed ultimately due to the process of globalisation and the diffusion of leisure which has encouraged the homogenisation of culture in city spaces (Tallon, 2013). Industrialisation and the creation of city centres in the nineteenth century led to city centres becoming commercialised, for example Newcastle became commercial for its production of ships (O'Brien, 1998) and London became commercial for its production of railways (Schwarz, 1992). This declined in the 20th century as Britain was no longer seen as the factory of the world due to other countries producing products, which began to be imported back to Britain (O'Brien, 1998). This process of decline sped up due to globalisation. Globalisation can be defined as 'the world that we live in contains so many social, economic and political networks that we now find ourselves extending beyond the regional' (Hothi, 2005: 53). In the 1970s and 1980s shops began to empty in city centres and the development of large shopping centres began to form on the edge of the cities. Margaret Thatcher was classed as the saviour of the city centre as she began to help major cities within England despite this, she had also been instrumental in their decline. Brewers had the greatest monopoly as they had

representatives within parliament, Thatcher objected to the fact that brewers owned all the pubs and she therefore made this monopoly illegal (Thatcher, 2011). On top of this she introduced laws into making licencing easier which led to huge cultural changes including the development of youth leisure becoming based upon alcohol consumption (Thatcher, 2011). This coincided with an increase in the amount of youths in the 1970s and 1980s who would travel on inexpensive package holidays. Whilst on holiday the youth discovered cultural differences for instance, everything was open late and dance music introduced drugs such as ecstasy, which led to the youth wanting the same to occur back at home. This led to youth leisure becoming based upon the consumption of alcohol and hedonistic recreation (Stabilini et al, 2013). This is reflected in findings from research studies for example, in 2009 in England, 69 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women (aged 16 and over) reported drinking on at least one day in the week prior to an interview with a shocking 10 per cent of men and 6 per cent of women admitting to having a drink on every day in the previous week (Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2011).

With the increase of alcohol consumption empty shops became new bigger clubs, bars and pubs within the city centres, which revitalised the alcohol business. This led to a boom in the night time economy (Hobbs et. al., 2002). Leisure moved away from just being on Fridays and Saturdays and instead people wanted leisure to be available to them on all days of the week. This led to a new form of hedonism (Katz, 2003). Although, encouraging people to consume alcohol inevitably was going to lead to further problems. With the footfall in Covent Garden in London being higher at five in the morning when clubs are emptying than at rush hour obviously incidents relating to violence and alcohol is going to be prevalent (Hobbs et. al., 2002).

One of the key contemporary debates surrounding this area of study includes the fact that the night time economy has produced venues where the legal sale of alcohol and the illegal sale of drugs has become readily available (Carrabine, 2008). This shows that the night time economy is actually now beginning to commodify acts of transgression. The Office of National Statistics reported figures for the years 2011/2012, which show that 47% of violent offences committed during this time were alcohol related incidents (Office for National Statistics, 2012). As discussed previously, young adults began travelling on cheap package holidays where they saw the arrival of dance music and ecstasy. Once the economy began to alter into a "24 hour economy" the popularity of drugs including ecstasy began to soar in the UK (Talbott and Bose, 2007). This meant that certain venues that were known for their dance music attracted both drug dealers and drug users. The owners of these venues began to realise that the use of drugs within the venues was beginning to make them more profitable and subsequently bouncers were given specific protocols, which meant that they could let customers through carrying a certain amount of a specific type of drug (Hobbs et. al., 2002). Obviously the use of drugs and alcohol will create an increase in related incidents, whether it be the requirement of medical attention or violent related incidents, with the vast majority requiring emergency assistance. This relates to a further contemporary debate relating to the increase of emergency service assistance that is now almost constantly required within the night time economy (Carrabine, 2008).

Contemporary developments to solve this issue include systems like the "SOS Bus" which is present in Colchester, Essex for example (Hadfield, 2009). This system is run by volunteers who aid minor incidents relating to alcohol consumption so that emergency services can help those in greater need.

It may actually be fair to suggest that the contemporary debates and discussions surrounding young adult alcohol consumption and how it is linked to violence in the night time economy could actually be a moral panic (Cohen, 2011). Stanley Cohen defined a moral panic as an ordinary event being portrayed as extraordinary. He suggests that this leads to a deviancy amplification spiral, which consists of an action followed, by a reaction, which is followed by a larger action, and a larger reaction (Cohen, 2011). Alcohol consumption in the UK rose by 19% between 1980 and 2007 nevertheless at the same time there has similarly been a rising number of abstainers from 12% in 1980 to 18% in 2003 (Royal Geographical Society, 2013). Consumption is actually decreasing for younger age groups (16-24) but not for middle age groups and since the 1990s little change has occurred regarding adult binge drinking (Royal Geographical Society, 2013). This therefore suggests that the worry and concern about alcohol consumption and violent related incidents which at the moment focuses mainly on young adult alcohol consumption may in fact be a moral panic as the media is constantly raising public anxiety or alarm about the fact that young adults are the ones in trouble (Cohen, 2011). In fact the real worry may actually lie in domestic realms and with older adults as statistics show that men aged between 40-49 drink, on average, more than men aged between 18-29 (Royal Geographical Society, 2013). This suggests that more research may have to be conducted within this area and criminology may have to develop a new way of raising awareness, which focuses on the older generation in relation to alcohol consumption.

Bouncers

With the sheer amount of individuals walking around public space under the influence of alcohol in city centres it has created a vacuum of social control which has led to security moving into the open gap. State police would control the streets in most city centres but they would only put out 12-15 police officers, which is known as "filling the shirt". This is when the police force scrambles to find suitable people to send onto the streets at the last minute (Hobbs et. al., 2002). This trivial amount of policing would never accommodate for the large amount of people in city centres on a busy night who tended to be part of the age group who are most likely to commit crime (14-25) (Hobbs et. al., 2002). Bouncers therefore began to become a normal occurrence throughout areas where clubbing and alcohol consumption was predominant. This is known as the marketization and professionalization of muscle, which includes intimidation and violence along with hypermasculinity (Rigakos, 2008). Bouncers are not concerned with the law but with the protocols of the premises they are working for, which each have different markets. The market will change who will be let into the club as well as protocols for each club, which will differ depending on the atmosphere and music within the premises (Hobbs et. al., 2002).

Bouncers often have similar traits to people in organised crime groups for example they protect territory, they focus on intimidation and they use security as a form of extortion (Hobbs et. al., 2002). The night time economy itself is built on extortion and therefore could be classed as a form of organised crime, one which is just not transnational (Grossman, 1995). There are difficulties in defining organised crime, for instance it is often unclear as to whether organised crime is relating to an act or a group. Organised crime seems to refer to specific set of crimes for example trafficking and extortion conversely the term organised crime can also be used when referring to a group or organisation for example, the Mafia (Leong, 2013). Overall organised crime tends to place emphasis on structure (Leong, 2013). The Security Industry Authority (SIA) have tried to prevent bouncers from being seen as part of organised crime by suggesting that all bouncers have to be trained

and qualified. People began to realise that these courses could be used to make money and so the courses solely became a popular money making scheme (Hobbs et. al., 2002). Bouncers are still relatively unregulated as some do not have background checks and research has even shown that some security firms are actually run from within prison cells (Hobbs et. al., 2002). Bouncers can only control private space, which means that outside the venues, door staff have no greater power which in turn creates criminogenic space (Leon, 2013).

This relates to the development of an increase in private forms of regulation within the night time economy. It is clear in modern society, just from strolling down a local high street on a Friday night just how prevalent bouncers are. A gap in the continuum, caused by the absence of police forces has now been filled by private forms of regulation, which includes private security firms and bouncers (Maggio, 2008). As discussed above it is difficult to regulate bouncers but the state have struggled to maintain the monopoly of violence and force and therefore the prevalence of private security firms have amplified. Bouncers moved into the gap and began to use physical violence to intimidate others (Hobbs et. al., 2002). This has therefore led to violence becoming part of a market exchange and a clear division of policing has become evident (Hobbs et. al., 2002). Subsequently however this has led to issues being raised over who governs urban space (Carrabine, 2008).

Masculinity and the Presentation of the Self

Crime in the night time economy heavily links to the idea of the presentation of the self, proposed by Goffman, and in addition concepts of masculinity (Goffman, 1959). Goffman suggested a dramaturgical model, which places importance on analysing micro sociology and private issues in order to uncover larger social problems in society (Mills, 1959). He suggested that the self has two entities; the character and the performer. Furthermore he suggests there to be two settings, the front stage and backstage. The front stage is where the individual performs in a certain way whereas the backstage is where the character uses the private space to act how they usually would (Goffman, 1959). This relates to the night time economy and door lore as it may be fair to suggest that individuals, especially men, in the night time economy may feel as though they have to act in a certain way and therefore may perform to fit in with the interaction ritual. This is another one of Goffman's concepts, which suggests that individuals act how they are expected to act in a given situation (Goffman, 1959). This combined with alcohol could lead to individuals trying to express their masculinity through violence to try and impress friends and even strangers. This idea of the presentation of the self can link to bouncers within the night time economy. Bouncers express a form of hypermasculinity, which could actually be a performance to fit in with the interaction ritual, or it could even be a form of emotional labour as they are exchanging emotion work for monetary gain (Hochschild, 1983). This could in addition link to Judith Butler's ideas on performing gender (Butler, 2011). Connell, on the other hand, coined the term hegemonic masculinity, which refers to not only the dominance over women but subordination over other groups including homosexual men (Connell, 2005). Bouncers are an example of individuals who use hegemonic masculinity on a day to day basis. This is because they strive for authority, have aggressive temperaments and dominate over both women and other men.

The idea of masculinity and the presentation of the self in the night time economy links to contemporary developments in criminology. It is evident due to the previously discussed gap in the market, which was filled by youth during the post-industrialism period that this

has led to a new available arena for masculine play and power (Carrabine, 2008). The promotion of alcohol consumption and the increase of availability for premises to become licensed, proposed by Thatcher, has led to such neo-liberal concepts of the "24 hour economy" becoming prevalent (Talbott and Bose, 2007). The extension of licensing hours has led to a change in lifestyle patterns, which includes most leisure being gained through the consumption of alcohol. This relates to reduction in alcohol prices to attract customers for example, student nights and 2-4-1 on any alcoholic drink. As most people involved within the night time economy tend to be men, this offers a way for men to create and express their masculinity (Carrabine, 2008). Whether it is to impress women or to intimidate other males, it is evident that expression of masculinity is widely used in the night time economy. A typical example of where men may try to express their masculinity could relate to drinking competitions, which in turn can obviously lead to expressive violence (Messerschmidt, 1993). This shows that alcohol and even alcohol-based violence could be a way of performing masculinity. It is evident from this that as masculinity plays such a large part in the night time economy relating to both the hegemonic masculinity and bouncers proposed by Connell and relating to intoxicated consumers within the night time economy. It may therefore be beneficial for further research to be conducted to analyse the true extent of how masculinity creates violence and crime in the night time economy (Carrabine, 2008). Another debate that is raised in the night time economy is the male prominence in crime. This again can be explained by young males wanting to appear masculine and therefore drinking more, causing minor fights and intimidating others which all could lead to violence and could explain why males are so prominent in statistics relating to violence in the night time economy (Carrabine, 2008).

Surveillance

In modern day we live in a surveillance society where databases are used to store our personal details and documents, which are a more valid form of identity than our own word. The increase in surveillance has made it easier for the police to monitor everyday happenings and they act as a method for making people self-regulate. This relates to Foucault's ideas of the panopticon in everyday society where he suggests that we could be constantly being inspected by CCTV and other forms of surveillance and because of this we self-police in order to reduce the risk of being caught committing a crime (Foucault, 1975). CCTV cameras mean that criminals can be caught even if police are not in that area at that specific time. It additionally means that it can help to assist bouncers point out who is right and wrong in any given situation and can even be used to regulate bouncer activity.

This again relates to the idea of the presentation of the self as people will present themselves differently if they know they are being watched (Goffman, 1959). For instance speed cameras make people slow down even if the speed cameras are not currently working. In the night time economy it could be argued that alcohol inhibits how we perceive ourselves and we may not be aware that the cameras are even present.

This links to a specific contemporary debate in criminology about whether we should surrender our privacy in order to increase our security (Carrabine, 2008). There could moreover be an issue of personhood as it is possible that being under constant surveillance could alter human identity, liberty and dignity (Solove, 2011). The increase in electronic surveillance which has been a huge development within criminology, is existent in the night time economy through CCTV, photo identification and even bank card transactions which has led to a rapid decrease in the amount of privacy we have in society which helps to keep us safe (Solove, 2011). This could relate to new developments in the night time

economy including photo identification checkers to ensure that individuals have not purchased fake identification through the internet which subsequently has helped to ensure that underage, inexperienced youth do not enter clubs and may have in turn led to a decrease in the need for emergency medical attention as discussed previously (Solove, 2011).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the night time economy has made a huge contribution to understanding contemporary developments and debates within criminology. Whether it is violence or other issues including surveillance and a reduction in privacy the night time economy has ensured an evolution of developments within this field (Carrabine, 2008). Overall the night time economy has led to many debates about the legal sale of alcohol, who governs urban space, the "24 hour economy" and the renunciation of privacy. However as discussed previously, it may be fair to suggest that more research needs to be conducted within this area to conclude whether the anxieties expressed by the media about young people's alcohol consumption are verifiable or whether in fact it may be more beneficial to set up programmes and awareness aimed towards the older adult generation as statistics suggest that this is actually where the problem lies (Royal Geographical Society, 2013). It may be beneficial to conduct further research to analyse the true extent of how masculinity, relating to both bouncers and consumers, creates violence and crime in the night time economy.

References

Butler J (2011) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Carrabine E (2008) *Crime, Culture and Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cohen S (2011) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*: *The creation of the Mods and Rockers*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Connell R W (2005) *Masculinities.* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Foucault M (1975) *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Goffman E (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Grossman H I (1995) Rival Kleptocrats: The mafia versus the state. In G Fiorentini and S Peltzman (eds) *The Economics of Organised Crime.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 143-160.

Hadfield P (2009) Nightlife and Crime in International Perspective. In P Hadfield (ed) *Nightlife and Crime: Social order and governance in international perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-18.

Health and Social Care Information Centre (2011) *Statistics on Alcohol: England.* http://www.hscic.gov.uk/pubs/alcohol11. Accessed: 3 March 2014.

Hobbs D, Hadfield P, Lister S and Winlow S (2002) 'Door Lore': The art and economics of intimidation. *British Journal of Criminology* 42(2): 352-370.

Hobbs D, Hadfield P, Lister S and Winlow S (2003). *Bouncers: Violence and governance in the night-time economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hochschild, A R (1983) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hothi N (2005) *Globalisation and Manufacturing Decline: Aspects of British industry.* Bury St Edmonds: Arena Books.

Katz J (2003) Seductions and Repulsions of Crime. In E McLaughlin, J Muncie and G Hughes (eds) *Criminological Perspectives: Essential Readings.* London: Sage, 50-75.

Leong A (2013) *The Disruption of International Organised Crime: An analysis of legal and non-legal strategies.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Maggio E (2008) *Private Security in the 21st Century: Concepts and application*. Sudbury: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.

Messerschmidt J W (1993) *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and reconceptualization of theory*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Mills CW (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Office of National Statistics (2012) *Alcohol-Related Deaths.* Available at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/subnational-health4/alcohol-related-deaths-in-the-united-kingdom/2012/stb---alcohol-related-deaths-in-the-united-kingdom--registered-in-2012.html. Accessed: 3 March 2014.

O'Brien P (1998) *Industrialization: Critical perspectives on the world economy*. London: Routledge.

Rigakos G S (2008) *Nightclub: Bouncers, risk, and the spectacle of consumption*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Royal Geographical Society (2013) *Consumption Controversies: Alcohol policies in the UK* [pdf]. Available at: http://www.rgs.org/NR/rdonlyres/88DF6837-E68B-4301-9376-B30E0FA72F21/0/RGSPolicyAlcohol5c_AWSingle.pdf. Accessed: 3 March 2014.

Schwarz LD (1992) *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solove DJ (2011). *Nothing to Hide: The false trade-off between privacy and security.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Stabilini S, Zedda R and Zanettichini L (2013) Accessibility of Public Spaces and Services: Theoretical remarks, practices and instruments from urban time planning. In D Henckel, S

Thomaier, B Konecke, R Zedda and S Stabilini (eds) *Space-Time Design of the Public City.* Dordrecht: Springer Science and Business, 119-136.

Talbot D and Bose M (2007) Racism, Criminalization and the Development of Night-time Economies: Two case studies in London and Manchester. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(1): 95–118.

Tallon A (2013) *Urban Regeneration in the UK* 2nd edn. Abingdon: Routledge.

Thatcher M (2011) *The Downing Street Years*. London: Harper Press.

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

Benjamin Wall

The late twentieth to early twenty-first century has seen a rapid change in the way in which we communicate with one another. The traditional mediums of 'old media', such as newspapers, television and radio have had to make room for a rising communicative revolution known as new media. Home to things such as the internet, DVDs and CDs and computer and video games, new media has completely changed and dominated the way in which the capitalist West live. Jürgen Habermas, a modernist sociologist, has commented on the significance and position of the media, both old and new, within modern living. Media is a huge part of the public sphere and has evolved to become its own estate inside our society, alongside the already established three Estates of the Realm; the church, the monarchy or government and the public. However, Habermas was also wary of new media for fear of, in his mind, technologies that could 'destroy communicative interaction and thus the discursive basis for an open and democratic society' (Axford & Huggins, 2001: 7). Despite this, the reality is that the media now plays a vital role within everyday living, something which can be seen throughout almost every aspect of contemporary life, especially so when looking at the political situations around the world.

In order to understand its position, it is first needed to understand what 'new media' is. Seen as a break from a stagnated old media by some such as Chris Atton who believes that the mass 'old' media have 'failed to represent certain issues or social groups,' (Atton, 2002: 82). The wave of new media across the world is primarily about mass communication on a grand scale and the accessibility of information whenever and wherever one may be. It opens up new doors for the public sphere, allowing those who partake in and utilize new media to have a voice and be informed on things they may never have been able to before. The internet is seen as a standard bearer for new media, which creates a brand new role for those who use it. Instead of being fed information of old media, users are now the creators and 'watchers'. Jenny Pickerill (2003) establishes the importance of new media's when attempting to send a message to a broader audience, she refers her work to online environmental activism, yet this can also be applied to other political forms:

> Information transmitted via alternative media tends to only reach the audience to which it was intended. By posting information to a website, however, a wide and diffuse readership is immediately reached (Pickerill, 2003: 108).

Mediums such as blogging are a very popular and very common form of self-expression on the internet with regards to politics as well as most other subjects. An example of this would be the British political blog, Guido-Fawkes at www.order-order.com. An anti-establishment libertarian blog, Guido Fawkes was established in the early noughties and is testament to the need and power of political activism online as many politicians fear being the subject of a blog post. It is important to recognize the need for this kind of material. Not only is it free and open for all to use and create, but it also offers a much needed alternative to the views expressed in mass media. When it comes to a political agenda, every pre-established form of old mass media, from broadsheets such as The Guardian and The Daily Mail to news broadcasters such as Sky and Fox, already have their own political view and stance. Therefore, the arrival of new media has allowed the public to rise from their passive

consuming stance to one of the watcher, one which is able to express its own voice without the need of mass media.

The political ramifications when looking at the freedom of expression can also be noted when studying certain anarchic websites and online movements. One of these being the ironically infamous 'Anonymous.' Often embroiled in various political demonstrations and protests, Anonymous stands for the complete autonomous independence of the internet and absolute freedom of speech and expression. The group itself is an online based community who express their own opinions through the means of cyber hacking and attacking online bodies who mean to hinder their progress. For example, they have frequently hacked into official government websites in order to protest against various policies that do not align with their own stance. This is seen through the controversy of the Wikileaks scandal. Various governments around the world tried to hide and censor the documents exposed by Wikileaks, causing Anonymous to respond in kind by attacking and disabling their web based technology. Graham Meikle (2002) touches on something similar with regards to online hackers and their political response, almost as if they see themselves as a 'police' of the internet:

> In a virtual sit-in, supporters swarm a targeted website and deluge it with bogus request to load the page. The idea is that the server will be unable to cope with the volume of traffic and that this will block out other visitors (Meikle, 2002: 142).

The policing of the internet that Anonymous seem to hold a monopoly on gives rise to the thought that perhaps they themselves are becoming the type of body and organization that they tend to rebel against, a political movement of like-minded people looking to defend the interests of themselves and those who they claim to serve.

However, Anonymous are not the only new media organization that have utilized the internet for political means. There are various other groups that engage with new media in much more legal and peaceful ways. Change.org is an online community and body that hosts petitions and political movements in order to gather support with the ultimate goal of presenting them to a governmental body. Again, Jenny Pickerill (2003) comments on a similar subject when she discusses the role of the internet with regards to online environmental activism:

> The internet is indispensable to those social movements concerned with cultural values, organizing in a non-hierarchically loose form, and for those wishing to retain their local roots and yet acting on a global level.' (Pickerill, 2003: 25).

In this, she shows the vital role the internet plays when one wishes to pursue a cultural value with the hopes of addressing a national or global people. Petitions have always been a steady part of political activism; however the difference being with new media is the ways in which they now gather support. Online petitions are now able to reach out to massive volumes of like-minded people, something that with old media could never have been achieved. The very nature of petitions requires the need of others who feel the same and are willing to act upon their feelings on a political level. Before the use of new media, one would have to rely on their local community to warrant support as well as the mass media form accessible to them and hope that they also align with their way of thinking. With the invention of the internet, an idea or movement can be established and given support in a much quicker and much more accessible rate. For example, a victory for change.org in July 2013 was their petition to keep women on the Bank of England bank

notes. With a total of 36 000 signatures, they were able to halt the removal of Elizabeth Fry from the £5 note as well as achieving the including of Jane Austen on the £10 note come 2017. When looking at political activism with regards to feminism and the current state of gender equality, this was a huge victory which is mostly down to the role and prevalence of new media.

New media has been especially influential when looking at the role of the public and the transition from passive to active. It can be summed up nicely when looking at the megaphone metaphor. Old media is similar to someone with a megaphone; one person or body expressing their uninterruptable and unavoidable opinion. As the consumer of this voice, all we can do is take the passive role of listener, 'Megaphones transmit, but do not receive; they amplify the voices of the leaders above those of the led.' (Coleman, 2005: 180) With the use of new media, the megaphone is no longer apparent. Instead, the correct metaphor would be that of radar. The nature of the radar is to send out a radio wave, gather information, and scan the area for everything it can then interpret said information in a distinguishable way. The accessibility of new media, such as the internet, does exactly that. Those who use it gather the information they need then establish their own informed opinion. It is becoming increasingly apparent that more and more people are turning to new media forms as their source of information and debate, as Mitzi Waltz points out:

> Indeed, according to an annual report on the state of the news media in America, alternative and online media are the only news outlets gaining in audience numbers (Waltz, 2005: 12)

This has stark ramifications on the use of political agendas and especially the information and opinions used by those who still employ old media. But it is also important to look at how politicians and the new age of politics have utilized new media for its own needs. Perhaps one of the most significant uses of new media within politics has been the emergence of social media and the way it has changed how we as a public with each other and with those in power, interact with one another.

The election campaign of Barack Obama is testament to the vital role in which new media played within his rise to President. His campaigns against both Mitt Romney and John McCain saw the significance of social media as a whole as well as the vital importance the internet has with regards to campaigning, the Handbook of Internet Politics outlines the huge importance the internet plays within American Politics:

> The internet allows the campaign to gather various types of information that are useful to the campaign effort. This includes possibly damaging information about the campaign's own candidate, background material on the opponent, as well as developments in polling, endorsements, statements by other public figures and information about the various legal and technical requirements associated with running for public office (Chadwick and Howard, 2009: 15)

Obama's recognition of this and his ability to interact with sites such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube allowed him to reach out to a whole new demographic, something which Romney and McCain both respectively failed to do. Because of this, Obama expressed a new look for political campaigns as well as politics as a whole. Barack Obama could be considered one of the first politicians to fully embrace social media; because of this, politicians around the world have adopted their own Twitter accounts and Facebook profiles. Primarily, this allows politicians to address a new demographic and also spread

their personal policies as well as the politics of their party. However, it also give politicians a new look. Instead of stagnating with old forms of communication, politicians create the image of renewal and embrace change. Something that is highly appealing compared to the megaphone politics of old media.

Despite this, new media has not been entirely beneficial to politicians. Many get its use wrong and what appears to be reaching out and connecting to the new media users backfires into ridicule and misinterpretation. One example of this can be seen in British Prime Minister, David Cameron's Twitter feed surrounding the recent conflict between Russia and Ukraine in the Crimea. David Cameron Tweeted a picture of himself on the phone along with the statement 'I've been speaking to @BarackObama about the situation in Ukraine. We are united in condemnation of Russia's actions' (Cameron, 2014). The picture and statement had the adverse effect to which it was intended, creating various parodies across the internet. Overall, instead of creating a message of action, Cameron was ridiculed for the obvious manufacturing of the picture and context.

This same ridiculing can be seen on the website YouTube, a site which allows anyone to create a video, upload it and share it with friends. With regards to politics, YouTube has been crucial when it comes to politicians addressing the public as well as the public addressing the politicians, both in a serious and parodying manner. This can be seen when looking at some of the videos posted by Nick Clegg, Deputy Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Democrats. He posted an apologetic video outlining the reasons as to why he lied about certain policies and his intentions upon being elected. Once again, this had the opposite effect to what he intended. Instead of the public reaching out to him and accepting his apology, many parodies of the video were created with the ultimate effect of ridiculing Nick Clegg. Graham Meikle (2002) also comments on how the consumers of new media reject the ways in which mediated bodies are attempting to sculpt these media forms, such as Cameron and Clegg:

> Of course many corporations are trying to bend the internet into tools of consumption rather than creativity,. But you can only bend human nature and technology so far. Very often these attempts fail miserably (Meikle, 2002: 180).

Both of these examples show how social media has become a conduit for both political bodies to outline and address issues and also for the public to express their response. If we compare these to the methods of old media, the public would have had next to no platform to voice their concerns or reply to any direct addresses made by politicians. This is commented on in James Curran's and Michael Gurevitch's (2005) Mass Media and Society where they look at the role of digital technology, in this case it is namely computers, smart phones and tablets, 'in the age of digital technology, anyone will be able to start media or get anything they want for the price of a phone call' (Curran & Gurevitch, 2005: 68)

The use of social media has been utilized by the public to express political concern for many years now, one such example being the 2010 student protests against the rise of tuition fees and cuts to education. Centred mainly in London, around 40 000 students and the National Union of Students (NUS), the National Campaign against Cuts and Fees (NCAFC) and the University and College Union (UCU) members protested the rise in fees and occupied and attacked the Conservative headquarters in London. Members of the NCAFC encourage students to use social media to spread awareness and create support for the protest. However, the protest ultimately failed. Another, much stronger example of the use of social media for political activism was seen during the Egyptian revolution. It

originated on Facebook via a video of a woman encouraging people to protest. It had quickly spread across the internet and within a few hours people were ready to act against a corrupt government. This is sheer evidence of the power social media holds and the success it had within the social movements, which is reinforced within its usage of social media:

> It is clear that social movements cannot exist without sustained interactions, both internally and within their external reference groups. This points... to the attractiveness of using ICTs (Donk, et al, 2004: 4).

If used correctly, it can be a weapon in the hands of some used to cripple and overthrow corrupt governments. The revolution in Egypt created a catalyst for other countries such as Libya and Syria whose protestors also used social media in order to spread their word and begin revolutions and demonstrations of their own.

Overall, new media has sparked a political and activist revolution which has changed the way in which politicians and bodies interact with the public and vice versa. Whilst some of these changes may not have a positive effect, such as the mockery of political figures and the hacking and shutting down of websites, I believe the ramifications are, overall, for the good. New media has opened up a new communicative tool where anyone, as long as they have access to the said tools, can display their opinion and offer an alternative to the hegemonic views of old media. I do believe that soon, the liberation of a people could lie solely within their access to new media platforms, mainly the internet. With access to so much information and the ability to interpret said information in any way possible, we will soon be in a world where new media forms dominate our lifestyle.

References

Atton C (2002) *Alternative Media*. London: SAGE.

Axford B and Huggins R (2001) *New Media and Politics*. London: SAGE.

Cameron D (2014) *David Cameron Twitter Account*. 5 March. Available at: https://twitter.com/David_Cameron.

Chadwick A and Howard P N (2009) *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Coleman S (2005) New mediation and direct representation: reconceptualising representation in the digital age. *New Media and Society.* 7(2): 177-198.

Curran J and Gurevitch M (2005) *Mass Media and Society*. 4th edn. London: Hodder Education, Hatchette.

Donk W V D, Loader B D, Nixon P G and Rucht D (2004) *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*. London: Routledge.

Meikle G (2002) *Future Active: Media Activism and the Internet*. London: Routledge.

Pickerill J (2003) *Cyberprotest: Enviromental Activism online*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Waltz M (2005) *Alternative and Activist Media*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

How do Mary Douglas' ideas on "Purity and Danger" and/or Michele Foucault's notion of "Discipline and Punish" contribute to the understanding of the body in the modern world?

Ioana Nastasia Alexandru

Through education and socialization, the individual becomes exposed to a set of beliefs and values; these, in most cases, become internalized, taken for granted and regarded as general truths. Guiding the social actor throughout the scenes he/she has to perform, they become pivotal in navigating the social life and all of its layers. In this essay, the reader is invited to participate in an exercise that requires questioning otherwise banal realities. In doing so, Mary Douglas' "purity and danger" and Foucault's "discipline and punish" conceptualizations of social order will be employed in several examples with the purpose of illustrating their implications on the modern body.

Bordo (1993) summarizes what has just been introduced by referring to the body as a medium of culture. The otherwise unwritten rules of a society are inscribed on its members' bodies, which carry and perpetuate them unconsciously. Foucault introduces a new dimension to the role of the body- that of social control. In his famous book, Discipline and Punish, the philosopher demonstrates how cultural norms dominate and control the individual. He/she is mostly unaware of the constraints placed upon him/her because they are introduced from a young age and become internalized, for example, table manners (Foucault, 1979). However, in order for the individual to accept a norm, Foucault argues practice and belief are essential steps: by practicing femininity, one starts to believe in femininity as a natural way of being. As mentioned previously, the process starts from an early age with practices such as girls playing with dolls, while boys are outside running around. The children, by practicing behaviors socially promoted as appropriate, grow up considering that certain abilities and skills are conditioned by gender, meaning by sex (gender and sex are one and the same for an individual who does differentiate between the social construct and the biological heritage) and the limiting consequences of being male/female can only be accepted. A boy, who plays football, develops physically and exercises skills such as team play and a sense of competitiveness; girls, on the other hand, by playing indoors with their toys, mostly alone, are set to develop their "soft" skills. Growing up, they continue in performing practices deemed suitable for their skills, that is their gender, which they end up believing is intrinsically linked with their sex (Beauvoir, 1993).

Foucault (1979) argues that this reinforcing circle of beliefs and practices renders the body docile, and thus open to accepting to be controlled by the very ways in which he/she considers demonstrate agency and individuality/personality. Following this line of thought, Bordo (1993) looked at the female body and its docile evolution throughout history and identified anorexia and hysteria (conditions typically regarded as feminine) to have been specific to periods of time with specific ideals of beauty. In the case of modern societies, these have promoted contradictory beliefs surrounding femininity in order to portray an unachievable ideal- the fragile, slender, domestic, yet independence seeking superwoman. The female body is submitted to antagonistic constituting conditions of the new femininity ideal, which has determined a rise in anorexia cases according to Bordo's analysis. In the United States, 80% of women show signs of eating disorders at some point in their lives and are exposed to increased mortality as a consequence (Rhode, 2010).

This slender ideal, filtered through Mary Douglas' theory, can be understood as the current definition of purity. If Foucault discusses the way in which the body becomes obedient to and part of the social reproduction of norms, Douglas looks at how bodies are perceived-either pure or dangerous. Pure is anything and anyone that does not pose a challenge to the hegemonic values, thus docile. What is categorized as not respecting the standards becomes dangerous because it can challenge the norm and thus, needs to be controlled or punished (Butler, 1990). The two theories go hand in hand in explaining social order.

The case of Sarah Baartman (known by her stage name, the Hottentot Venus) encompasses what has been discussed so far in a simple yet powerful example. Baartman was a South African woman brought to Europe by explorers who were curious about her physical appearance, which was associated with Venus, the goddess of love, sex and fertility. What is interesting to observe is that the men who discovered her would not have perceived her physique as weird or research and display worthy if they did not have had a schema of what a woman should look like. Her body, according to the "heterosexual ideal" they had contributed to perpetuating, was dangerous because it presented the female body as sexualized (Butler, 1990). This did not stop them, however, from using her in shows for the amusement and amazement of the public in very little to no clothing. By situating her body on a scene whereby people could throw commentaries regarding her appearance, she no longer was a human being, like the rest, but rather the other, the different and the dangerous body all must look at in order to reinforce their docility, their purity. Her body became a barrier.

What is more, Baartman was also a black body, not only a female one. A body that did not have anything to say against being taken away from her tribe, because she was inferior. Throughout the colonial times, white male superiority became a necessary ideology that justified the colonial mission. Tribe members and other groups were presented in the Darwinistic framework as a connection to our past evolutionary development. The white Westerner regarded himself to be the final stage of evolution, while those he "discovered" were perceived as inferior and presented accordingly in human zoos in order to reinforce the colonial project.

Baartman was a victim of the stereotypes regarding the ways in which a body should look and act like. One could ask who makes these decisions? Both Foucault and Douglas agree on the matter that political and economical contexts have an important role to play in this. The body is a permeable surface for the political instrument of control and thus, becomes conditioned by the historical context in which it becomes a signifier (Butler, 1990).

In the contemporary heterosexual gender hierarchy, the female body, the homosexual/lesbian, the Black, the transgender, the disabled and many others become inferior and excluded from different arenas of social life. Until now, the female body was confined to the private space and to its corresponding domestic responsibilities; now, there is a tension between the public and privates spheres because women are encouraged to be part of both. This is an important win on the feminist side, so why is there tension? Looking back to the attributes children practice from an early age might provide an explanation. These attributes persist despite not being as overt as they once were, for example, in the advertisements of the 1960s. In contrast, little boys and girls are educated more or less following the same gender patterns. This leads the girl to become a young woman with an understanding of femininity that includes the private sphere. Exposed to an array of possible careers and paths to follow in school and during higher education, she might feel

interested and encouraged to pursue her professional development. However, if this interferes with her domestic responsibilities, then a problem occurs: either she directly feels the pressure of balancing both aspects, which creates discomfort and the need to choose between the two or discourages her from the start; or she is subjected to society's scrutiny for not fulfilling her womanly chores and responsibilities (Brooks, 1997).

(Van Heusen, n.d.)

Goffman (1959:27) explains how this tension is created by the institutionalization of different social spheres 'in terms of the abstract stereotyped expectations to which it gives rise'. The professional path has been defined so far as a masculine endeavor. A high ranking professional woman, regardless of the domain, but especially in politics, is perceived as a rarity, a curiosity, a (lucky) exception from the rule that only ends up reinforcing it. What is more, if she is also a mother or a wife (established and socially regulated roles), then the amazement is followed by a critique of her domestic life. Gergen (1971) argues that this can have an alienating effect, because of the dissonance between one's behavior and his/her perception of self. If the woman performs her taught femininity instead of performing her own beliefs such as that she would like to get involved into politics (because she is discouraged by the male dominated scene), then she risks becoming alienated from her own self and docile.

Thus, only opening the public sphere to women by formally recognizing their right to access it does not immediately translate into women's liberation if the underlying structure of values based on sexual differentiation persists on exercising its influence (Clarke, 2008). Art has been particularly important in addressing the persistence of gendered society and has brought to surface issues that were thought of as outdated. Particularly relevant to this discussion are Renée Cox and Diane Arbus.

(Cox, 1999)

Yo mama's last supper (1999) is a controversial photographic mural that challenges the viewer's stereotypical understanding of the world in several ways: Firstly, by posing as Jesus, the artist questions the male dominance and the portrayal of it in religions around the world. Secondly, through her ethnic background and decision to use African-Americans as part of the mural, with the exception of Judas, she addresses the White/Black dichotomy, the overrepresentation of Whites in religions. Thirdly, by using her naked body, she reveals the sexualization of the female body and the engrained prejudicial and condescending

attitude toward the naked female body, which is used by society in order to control behaviors and to discourage sexual liberation. Fourthly, the artist also tackles the amazement and curiosity with which a female in a position of power is met, thus highlighting the sturdy patriarchal structure. Finally, by choosing not to include other female characters in the mural, her female singularity is also a visual representation of the current male to female ratio in positions of control.

Relationships of control are based on sexual differentiations and contribute toward classification in society. According to Douglas, purity of the physical body and the status of the social body determine a separation between the pure and impure (the dangerous), which helps the mechanism to perpetuate and grow stronger through a cleansing effect (Farr, 1991). Purity and status are interconnected and aspired to in a society that does not value diversity in its true sense. Excluded by the standards that guide social life, the outsiders have to either accept the status quo and their docility, or use their personal experience and bodies to question the validity of the general truth they have to measure against.

(Arbus, n.d.)

In the first instance, Foucault (1982) explains docility through the example of the panopticon: similar to this type of prison, society exercises control over people by introducing anxiety regarding whether or not a behavior is being watched and if so, if it is acceptable. Regardless of someone else actually witnessing to a behavior, individuals still behave according to the norms. In the case of prisons, the consequences of not doing so are clear as far as punishment is concerned; in the daily life, however, these become entangled.

Social exclusion is a punishment applied to those who "misbehave". Diane Arbus was a photographer interested in the socially excluded and portrayed them in her photographs throughout her career. What is interesting in her case, besides the attention she offers to otherwise ignored individuals, is the fact that she had become known as the "photographer of the freaks".

This is relevant to the discussion because it shows how the terminology one employs can reveal the cultural values of a society. The freaks are strange and unusual but it is a social construction that has deemed them this way, which can be changed or destroyed the very way it has been built (Lianos, 2000).
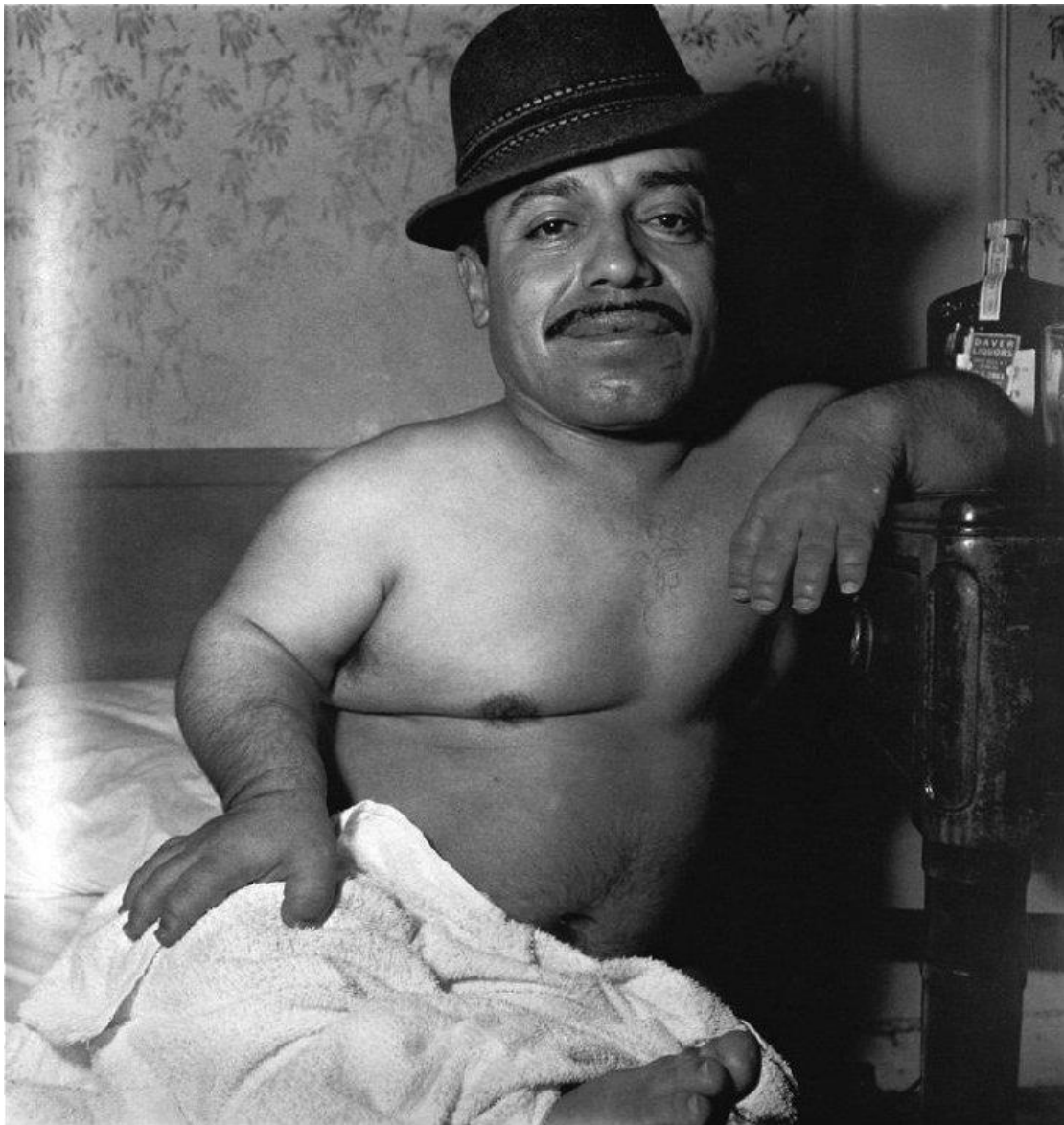
(Arbus, n.d.)

"Freaks" are dangerous because they can demonstrate the taken for granted beliefs to be irrational. Newton (1972) demonstrates the social construction around gender by referring to drag queens (homosexual men who impersonate women): the first layer shows their bodies are masculine, while their appearances are feminine. Additionally, the second layer reveals that despite the masculine exterior, the self; the interior is feminine. Both layers are true and both regard the same individual. Thus, gender is exposed as not true, nor false, but as a consequence of one's identity, instead of his/her sex.

Returning to those who are perceived as dangerous and their options in society, their second option is to use their bodies as a tool in the quest for change. The body can be a signifier of culture in a society, but it can also be a signifier of diversity, revolution and empowerment. Foucault and Douglas equipped us with important concepts that allow us to navigate the social space and re-evaluate our perception of the world and most importantly, to question how it has formed. The process, however, should not stop here. Bodies have not always been docile; they were forced to be this way because the opposite, the strong individual, is powerful. That power can be regained starting with our own personal bodies.

References

Arbus D (n.d.) *Man Smoking* [photograph]
http://erickimphotography.com/blog/2012/10/15/11-lessons-diane-arbus-can-teach-you-about-street-photography. Accessed: 18 April 2014.

Arbus D (n.d.) *Man in White Sheets* [photograph].
http://wwwscriblets-bleets.blogspot.ca/2011/04/through-lens-darkly.html. Accessed: 18 April 2014.

Beauvoir Sd (1993) *The Second Sex*. New York: Alfred A Knopf.

Bordo S (1993) *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western culture and the body.* Berkeley: University of California Press

Brooks A (1997*) Postfeminisms: Feminism, Cultural Theory, and Cultural Forms*. London: Routledge.

Butler J (1990*) Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity.* New York: Routledge.

Clarke S (2008) Culture and Identity. In T Bennett and J Frow (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis.* Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd.

Cox R (1999) *Yo Mama's Last Supper* [photograph].
 http://www.reneecox.org/#!yo-mamas-last-supper/c1sd6. Accessed: 18 April 2014.

Farr JR (1991) The Pure and Disciplined Body: Hierarchy, morality, and symbolism in France during the Catholic Reformation*. Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21(3): 391-414.

Foucault M (1979*) Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault M (1982) The Subject and Power*. Critical Inquiry* 8(4): 777-795.

Gergen KJ (1971) *The Concept of Self*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Goffman E (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor Books.

Lianos M (2000) Dangerization and the End of Deviance: The institutional environment. *The British Journal of Criminology* 40(2): 261-278.

Newton E (1972) *Mother Camp: Female impersonators in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rhode DL (2010) *The Beauty Bias: The injustice of appearance in life and law.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Van Heusen (n.d.) *Show Her it's a Man's World* [photograph].
http://www.top5ives.com/top-5-most-offensive-vintage-ads. Accessed: 18 April 2014.

How do the writings of members of the Black Power movement speak to issues of justice and equality in American society? Are they effective in doing so?

Alex Donaldson

The Black Power movement in the United States, popularised in the 1960s and early 1970s, was a movement in resistance of African American subjugation, appealing to justice and equality in varying ideology and philosophy. After the struggle for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many black Americans were dissatisfied with the continued oppression from the ruling white class, growing evermore impatient with the method of non-violence advocated by Martin Luther King Jnr. While in most cases the people of the Black Power movement acknowledged the importance of Dr. King as a spokesperson and influential figure, a new breed of young, disillusioned thinkers and activists began to approach issues of black inequality from a more confrontational and proactive stance. Namely, Stokely Carmichael, who had orchestrated many of the protests in the Deep South with the SNCC during the early 1960s (Zinn, 1964), began to veer away from the non-violent strategy and promote what he termed as 'Black Power'. While the movement was certainly an evolution of the Civil Rights movement, the pioneers of Black Power are more accurately represented as disciples of Malcolm X, who was forthright in articulating the magnitude of the black struggle:

> We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against oppression and colonialism which has characterized this era....It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem (Malcolm X; cited in Magubane, 1987: 240).

Indeed, the late 1960s was a particularly volatile and revolutionary era not just in the United States, but on a world stage. Perhaps the most important legacy of the Black Power movement was its ability to highlight the imbalance of power not just along racial and national lines, but by speaking to the issues of injustice and inequality in a wider, more radical context.

The Black Power movement itself must be explained within the perspective and history of the African Diaspora. Since the fifteenth century, men and women were kidnapped and sold into transatlantic slavery, where they experienced harsh conditions of servitude and exploitation spanning generations. While slavery was abolished in 1863 with the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, African American subjugation continued in a United States society strictly bound by a racial ideology. This was constructed and compounded by legislative and institutional models, resulting in the continued disenfranchisement of black Americans who were excluded and punished by 'the white power structure' (Carmichael, 1967: 9). This did not end with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. White supremacy, individual and institutional, continued long after this legislation designed to end segregation, and this is where the thoughts of the Black Power advocates arose to become most prevalent.

Amongst the subtle variance in ideology and philosophy across the Black Power writings, one element of philosophy remains a constant. This is the African American pursuit of self-

determination, a rejection of the legislative equality sought through Civil Rights activism. Black Power was becoming the resort of the disenchanted thinkers such as Carmichael, but after the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968, the constitutional power sought by Civil Rights seemed impractical to many more, Eldridge Cleaver (1969) writing: 'The violent phase of the black liberation struggle is here, and it will spread. From that shot, from that blood, American will be painted red' (Cleaver, 1969: 196). Martin Luther King's controversial murder signified a new order of black radicalism that no longer came from working within the American capitalist system. Stokely Carmichael (1967) wrote in his work, *Black Power*: 'Black people must redefine themselves, and only *they* can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to reclaim their history, their culture' (Carmichael, 1967: 37 [emphasis in original]). This, for Stokely Carmichael, was the first step in the ultimate goal of Black Power, not for domination and exploitation of others, 'but rather an effective share in the total power of society' (1967: 47). Carmichael's vision of Black Power, however, does not coincide with his view on what constitutes 'white power', which he believed to be an unequal order of racial supremacy, colonialism, exploitation and violence. Instead, Carmichael's thoughts echo a counteractive power struggle in order to restore an equal balance of freedom and justice for Black people, rather than implement any supremacy over white America.

The channels of pursuing this self-determination are also discussed throughout Black Power thinking. Despite the evident abandonment of non-violence as a strategy within the movement, the Black Power rise can be attributed to the changing thoughts of Stokely Carmichael as early as 1966, while he was still a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNNC). This organisation, while fading in its influence by the late 1960s, directly inspired much of the practices of the movement regardless of its original emphasis on non-violence. In Carmichael's (1967) *Black Power*, he promotes the theory of 'political modernization' for equality and justice, a sentiment loosely based around David Apter's (1965) theory 'that modernization is a process of increasing complexity in human affairs within which the polity must act' (1965: 3). For Carmichael, this is broken down into three key ideas in the pursuit of Black Power; challenging old values, searching for new forms of political structure and, perhaps most interestingly: 'broadening the base of political participation to include more people in the decision-making process' (Carmichael, 1967: 39). This adopts the concept of 'participatory democracy', a thought that confronted the existing 'division of labour between the average citizen and his elective and appointive public officials' (Cook & Morgan, 1971: 2). The strategy defined the success of the SNCC during the Civil Rights era, rapidly mobilising and politicising the black communities in the Deep South against ferocious racism and violence (Zinn, 1964: 15). While Stokely Carmichael left the SNCC in controversial circumstances, he recognised from experience the value of grass-roots civic participation in the goal of black self-determination. For Carmichael, the gulf between those who made policy and those who were subject to it, was grossly imbalanced and in need of imperative attention. The importance of black self-determination is emphasised throughout his writing in 'Black Power', but his theoretical rhetoric surrounding political modernisation and participatory democracy offer more than just expression. Carmichael's beliefs on these issues were not just fickle assertions, but sophisticated ideas based on former experiences and successes. Therefore, it can be argued that the SNCC made significant contributions to the Black Power movement despite its initial position in contesting the perceived passivity of the Civil Rights movement.

The Black Panthers were equally staunch in their emphasis on black self-determination. They took the Black Power model and were convinced that any implementation of such

thinking was immediately necessary for a proactive and forceful stand in Oakland, California: 'the philosophical meaning will also have to relate to something specific' (Seale, 1970: 59). This involved the establishment of various community initiatives, including youth clubs, autonomous healthcare programs and even free breakfasts to name just a few. However, perhaps most significant were Newton and Seale's decision to arm fellow Panthers: 'we needed guns now to begin educating the people to wage a revolutionary struggle' (Seale, 1970: 59). This hands-on approach in aiding the community is possibly the reason behind the rapid rise to prominence of the Bay Area Panthers in the late 1960s. The confrontational methodology can be viewed as an evolution of the black self-determination championed by Stokely Carmichael, who joined the Panthers himself in 1967, acknowledging the need for direct black resistance to the system in order for significant and lasting change. This is not to say that Carmichael was on the streets with guns, but for Huey Newton, justice and equality was sought by exercising their influence within the community and their constitutional rights against unlawful prejudice; as well as seeking firearms to protect themselves against armed police officers. While evidently a tough stance to take, the Panther ten-point program emphasised that arming themselves was not an antagonistic approach, but for self-defence against the institutional racism and police brutality experienced daily within the community.

However, this stance was highly controversial, inciting immediate tension most notably with police forces, the judiciary and in the media. Many within the sphere of the Black Power movement criticised the apparent emphasis on violence and the backlash that carrying guns in California would provoke. For some, while the methodology was theoretically coherent, the preoccupation with militancy overtook their core values as a political movement. Kathleen Cleaver (1982), the wife of Eldridge Cleaver, wrote in hindsight that the publicity and hysteria surrounding the militancy of the Black Panthers 'thoroughly distorted the nature of the changes in black consciousness by concentrating on the superficial' (Cleaver, 1982: 89). Here, Kathleen Cleaver (1982) is suggesting that the true essence of justice and equality advocated by the Black Panther Party was compromised by the misappropriation of symbols - such as the guns, the clenched fists and the black clothing. The Panthers were even viewed as anti-white by various critics, showing a clear distortion of the Party's original thinking via the media (Rhodes, 2007). Thus, the influence of the Panthers declined due to what Stuart Hall would describe as 'the racialized regime of representation' (Hall, 1997: 249) in reference to the hegemony that the white media have in controlling and distorting the way black people are perceived nationwide. For Kathleen Cleaver, the common symbolism that became associated with the Black Panther Party is essentially an exaggerated creation of the white imaginary, distracting whites, and more crucially blacks, from the true and meaningful elements of the Panther ideology.

The Panthers certainly came under criticism, justly and unjustly. However, there are apparent contradictions in their immediate philosophy. In particular, their method of self-defence revolved around learning their constitutional rights, knowing them exhaustively and exercising them on the streets: 'The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bare arms' (Seale, 1970: 68). While certainly empowering, it is contradictory in that the Panthers adopted the law of the United States constitution. By doing this, they therefore placed value in the apparatus of the very structure they sought to contest. While it confronts institutional racism, it still only constitutes a form of self-determination through the confines of the white system of beliefs and practice. Contrary to this, the non-violent approach of the Civil Rights era emerged from the concept of 'civil disobedience', a term coined by writer Henry David Thoreau (1848) in reference to

challenging the outside laws that control the individual: 'If the machine of government is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law' (Thoreau, 1848: 273). As the numerous bus boycotts, sit-ins and marches may suggest, the Civil Rights movement was confrontational in a different way to the Panthers, testing the structure with actions of noncompliance. Perhaps civil disobedience, somewhat ironically, reflects the revolutionary agenda of the Black Power movement more aptly, yet seems to be missing from most writing within the movement. This is not to say one method was more successful than the other. However, the Panthers' emphasis on guns is in some ways a flaunting of law-abiding and obedience, and while it makes a point, it perhaps presents a paradox between philosophy and practice.

This is not an attempt at reducing the weight of the Black Panther philosophy, outlined by co-founders Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, which also focused on a multitude of issues and activity. In a similar way to how Carmichael articulates the differences between Black Power and the racist white power structure, the Panthers addressed the probability of being labeled black nationalists, cultural separatists and even black racists. Seale (1970) writes in *Seize the Time* that:

> The Black Panther Party is not a black racist organization…What the Black Panther Party has done in essence is to call for an alliance and coalition with all of the people and organizations who want to move against the power structure
> (Seale, 1970: 59-60).

The Black Panther Party did not simply advocate inter-racial cooperation and the transcendence of particular black issues, they exercised this coalition. The alliance with the Peace and Freedom Party is a prime example of this, a leftist group of white liberals primarily engaged with opposition to the Vietnam War (Hayes & Kiene, 1998). Eldridge Cleaver also articulated the necessity for the recognition of white participation in 'Soul on Ice', which he wrote in prison. Eldridge Cleaver was perhaps the most eloquent in speaking to issues of justice and equality in the Black Power era, and Huey Newton became intent on recruiting him to the Panther Party after hearing him speak on the radio (Seale, 1970). On coalition, Cleaver believed the white liberal had an integral role to play in the black revolutionary struggle: 'white blood is the coin of freedom in a land where for four hundred years of black blood has been shed unremarked and with impunity' (Cleaver, 1969: 76). This passage suggests some tragedy in that the black revolution will only be recognised after the death of white demonstrators. However, the overriding importance with this statement is that white activity in the black revolutionary movement is not necessarily sacrificial, but a conscious decision of the white youth in 'repudiating their heritage of blood and taking people of color as their heroes and models' (Cleaver, 1969: 82). In this particular chapter, Cleaver (1969) suggests that the volatile outbursts of educated young whites are symptomatic of a 'world revolution now underway' (Cleaver, 1969: 82). This is expressed by the embracing of black culture, but also by adopting 'heroes' who contradict the American white power structure not just domestically, but through the ethics of overseas icons such as Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh (Cleaver, 1969). While this may still be enshrined with notions of white guilt, he believes it is still indicative of a shifting paradigm, and should be respected and embraced in the end goal of revolution against the hegemony of United States capitalism.

The Black Panther ideology received criticism from within the movement itself because of these approaches towards coalition. While the original Black Power advocate, Stokely Carmichael (1967), agreed that black supremacism was not a viable counter-struggle, he

did not believe that multi-factional coalition against the white power structure was a conceivable possibility, particularly on the subject of involving white liberals: 'no matter how liberal a white person might be, he cannot ultimately escape the overpowering influence- on himself and on black people- of his whiteness in a racist society' (Carmichael, 1967: 61). This critique echoes many aspects of a Marxist ideology that Carmichael consciously adopted and applied to the Black Power movement. Karl Marx (2003 [1848]) famously said: 'workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains' (2003 [1848]: 298). Analogically speaking, Carmichael would suggest that white radical organisations represent the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat, and only those with 'nothing to lose' can wage an authentic and pure struggle for justice and equality. The 'politically and economically secure' (Carmichael, 1967: 70), in this case the white liberals, have conflicting interests with the disenfranchised black people of the United States, and for Stokely Carmichael, any coalition would compromise the self-determination of the Black Power movement.

Arguably the most effective method in speaking to issues of racial inequality and injustice during the Black Power era did not come from the writers, but activists who were influenced by the climate of pro-active confrontation and black revolution. For instance, one of the most iconic legacies of the Black Power movement is the protest image of Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the Mexico City Olympic Games in 1968, raising their clenched fists to symbolise Black Power, and bowing their heads for 'the fallen warriors of the black liberation struggle' (Edwards, 1969: 104). The magnitude of such a protest against racial inequality and injustice, broadcasted across the globe, cannot be understated. Harry Edwards, who had orchestrated the protest as head of the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR) in 1968, notes in *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* that:

> ...the movement had made it crystal clear that this was the new generation of black people that Malcolm X had spoken of so often- a generation to which black dignity meant more than individual Negro gains (1969: 108).

As this statement implies, the act was also self-sacrificing; other athletes such as Lee Evans opting out of demonstrations as he attempted to protect his future career options (Edwards, 1969). Again, this is indicative of the Black Power era, an astute ability in recognising the wider picture of black subjugation, and acting upon it selflessly and unwaveringly. In this one confrontational action of civil disobedience, Smith and Carlos had communicated racial inequality and injustice to the world, transcending racial and national significance by espousing its importance to those outside of America. The white Olympic power structure had been opposed, with the Olympic community of Mexico City serving as a microcosm for the larger issues of inequality and injustice all over the world, whether it be in apartheid South Africa, the United States or in the immediacy of Mexico itself.

The Black Power movement is a fascinating era of black politics and social activism in the United States. The movement was characterised by its radicalism, a term often loaded with negative stigma, but Angela Davis preferred to define it almost as a humanitarian duty in 'grasping things at the root' (Davis, 1996: 69). It is fair to say that in its different philosophical and active approaches, the Black Power movement certainly engaged with the issues of equality and justice from the very origin, with an equally sophisticated approach to these issues in a wider context. Having said this, the movement like any other, had its flaws and contradictions as discussed throughout this paper. Lewis Michaux, owner of the Black Bookstore in Harlem, New York, communicates in his short poem, that:

Black is beautiful, but black isn't power
You can be as black as a crow or white as snow but if you don't know
You can't go and that's fo' sho
(cited in Olsson, 2011; page numbers).

The real progress of the era is thus represented by knowledge, understanding and the courage to struggle against a seemingly immovable structure. Conclusively, while Black Power and Civil Rights sentiment seemed to come from two contrasting and oppositional angles, they can be viewed as both completely necessary in working for the same ends, of confronting inequality and injustice for its eventual reversal.

References

Apter D (1965) *The Politics of Modernization.* Chicago and London: Chicago University Press.

Carmichael S and Hamilton C V (1967) *Black Power, The Politics of Liberation.* New York: Random House.

Cleaver E (1969) *Soul on Ice.* New York: Ramparts Book.

Cleaver E (1969) The Death of Martin Luther King: Requiem for Nonviolence. In Scheer R (ed) *Eldridge Cleaver: Post-prison writings and speeches.* New York: Random House.

Cleaver K (1982) How TV wrecked the Black Panthers. *Channels.* 98.

Cook T (1971) Introduction in Cook T and Morgan P M (eds.) Participatory *Democracy.* San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1971 p. 1-14

Edwards H (1969) *The Revolt of the Black Athlete.* Boston: Macmillan.

Hall S (1997) The Spectacle of the "Other". In Hall S (ed) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London: SAGE p.255-277

Hayes, Floyd W. and Kiene, Frances A. (1998) 'All Power to the People: The Political Thought of Huey P. Newton and The Black Panther Party' in 'The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)' by CE Jones. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998.

Magubane B (1987) *The Ties that Bind: African-American Consciousness of Africa.* Trenton: Africa World Press.

Marx K and Engels F (2003 [1848]) *The Communist Manifesto.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.

Rhodes J (2007) *Framing the Black Panthers, The Spectacular Rise of a Black Power Icon.* New York & London: New Press.

Seale B (1991 [1970]) *Seize the Time, The Story of The Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. Baltimore: Black Classics Press.

Thoreau H D (2003 [1848]) Civil Disobedience in Mermin W.S (ed) *Walden and Civil Disobedience.* New York: Barnes & Noble Classics. p. 263-286

Zinn H (1964) *SNCC the New Abolitionists.* Boston: Beacon Press.

The body in performance art as a means for emancipation and social critique – the work of James Luna and Willi Dorner

Tom Ellis

The centrality of the human body to performance art makes the art-form a highly effective means of communicating opinions and enabling a critique of the society in which it exists, due to the simple fact that it is through one's body that the world is always experienced. Such art can therefore serve simultaneously as a personal expression of the emotions of the artist, whilst also relating directly to all those viewing it. By focusing on the body and all its implied socially constructed meanings, performance art has the ability to highlight important issues experienced not just by the artists themselves, but by the entire social and cultural group they come from, at the same time as also connecting with those from all other facets of society through drawing attention to the relationships between these groups. An artist such as James Luna, with his Native American body, challenges the dominant narratives prevalent in mainstream society concerning his own cultural background, and also highlights the important challenges and societal issues faced by all those who share his cultural heritage. Many such issues can be seen to be partially the consequences of these dominant discourses, therefore forcing those who view his art to re-assess their pre-conceptions concerning such groups who exist on the margins of mainstream society. Similarly, the work of Austrian artist Willi Dorner too encourages others to reflect on their own society and the space in which they exist, though he does so through his appropriation and reimagining of the urban environment as a canvas for his art, again inspiring new thoughts and emotions, and so gives consideration to the social and physical architecture of the city and challenges the norms and conventions of metropolitan existence. It can therefore be seen that both artists effectively serve to inspire audiences to question the validity of the dominant narratives of society.

Themes around social critique and emancipation are, of course, central to the concerns of much of the artwork of indigenous and ethnic minority peoples, seeing as their culture is permanently at risk of being of overwhelmed, misrepresented and otherwise negatively impacted by the dominant discourses and conventions of mainstream society. Examples of such domination and destruction of any culture deviating from the European concepts of "normal" and "civilised" is the central and prevailing ideology underpinning all colonial practices – an ideology which manifested itself in the enslavement, degradation and displacement of millions of those peoples who did not conform to such narrow understandings of human existence. With these practices, indigenous people were thus cast as 'savage', 'primitive' and as unable to fit into modern and civilised societies, with one noteworthy product of such ideology being the phenomenon of 'human zoos', institutions described by Blanchard, et al. (2008) as 'exceptional in combining the functions of exhibition, performance, education and domination,' with such 'performances' attempting to demonstrate white, Western superiority in the supposed hierarchy of races (2008: 1). It is therefore, of course, very much in the interests of artists from groups that were in the past subject to such domination (and to a large extent remain so today) to increase their visibility in society and challenge any prejudices that exist, with James Luna being an extremely effective practitioner of performance art that conveys this. Through works such as *The Artifact Piece, In My Dreams* and *Take a Picture With a Real Indian*, Luna can be seen to utilise his body to be, as Helen Gilbert (1994) writes, at once a 'physical body' – that acts

as a 'sign of otherness that resists appropriation through the metaphysics of its insistent presence,' and a 'social body' – which 'becomes a site of contestation showing the historical inscriptions of indigenous and coloniser cultures and their competing ideologies' (1994: 106). Therefore, this deployment of the body promotes awareness of challenges faced by indigenous peoples and also critiques the society that constrains minority culture, and is the root cause of their need for greater overall representation and increased degree of truth in such depictions.

If one takes the human zoos as a microcosm of the wider colonial project, then they can be used as a demonstration of the ideologies around the domination referred to by Foucault as the 'mechanisms of power' (1979: 199) and which Luna attacks in his work. Through referring back to Blanchard's, et al. (2008) previously quoted description of the human zoos, one can make some enlightening comparisons between the form of colonial dominance represented by these institutions and today's dominant societal narratives that are attacked by Luna. The centrality of the body is of course essential to the performances of both the human zoos and Luna, and still further comparisons can be made, all centring around the ideologies that the human zoos served to promote and which Luna challenges. As Blanchard, et al. (2008) stated, the themes of *exhibition, education* and conveying the supposed naturalness of *domination*, with *performance* as being the means of achieving this, are the defining characteristics of the human zoos – with these foundations being principles which also must be kept in mind when engaging with Luna's work. For example, take Luna's performance *The Artifact Piece* (2005), in which he quite literally *exhibited* himself to be gazed at by paying customers (just as those in the human zoos were done so) inside a glass case in a museum, surrounded by artifacts of his own Native American existence and experience. Traditional and stereotypical artifacts of indigenous culture were displayed, for example headdresses, dream-catchers and stone tools, all of which conform to the dominant culture's perception of Native Americans as, as Luna (2010) opines in his performance piece *La Nostalgia*, people of 'the past as though we don't exist in the present.' However, their presence was undermined by the exhibition of modern 'artifacts' of contemporary Native American life, such as the artist's own divorce papers, college degree, Sex Pistols recordings and indeed the living, breathing body of Luna himself, all of which emphasise the fact that he belongs to a people that, though marginalised, are alive and part of today's society and who 'may wear Reeboks rather than moccasins' (Lazzari and Schlesier, 2004: 403) as opposed to being a culture confined only to history.

Blanchard et al (2008) describe the human zoos as a tool used in order to indoctrinate its viewers into being those who supported the colonial project by portraying prejudice and lies about non-European cultures as factual and natural. Luna's performances therefore thus subvert this *education* discussed by Blanchard et al in two key ways; firstly, as already described, through showing that the indigenous people of North America are not a population who should be considered as only historic; but also, just as importantly, he forces his audience to conclude that is destructive that mainstream culture presents such a misleading image, and that the unjust domination of minority and indigenous people continues today through stereotyped and commercialised misrepresentations of their way of life. He subverts the very ideology that the viewers of the human zoos were 'educated' in, and presents to his audience the truth rather than the myth of the modern indigenous way of life. This is done so by means of his Native American body taking control of representing *his own* culture rather than being subject to (mis)representation from more dominant societal powers, a point made explicit by Luna when stating in an interview 'I'm not up here to entertain... I'm here to teach you' (Fletcher, 2008).

Just as the human zoos said more about those people viewing the displays than they did the 'exhibits' on show through their being, as Blanchard et al describes, 'part of a larger attempt to provide reassurance concerning identity' (2008: 9) for their audience, Luna too draws on issues around projected identity and self-identity, challenging the dominant culture's preconception about indigenous ways of life in a way that means that we perhaps, as Lazzari and Schlesier argue, 'learn less about Native American cultures than we learn about the white culture's ideas about Native American cultures' (2004: 403). Through his performance in *The Artifact Piece*, Luna delivers a positive statement of emancipation and self-identity of 'who we are' (thereby challenging the dominant narratives of society) whilst simultaneously attacking the misconceptions of his viewers and the dominant culture concerning the identity of minority peoples. Luna's portrayals of the resulting disenfranchisement and accompanying social problems this causes provides an often disconcerting experience due to the uncomfortable home truths that his performances can present. The destructive consequences of the misrepresentation and marginalisation of indigenous culture is a significant aspect of Luna's work, and can be seen in his portrayal of social issues facing the modern Native American population such as poor health, drug and alcohol addiction and an overall lack of opportunities. In his performance works *The Artifact Piece* and *In My Dreams*, Luna highlights the negative impact that substance abuse has had on his own life, and thus acts as a representative for his whole community. For example, placards appearing beside his scarred body in *The Artifact Piece* read 'the sharing of emotional scars from alcoholic family backgrounds (was) cause for fears of giving, communicating and mistrust' and 'the burns on the fore and upper arm were sustained during days of excessive drinking' (Blocker, 2009: 16). Similarly, in *In My Dreams* he highlights further health problems, such as diabetes caused by poor diet, with this being another important issue for himself and his community, seeing as he is among the 42% of the population on La Jolla Indian Reservation (where he lives) who are diabetic (Blocker 2009: 21).

Such statements draw attention to the fact that these near-epidemic social issues are exacerbated in his community due to its sidelining and the power it is subjected to by dominant discourses and culture. For example the condiments that he eats before injecting himself with insulin are the quintessentially white-American ketchup and mustard, thus using food to display, as Jane Blocker writes, the 'toxic' nature of the 'white colonisation of Native America' (2009: 21). Therefore he delivers pertinent social criticism through representing his own people's cultural and social struggles as a being the consequence of the *domination* of their culture by mainstream society. Such a display thus attacks and subverts the elements of colonial discourse that informed the human zoos – discourses which, as Luna's work asserts, still exist even today. Similarly, Luna also rallies against the commercialisation and commoditisation of his people's culture, something he himself terms 'McIndian' (Blocker, 2009: 21), and the way in which it is appropriated by mainstream culture. For instance, in *Take a Picture With a Real Indian*, Luna (2001) states that 'America likes to name cars and trucks after our tribes' and concludes that 'America likes romance more than they like the truth.' Such statements further affirm the right to be in control of one's own self-identity, and challenge the dominant discourses of mainstream society, this being the ideology behind colonialism and its human zoos, and so thus effectively utilises Luna's body as a means of pursuing emancipation and social critique.

Another performance artist who, while operating in an altogether different sphere of cultural and social life to Luna, also employs the body as a means for similar ends, is Willi Dorner, through his utilisation of the human form as a means to question and transform the architectural and social space of cities. Dorner's work however, rather than highlighting

and challenging the social issues surrounding specific ethnic groups and power as Luna's does, encourages its viewers to reflect on the cityscape around them, and so, while still seeking to subvert and challenge dominant narratives and ideas, does so this time in a way that concerns how the modern urban environment is arranged in regards to both its physical structure and its relationship with the public who exist within it. Sociological analysis of the experience of the modern metropolis is a useful starting point for understanding the framework in which Dorner's work operates and criticises, and it can be seen that arguably the most significant aspect of any city is its economic life, shaping much of the social and spatial interaction of its inhabitants. The sociologist Georg Simmel wrote in his essay 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' that in some respects the cityscape means that individuals are allowed 'freedom of movement' (1997: 180), though according to Simmel such freedom is checked by the fact that 'the money-economy dominates the metropolis' and that this causes those within it to display an 'unmerciful matter-of-factness' (1997: 176). This goes to show the importance of the factor of exclusivity to the modern urban space, in the sense that those who financially qualify are welcomed and those who do not are rejected. This is an idea further corroborated by David Harvey (2008) when he writes that the modern metropolitan experience is characterised by 'an aura of free choice, provided you have the money', with the result of this being that the 'quality of urban life becomes a commodity.'

It can be seen then from Simmel and Harvey's assessment of the metropolis that a significant consequence (and even the purpose) of the modern urban environment and its socialisation is the inducement of conformity and the regulation of the movement between those who 'belong' and those who do not – through sociological study or simply spending time in the centre of any city this can clearly be seen to be the case. For instance, the following is an example from my own personal experience. While waiting for an hour for a friend during torrential rain and near-freezing temperature and sheltering in the Buchanan Galleries, a large shopping centre at the intersection of the two major shopping streets in Glasgow, I was looking for a place to sit and read a book while I waited. However, I soon discovered that there was nowhere to do so for free, seeing as all seating areas that were inside (and therefore the only places in the surroundings providing warm and comfortable shelter from the weather) were furnished with signs reading 'Only customers of these outlets are permitted to use these tables,' showing the fact that anyone who does not have the ability to consume is rebuffed from certain areas of the city, thus producing a more economically and socially homogenous and controlled urban population.

Mike Davis (2006) makes similar points in his work *City of Quartz*, as he argues that in Los Angeles '"security" has less to do with personal safety than with the degree of personal insulation, in residential, work, consumption and travel environments, from 'unsavoury' groups or individuals, even crowds in general' (2006: 224), and that a 'conscious 'hardening' of the city surface against the poor' (2006: 232) takes place, for example, in the form of 'bumproof' benches that make rough sleeping 'utterly impossible', with another feature being the 'aggressive deployment of outdoor sprinklers' (2006: 233) to deter the homeless from public spaces such as parks. In the recent BBC documentary *Insane Fight Club*, which followed the efforts of a wrestling club promoter Mark Dallas and his team to popularise his events, he bemoans the fact that his harmless idea of a publicity-raising flash-mob pillow-fight in Glasgow's main square could possibly result in his arrest:

> I'm nervous that I'm going to get the jail... What we're doing's not even bad – do you
> know what I mean? It's just the world's pure shite now, you're not allowed to have
> fun, there's like a rule for everything... This is a pillow-fight in the town – I shouldn't

even be thinking in my head about getting the jail!... Oh it's 'everybody else would
have to give you a health and safety' or 'have you done a risk assessment?' Oh shut the
fuck up man! (McDowall, 2014).

Broadly speaking, what can be seen clearly from the above examples is the fact that people
or occurrences that disrupt the normative narratives of the modern city life as being a
place of conformity and regulation are rejected by more dominant forces, resulting in their
prohibition and exclusion in favour of a more homogeneous and controlled space.

It is then in such a context of conformity and constraint of the city's population that
Dorner's performance piece *Bodies in Urban Spaces* is located. In this work, dancers and
climbers wearing brightly coloured clothing position themselves (often precariously and in
ways that, while remaining clearly organic, transform their appearance from being that of
conventional human form) in various urban locations in an attempt to, as Dorner (2007)
explains, 'point out the urban functional structure and to uncover the restricted movement
possibilities and behaviour as well as rules and limitations,' with the artist thereby making
explicit the element of social critique and pursuit of emancipation that is present through
such a usage of bodies. Their unusual appearance makes for a disruption of the conformity
that, as previously shown, is undeniably a characteristic of the urban environment, thus
providing an effective subversion of the dominant uses of urban space.

This subversion is extremely effectively carried out by Dorner, and functions on several
levels. Firstly, through the multiple bodies that are piled on top of one another, straddling
seemingly unreachable gaps and otherwise crammed, moulded and bent into tight spaces,
one is reminded of the physical and social constraints that are placed on all human bodies
in the city. Not only do people have low levels of personal space seeing as they are forced to
live, walk, work and generally exist so physically close together due to the huge number of
people in such a relatively small geographical area, but they are constrained in their social
movements too, in terms of who is or who is not welcomed in certain spaces, as well as the
rules of behaviour which are enforced in these spaces. On a related note then, the fact that
they cause such disruption to the uniformity of the city only serves to highlight the
previous uniformity that existed, so again undermines the dominant narratives that exist in
the formation of the cityscape. The colourfulness of the bodies exaggerates further the
tendency of certain urban environments to be made up of grey and concrete and
introduces an exciting vibrancy that strongly contrasts with the often dull and
monochrome metropolis. Similarly, the transient nature of such performance art only
serves to heighten the feeling of disruption, seeing as if they were permanent they would
no longer be disruptive, but part of everyday life. As it is, their temporariness, as Dorner
asserts, 'allows the viewer to perceive the same space or place in a new way' (2007) and
'the special quality of each place at various times of day creates unique presentations'
(2007), showing the way in which their transience allows for comparison between the
emotions caused by dominant narrative and its disruption.

Ultimately, *Bodies in Urban Spaces* enables its viewers to take a step back and see more
clearly what constitutes their everyday world from outside themselves, thus encouraging
the questioning and critique of society, as the performance makes people feel new
emotions and establish new relationships with their surroundings. Simmel (1997: 178)
wrote that a pitfall of modern city-dwelling is that residents develop a 'blasé' attitude
towards their environment, and Dorner's work goes some way towards effectively
challenging this apathy, seeing as his aim is that 'the interventions provoke a thinking
process and produce irritation' (Dorner, 2007), with the overall goal of this hopefully

subsequently being that people are 'motivated and prompted to reflect their urban surrounding and their own movement, behaviour and habits' (Dorner, 2007). The human form is of course vitally important to Dorner's work, as his creative use of the malleability and dynamism of bodies is what enables his audience to reflect upon their own bodily existence and their own experiences of their body in certain spaces. The surprise of seeing art such as this goes a long way towards cracking the 'matter-of-factness' that Simmel (1997: 176) claimed characterised city-dwellers and the resulting emotions are able to therefore carry a strong message of social criticism concerning the control exerted upon individuals by more dominant forces of power, thus inspiring feelings of the need for greater freedom of urban space in terms of who is permitted to be there and what they are permitted to do. The fact that, though they are always cleared with the relevant authorities (Delana 2009), the performances have drawn attention on several occasions from local police on the grounds of the fear that the participants were burglars or vandals (Dorner, 2007), coupled with the difficulty Dorner often finds in getting the requisite permission in the first place (Delana, 2009), shows that the push for conformity and the power that the city's population are subject to that Dorner's work rallies against really does exist. Such attention from the authorities and the public though also does simultaneously show that such art effectively serves its purpose of challenging and undermining the dominant culture of the urban environment.

Overall, it is clear then that performance art is a highly effective medium for conveying ideas concerning freedom and investigating social structures, with this being done so through the use of bodies. Whether attacking the relationships behind colonial dominance which still remain in today's society, as seen in the work of James Luna, or challenging the normative relationships between the urban population and its environment as Willi Dorner seeks to do, it can be seen that such examples of performance art are adept at utilising the human body in a way that subverts the dominant and mainstream societal discourses about how the world should be, by forcing their viewers to reflect upon and question the nature of the power relationships which are raised in the topics that they discuss. Though Luna inspires reflection amongst the majority culture through representing minority culture and making it more visible, and Dorner appeals more directly to the mainstream culture in order to make it more aware of itself, both performance artists can be seen to offer valuable and worthwhile means of social critique the and pursuit of emancipation through their disruption and subversion of the dominant narratives of society.

References

Blanchard P, Bancel N, Boëtsch G, Deroo É and Lemaire S (2008) Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West. In Blanchard P, et al. (eds) *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1-49.

Blocker J (2009) *Seeing Witness: Visuality and the Ethics of Testimony*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Davis M (2006) *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles.* London: Verso.

Delana (2009) *Crazy Contortionist Street Art: Bodies in Urban Spaces*. WebUrbanist [online]. Available at: weburbanist.com/2009/09/04/crazy-contortions-bodies-in-urban-spaces. Accessed: 4 April 2014

Dorner W (2007) Bodies in Urban Spaces [online]. Available at: www.ciewdorner.at/index.php?page=work&wid=26. Accessed: 4 April 2014

Fletcher K R (2008) *James Luna*. Smithsonian Magazine [online]. Available at: www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/james-luna-30545878/?page=1&no-ist. Accessed: 4 April 2014

Foucault M (1979) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Gilbert H (1994) De-scribing Orality: Performance and the Recuperation of Voice. In Tiffin C and Lawson A (eds) *De-scribing Empire: Colonialism and Textuality*. Abingdon: Routledge, 98-111.

The Guardian (2009) *Bodies in Urban Spaces by Willi Dorner*. The Guardian 21 June [online]. Available at: www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2009/jun/21/bodies-urban-spaces. Accessed: 4 April 2014

Harvey D (2008) The Right to the City. *New Left Review* 53 [online]. Available at: newleftreview.org/II/53/david-harvey-the-right-to-the-city. Accessed: 4 April 2014

Lazzari M and Schlesier D (2004) *Exploring Art: A Global, Thematic Approach*. Belmont: Thompson/Wadsworth Publishing.

Luna J (2001) *Take a Picture With a Real Indian* [video]. Available at: youtube.com/watch?v=dAa69BVwPYg. Accessed 4 April 2014.

Luna J (2005) *The Artifact Piece – 1987*. Available at: www.jamesluna.com/oldsite. Accessed: 4 April 2014.

Luna J (2010) *La Nostalgia* [video]. Available at: youtube.com/watch?v=iLKRohvCMx0. Accessed 4 April 2014.

McDowall A (2014) *Insane Fight Club*. BBC One 11 March 2014 [video]. Available at: youtube.com/watch?v=X9YHif4bzk0. Accessed 4 April 2014.

Simmel G (1997) The Metropolis and Mental Life. In Frisby D and Featherstone M (eds) *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*. London: Sage, 174-185.

In the wake of the Scarman report (1981) why did television become the focus for reforms designed to address racism and racial disadvantage?

Snezhana Ilieva

Early April of 1981 in Britain was to prove an extraordinary few days. Violent and passionate, on the streets of Brixton, ordinary Black people vented their frustration and anger over an institutionally racist economy, which during the 1970s and 1980s, depended on the 'widely agreed upon narrative of national crisis in which Blacks, seen as an outside force, an alien malaise afflicting the British society' (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies; cited in Mercer, 1994: 8) were the bearers of the crisis of British society. What was happening, however, was not only seen as an onset of civil society's conflict, but of a 'crisis in the very identity of the nation and its people' (Mercer, 1994: 8) in which the role of media and its credibility, television in particular, came under considerable inspection:

> There is, however, one other factor (…) as figuring in the causation of the disorders following upon Brixton – the 'copy-cat' element. This raises the question of the role of the media, particularly the broadcasting media, in circumstances of major social disorder such as those experienced in Brixton and elsewhere (Scarman, 1981: 174).

Indeed, the 'epitome of what black people are like' (Hall, 2013: 243) has gone through many transformations, but the repertoire of racialised discourses formed by a set of binary oppositions between 'civilzation (white) and savagery (black)' (Hall, 2013: 232) has never entirely disappeared. Starting from the sixteenth century's representations of Africa as 'the parent of everything that's monstrous' (Long; cited in Hall, 2013: 229), to eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' popular representations of colonial conquest, 'slavery, ownership and servitude' (Hall, 2013: 234), ideological representations of race are still to be found in contemporary society, especially in television. They have been portrayed in the form of what is called the twentieth century's 'multi-cultural drift' within which images of Black people figure predominantly in the archive of popular culture, and remain invisible in the world of economic power or diabolised in the 'hard news coverage of crime and disorder' (Hall, 2013:259- 269):

> Thus, while blacks can be celebrated within popular culture, the older forms of splitting and denigration remain at work. Ashley Cole, can go from being a footballer star and celebrity one minute to being denigrated as a money-grabbing, sexually-promiscuous boy to the next. Made a hero one day and pulled down to the next (Hall, 2013: 269).

Drawing on the writings of many previous scholars, such as Derrida (1981), Dyer (1977), Said (1978), and Hall (1982) who have underlined the primacy of 'race and ethnicity as a marker of identity' (Awan, 2008: 1), this essay will examine television representations of race and ethnicity, and how these stereotypical portrayals have contributed to our understanding of racism and racial disadvantage. Initially, an analysis of how Black and Asian people have been portrayed on television prior to and after the Scarman report (1981) will be made in reference with a set of representational practices known as

stereotypes used within various television genres, such as documentaries, and news. This will be followed by an examination of the various social reforms and regulations taken in response to television's 'racialized regimes of representations' (Hall, 1977: 245), and the impact they had on the development of a 'more mainstream awareness of Black Arts' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 161). Finally, I will identify some of the main critiques of the idea of television as anti-racist and multi-cultural by drawing on conflictual situations which occurred on reality TV shows, such as *Celebrity Big Brother*.

Television can be a very powerful and effective tool for the construction of 'moral judgement and consensus about community, citizenship and social inclusion' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 77). Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony' (2007) as a form of power based on the application of the ruling group's norms of their own world views, value system and ideologies on the others, so that they appear natural and normal, is of particular importance in assessing television programming as a central 'knowledge system through which society's common sense about cohesion, inclusion and exclusion is produced, distributed and regulated' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 77-91). Shared feelings and perceptions are vital to the construction of a sense of community, and as such, they often appear to the public as natural, detached from ideological representations, where 'competing beliefs struggle to win our hearts and minds' (Nichols, 2001: 142). Applied to television, the manufacturing of common sense along the lines of nationalism, whether in the form of approval or disapproval of the already established governments or cultures, played a crucial role in the early onset of documentaries. Through the application of features that described individual's behaviour as universal, or typical, documentaries have drawn our attention to the features of a culture as a whole. The statement of Karl Marx (cited in Nichols, 2001) that the 'dispossessed cannot represent themselves, they must be represented' (2001: 141), further turns our attention to the perfunctory reality documentary films have depicted of those considered 'victims of the documentary tradition' (2001: 141), i.e. women, ethnic minorities, gays and lesbians, and Third World peoples. An evidence of the habitual activity of placing audience features (individual characteristics) within society (the nation), can be found in the documentary programming of the BBC during the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, documentary programs, such as *'Has Britain a Colour Bar*?' and '*Special Enquiry'* which were the first television documentaries constructed to address the challenges Black immigrants face. Their examination of tolerance towards race and immigration, were in fact 'carefully staged, with effects produced, scripts co-ordinated, opinions rehearsed and reactions anticipated' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 38), thus creating an imaginary reality of Black people's experience in a natural way:

> There were, for example, no vox pops in '*Has Britain a Colour Bar?*' so that the 'direct' testimonies about racism were in fact, previously rehearsed and reactions anticipated (Malik and Hall, 2001: 38).

The prevalence of White directors is another aspect to be considered central to the common sense perception of race and racial difference. For example, prior to the Scarman report (1981), the cultural difference between Our (White people) values and Their (Black people) values was often highlighted in documentaries, always assuming that 'the norm did not apply to the racial 'Other'' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 40). An example of the emphasis documentaries had on cultural difference can be found in *Racial Discrimination* – one of the most notable documentaries including Black people during the 1960s – whose onset was marked with the following statement:

Good evening. I am White. Most of you watching this program are also White, which the way things are in this country is fortunate for us (Malik and Hall, 2001: 40).

Consequently, these documentaries did not only address racial difference as a problematic issue within British society, and thus 'rationalized' and confirmed the evidence of racial discrimination towards Black people, but simultaneously disidentified themselves from any form of racism, and thereby looked 'scrupulously fair and dedicated to promoting equality' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 35-39). The late 1960s, however, introduced a shift in the portrayal of Black people and their experiences within documentaries; from the 'ordinary, usually (semi-skilled or skilled working class) Black people, situated as isolated cases, pushed to the margins of the broader debate and located outside the dominant consensus (liberal, middle-class, established values) of the programme' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 41-43), they have turned into the illiterate, unhygienic, primitive, unable to cope with the civilized Western society people. For instance, drawing on documentaries, such as *'The Negro Next Door'*, Black and White people were always portrayed as fighting out and obstructing each other; a narrative discourse used which often leads to 'White' point of view-audience induced empathy.

Similar to Black people's ideological representations on television documentaries prior to the Scarman report (1981), Asian people's portrayals were also constructed within the same Western 'White' ideological framework. They were often depicted as 'overly moral, oppressive (men) /oppressed (women), alien, confused and negatively bound by close-knit family structures' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 43). In addition, just as the ideological representations of Black people, Asian's portrayals often involved emphasis on the cultural differences between Asian and English people's lives – a narrative framework used by documentaries' filmmakers in attempt to display the 'nation's sensibilities, and thereby 'safeguard the victims of discrimination' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 44). The gaze, however, as Malik and Hall (2001) agues, 'was distinctly White, always judging the grounds of cultural acceptability, and (…) deflecting the focus from British racism' (2001: 44).

In the same vein as documentary programs, television news media is essential to the construction of public opinion and community consensus maintenance. Television news media, however, just like documentaries 'hides the actuality of editorial control and claims to operate within the narcissistic framework of impartiality (that it is a fair, balanced, and complete recording of reality)' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 77). Drawing on the late 1950s television news, *BBC Television News* and *Independent Television News*, when there was a clear racial tension, Black and Asian people had always played a secondary representative role; they were the people the news only referred to or spoke about without directly involving them in its content production. Their portrayal in the news wasn't that different from the one used in documentaries; they were often represented within a specific racial framework – 'the street criminal, the mugger, and the inner-city rioter' (Hall cited in Malik and Hall, 2001: 85). In this sense, the riots in Brixton, were not an exception. In attempting to examine the reasons for 'Black criminalty in a liberal and intrinsically humanitarian way' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 80), dominant news narratives, in fact, reversed the reason for the Brixton's disturbances back to Black communities – 'their lifestyle, family set-up or neighbourhood, and within the ideologically-charged category 'Black working class youth' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 85). What was exceptional about the Brixton riots, however, was not the ideological representations of cultural difference on the media, but the transformations that occurred in it in reference with its broadcasting policy and regulation aftermath. Indeed, in the period between 1965 and 1975, there have been classic public broadcasts designed to help Asian immigrants and Britain Black communities, such as *'Apna Hi Ghar*

Samajhiye (Make Yourself At Home)', '*Parosi', 'Gharbar'* – programs, designed to integrate Black and Asian people, through the use of primary tips on 'health, hygiene, marriage, housekeeping, and careers advice' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 57) – indicating the media's efforts to address Non-English viewers. Drawing on Malik and Hall (2001), however, despite the liberal position these programs were displaying, they were also founded on an 'explicitly integrationalist project' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 57) – a perception according to which problems Black and Asian communities faced in Britain can be solved by the assimilation of 'Asiasness and Blackness into Englishness' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 57). It was not until the urban unrest in Brixton in 1981, however, that documents, such as Lord Scarman's report (1981) concerned with how media narratives may reinforce a specific repertoire of ideological representations or confront and play with Western 'White' cultural concerns and aspirations related to race, were deemed as documents to:

> ...usher in fundamental change in the ways in which the issues of race were approached in British society and widely referred to as watersheds and turning points (Neal, 2003: 57).

One of the most prominent reforms implemented, and thereby exemplifying television's shift from racial discrimination to multiculturalism, was the release of *Channel 4* – the fourth UK terrestrial television channel, and the first one to be 'specifically appointed to commission programmes for a non-White British audience' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 60). Drawing on the former paragraphs, it has been examined that television is a powerful device for the construction of society's common sense of race and cultural difference as it reflects reality and influences its viewers' lifestyles. What has not been examined, however, was what it is that influences television - it is the historical period within which it operates. In this sense 'Channel 4 stood at the pivotal place in the development of British television history' (Hobson, 2008: viii), as it triggered many of institutional changes which became part of the television framework. Constructed in an attempt to respond to the needs and interests of a multi-cultural society, Channel 4 produced specific programming framework 'to cater for Black and Asian communities' (Malik, 2008: 344):

> Over the years, it was primarily factually-based productions such as Eastern Eye (1982–85), Black on Black (1983–85), The Bandung File (1985–91), Black Bag (1991–97) and Devil's Advocate (1992–96) that became the leading examples of black programming, focusing on issues that were seen to be directly relevant for black and Asian communities (Malik, 2008: 344-345).

In addition, the abundance of released multicultural programs created new opportunities for Black and Asian people to develop and display their acting talents, and thereby 'breakthrough in other genres' (Malik, 2008: 354). For instance, drawing on Malik's writings, the popular comedy series '*Desmond's'* (1988–94) allowed for many new writers coming from Black and Asian communities, many of them women, to get introduced to the industry, thereby underlying the Channel's structural advantage in comparison to the other terrestrial television channels, BBC2 in particular – 'to find and develop new and untested talents and its ability offer a new form of cultural support to Black and Asian filmmakers'(Malik, 2008: 354-355).

Indeed, the argument of Channel 4s explicit impact on Black and Asian communities is not straightforward and has received criticism on a wide range of issues. An example of which can be drawn from the writings of Malik and Hall (2001) on Channel 4's *'Devil's Advocate'* series in which the prominent columnist Paul Johnson is asked to express his views on

repatriation Despite its initial attempts to 'juxtapose different opinions on what the Black subject is' (Malik and Hall, 2001:65), most of the series portrayed Black people in a rather negative way, emphasizing the:

> ...fear that Black programmes were devisive, and (...) pushed the limits of acceptability and public service too far (Howe; cited in Malik and Hall, 2001: 65).

Another criticism, found in the writings of Malik and Hall (2001), is related to the locating of Black programming and audiences within fragmented slots:

> The fact that we still have Black Christmas (1995), Indian Summer (1997) and Caribbean Summer (2000) seasons are indicative of how poorly integrated Black programmes are in the mainstream schedules across the television year, an add-on mentality which best reflects itself in the appalling scheduling of Black programmes in 'graveyard slots' , or against prime-time audience pullers' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 65)

Another problematic issue is the uncertainty related to the actual contribution of Channel 4's multicultural departments to the positive perceptions of race and cultural differences and development of new talented Black and Asian filmmakers. Drawing on Malik and Hall (2001) , 'the individual tastes, policies, attitudes of commissioning editors, (...) the types of narratives and the formats broadcast (...) have often differed from the ideal of expanded diversity' (2001: 66).

Drawing a comparison between the late part of 1980s and nowadays, there is an evident decrease in 'television's commitment to on-screen innovation and diversity' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 70). Turned into a commodified entity, the type of liberal freedom to be found today, however, is not focused on enhancing cultural differences, but on profit; on:

> ...market liberalism- the economic freedom to do as well as one can, leaving the broader contextual questions to market forces –addressed only if they meet the needs of a profitable cultural marketplace (Malik and Hall, 2001: 73).

Indeed, today's multiculturalism makes it impossible to speak of direct discriminatory televisual practices, but the problem of 'racialized regimes of representation' (Malik and Hall, 2001:70) within television is still ongoing in the public sphere. An example of these contemporary ideological representations which can be found in 2013's *Celebrity Big Brother* reality show. Initially released at a time when the 'global nature of television culture seems to be both celebrated and loathed' (Aslama and Pantti, 2007: 51) Big Brother's cast has always been considered as multicultural, but rarely racial discrimination has been a subject of debate, partly because of the directors' perceptions that the 'reality show will be considered successful only when members of a minority group are present – a scenario they have frequently avoided' (Caramanica, 2013: 1). Coded within popular discriminations, however, the 15th season of *Celebrity Big Brother* clearly revealed some of the contemporary popular representations of cultural difference, working within the framework of linguistics; the old division between culture (White) and nature (Black) has now been replaced by the divisions between strong (White) and weak (Black), Lovers (White) and Sexually Promiscuous (Black), Calm (White) and Aggressive(Black), Disunited (White) and United (Black). These can be exemplified by comments, such as:

Candice is on the dark side becuse(sic) she's already dark', 'Be careful what you say in the dark, might not be able t see the bitch',' (...) Blacks stick together and they are tokens in the house', '(...) she is aggressive, her black side is coming out' (Christopher, 2013: 1).

Drawing on these comments, we can conclude that the splitting of good and bad black subjects is still ongoing, thus further exemplifying what Hall has called:

...multi-cultural drift – an emphasis on the idea that change has taken place, but the older forms of splitting and denigration remain at work (Hall, 2013: 269).

To summarise, drawing on the writings of both Malik and Hall, (2001) and Hall, (2013), Black and Asian communities have acquired great visibility in contemporary societies. Their representations, however, are both 'vague and arbitrary' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 174), thus making it difficult to identify the new seemingly natural ideological representations. In this sense, if Black and Asian people have become visible within the realms of music, fashion and entertainment, they have remained less visible within the realms of corporate power, thus leaving 'marked limits to their representation and participation in the centres of cultural and economic power' (Hall, 2013: 269). Therefore, in order to escape the grip of ideological representations, we need not to be fascinated by representations which seem truthful, but by the ones which are more 'diversified, innovative and informative' (Malik and Hall, 2001: 186).

References

Aslama M and Pantti M (2007) Flagging Finnishness: Reproducing National Identity in Reality Television. *Television & New Media* 49(8): 49-67.

Awan F (2008) *Young People, Identity and the Media: A Study of Conceptions of Self-Identity Among Youth in Southern England* [pdf]. Published PhD thesis. Bournemouth University [online]. Available at: http://www.artlab.org.uk/fatimah-awan-01.pdf.

Caramanica J (2013) Rare, but Real, a Racial Divide in Prime Time [online]. *The New York Times.* 16 July. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/17/arts/television/big-brother-becomes-a-lab-experiment-in-overt-racism.html. Accessed: 6 March 2014.

Christopher T (2013) Watch The Racist, Homophobic, And Psychopathic Big Brother Comments CBS Didn't Show You [online]. *Media Columnists.* 19 July. Available at: http://www.mediaite.com/tv/watch-the-racist-homophobic-and-psychopathic-big-brother-comments-cbs-didnt-show-you/. Accessed: 1 February 2014.

Derrida J (1981) *Positions*. Translated by Alan Bass. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.

Dyer R (1977) Stereotyping. In: Dyer R (ed) *Gays and Film.* London: British Film Institute.

Gramsci A (2007) *Prison Notebooks*. Translated by Joseph A. Buttigieg. S.L.: Columbia University Press.

Hall S (1977) Pluralism, Race and Class in Caribbean society. In: UNESCO (eds) *Race and Class in Post-Colonial Society: A Study of Ethnic Group Relations in the English-speaking Caribbean, Bolivia, Chile and México.* New York: Bernan Associates.

Hall S (1982) The Rediscovery of Ideology: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies. In Gurevitch M, Bennet T, Curran J and Woollacott J (eds) *Culture, society and the media*. London: Methuen, 52-86.

Hall S (2013) The Spectacle of the 'Other'. In Evans J and Nixon S (eds) *Representation*. London: Sage: 225-285.

Hobson D (2008) *Channel 4: The Early Years and the Jeremy Isaacs Legacy*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Malik S (2008) Keeping it Real: The Politics of Channel 4's Multiculturalism Mainstreaming and Mandates. *Screen* 49(3): 343-353.

Malik S and Hall S (2001) *Representing Black Britain: A History of Black and Asian Images on British Television*. London: SAGE.

Mercer K (1994) *Welcome to the Jungle*. New York: Routledge

Neal S (2003) The Scarman Report, the Macpherson Report and the Media: how newspapers respond to race-centred social policy interventions. *Journal of Social Policy* 32 (1): 55-74.

Nichols B (2001) *Introduction to Film*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Said E (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Scarman L (1981) *The Scarman report: report of an inquiry*. London: Penguin Books.

Why has criminology largely ignored crimes of states until the 21st Century?

Samuel Sherry

Tim Newburn has noted that traditional forms of criminology 'tend to focus on the "crimes of the streets" rather than the "crimes of the suites" (Newburn, 2007: 878). This is to say that white collar, corporate and especially state crimes are often ignored or significantly under-investigated by academics despite the statistics that show that these kinds of crime being more costly and harmful to a wider number of people than the crimes of the powerless. For instance, Green and Ward (2004) detailed how the former Nigerian dictator, Sani Abacda who stole approximately $4 billion from the national reserves (cited in Newburn, 2007: 878), a sum greatly exceeding the 'total stolen and damaged in domestic and commercial burglary in England and Wales in a single year' (Newburn, 2007:878). Historically, criminology has a tendency to focus on the causes of crime as well as practical and rational ways to deal with offenders and offences, usually by influencing state policy. Examples of criminological thought influencing policy can be seen across history, from Cesare Beccaria's (1764) work on the rationality of penology to Wilson and Kelling's (1982) right realist paper on the "Broken Windows" theory (cited in Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2008). However until the late 20th century, very little, if any, research was conducted on the crimes of the powerful, there are several suggestions to why the topic has received much attention ranging from the lack of appropriate legal context to study state crime in to an almost oppressive objection to academic studies of the topic to begin with.

As mentioned, the study of state crime as a part of criminology is relatively new; William Chambliss (1989) is credited with introducing the modern concept of "state organised crime" (cited in Rothe and Friedrichs, 2006: 148) and defined the term as any 'acts defined by law as criminal and committed by state officials in the pursuit of their jobs as representatives of state' (Chambliss, 1989: 184). From this definition, we can see two reasons as to why crimes of the state have been largely ignored by criminologists. Firstly, up until the late 20th century, there were no significantly critical schools of criminology and consequently a lack of an academic term or definition of state crime until Chambliss raised academic interest in his 1989 presidential address to the American Society of Criminology. Previous to this address, David Matza (1969) is famously quoted saying:

> Among their most notable achievements, the criminological positivists succeeded in what would seem impossible. They separated the study of crime from the workings and theory of the state (cited in Newburn, 2007: 434)

Noting how traditional schools of criminology were not interested in the politics surrounding the legal system, merely the application of the policies dealing with crime.

Secondly, there is an issue concerning the actual act of the transgression of law by the state. This issue is further subdivided into two separate concerns; primarily there exists the notion of "nullem crimen sine lege" or "no crime without law". This law was devised to 'secure the legal position of citizens vis-à-vis the state' (Boot, 2002: 84) and requires a written and ratified law before crimes can be prosecuted; this rule appears in the European Convention's 1988 Human Rights Act, Article 7 citing a similar justification (Newburn,

2007: 887). While Article 7 is designed to protect citizens from being convicted of an act that was not criminal at the time of committing that act, it does raise a significant issue when considering state crime. "Crimes" of the state, such as genocide or state sponsored torture, often lie outside of codified state law and as a consequence of "Nullem crimen sine lege", which means that these acts are questionably not illegal and arguably outside of the purview and interests of criminologists. This is seen in traditional forms of criminology where the state is thought to be incapable of committing acts of crime but were instead capable of acts of 'noncriminal deviance' (Cohen, 1990: 104), which in accordance with some criminologists views that 'if a state obeys its own laws, it should be judged by no higher criterion' (Barak, 1991: 8). The second topic that surrounds the issue of whether or not governments can actually commit crime is the fact that the state is not a single individual or actor and it is a complex issue to charge a large organisation in a court of law as 'it is not possible to identify individual criminal responsibility' (Newburn, 2007:890).

Tied to this concept of the incapability of the state to commit crime, before the United Nations and other such international enforcement agencies had been formed, there existed very few ways in which state crime could be reasonably and practicably charged, investigated and punished. During the Enlightenment, '[m]any social sciences, including criminology, began…; it was the start of the search for rational solutions to issues such as crime and punishment' (Williams, 2012: 10). However, when considering state crime there seems to be a great deal of reluctance by a state to prosecute and punish its own enforcers and officials. Green and Ward (2000: 101) describe how despite an expansion in Turkish penal code, designed to 'increase the powers of the court in punishing state officials…most [cases] against state officials have resulted in very lenient sentences, fines or acquittals'. This hesitancy to prosecute state officials for crimes perpetrated in the pursuit of their jobs could be attributed to the notion that '[p]rosecutions are generally brought by the state against transgressors. It is for this reason that corruption, malfeasance and criminal activity by the state is so important, for it potentially undermines the system of justice' (Newburn, 2007: 879). This failure to prosecute perpetrators accused of state organised crime is almost perfectly exemplified by the British government's dealings with Sir Richard Hawkins and other "privateers". During the 16th century, English pirate captains were issued with "letters of marque" by the Crown that directed governors and naval captains to provide 'every possible assistance' (Chambliss, 1989: 186) to the pirates, who were under orders themselves to 'to engage in piracy against Spanish and Portuguese ships' (Chambliss, 1989: 186). In return for this service, captains were well rewarded and in one of the most famous cases, that of Francis Drake, sometimes knighted. Of course, Britain's illegal dealings with pirates were objected to by other nations and eventually led to a formal challenge by Spain. Queen Elizabeth the First denied that the pirates were operating under orders from the government and consequently put Sir Drake on trial after which 'he was publically exiled, but privately he was sent to Ireland where he re-emerged several years later…serving under the first Earl of Essex' (Chambliss, 1989: 187). The similarities between this historical example and officials of the Turkish justice system are obvious and show how a governmental disinterest in prosecuting those suspected, or even punishing the convicted, of state crime causes a similar disinterest in criminologists looking to uncover, study and offer practical theories on why state crime occurs or how to prevent it from occurring.

Continuing with the issue of practicability, Ross et al (1999) focus on some of the more abstract issues faced by state critical criminologists that may explain why academic study of state organised crime has been virtually non-existent up until the 20th century. As previously mentioned, up until the late 20th century, there was no organised form or school

of the study of state criminology; Ross et al (1999) suggest that even today, criminologists that undertake this type of work often face problems:

> In terms of carrying out and getting their research published…obtaining research funding, the lack of policy implementation, a disciplinary "preoccupation" with quantitative research, a lack of "official" documents and data, official and public opposition to the concept of crimes of the state'
> (cited in Rothe and Friedrichs, 2006: 155).

The issue of concealed data is a particularly complex one as the availability and credibility of information directly affects the validity and content of any applicable academic research. Without valid data, criminologists are forced to assume and remain as theorists, rather than being able to supply policymakers with pragmatic solutions and ideas. Of course, there remains the topic of the validity of data as even in countries where there are Freedom of Information laws, data can be skewed in favour of the state, showing them and their law enforcement agencies in a more positive image. These issues once again shed light on why criminology has not been capable of studying these crimes until the 21st century when considering in previous centuries, academics wishing to undertake large scale studies were not able to use mass media or to cover large distances and so would be forced to rely on funding by academic institutions or the state, both of which have a vested interest in protecting the honour and reputation of the government. The objection to critical state criminology is particularly seen during the mid-20th century and especially in North America, where McCarthyism was bolstering the US 'anti-radical tradition' (Fried, 1990: 37). As a consequence of this, critical criminologists faced serious resistance and 'ran foul of university politics, and some criminology departments, such as that of the University of California at Berkeley, were actually closed down' (Rock, 2007: 24). These circumstances make it quite clear how and why criminology has largely ignored crimes of states and perhaps more alarmingly, resulted in a loss of 'influence as a subfield or specialty has thus far remained marginal to the discipline of criminology' (Barak, 2011: 35) which in turn has failed to attract a 'sizeable number or percentage of criminologists devoted to researching this subject matter as an area of expertise' (Barak, 2011: 35).

In order to progress in the field of state criminology, some academics turn to a human rights based definition of crime rather than relying on the traditional legalistic basis which Sharkansky (2005) believes is a move in the correct direction as 'allowing states to be the sole arbitrator of the legality of their own behaviour is highly problematic, as nearly no state will voluntarily define its own actions as criminal' (cited in Rother and Mullins, 2011: 24), a sentiment seen echoed throughout this essay. Following the Second World War, the United Nations drafted a charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) that listed a set of rights that every human possesses by virtue of existing. These rights were to exist regardless of whether or not they had been ratified under specific country laws, however 'the declaration [does] not impose legal obligations on states, but rather standards towards they were expected to aspire' (Newburn, 2007: 884). One example of the disparities between the UDHR and a country's laws is that of torture. Article 5 of the UDHR, states that: 'No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading or punishment' (United Nations, 1948) yet in areas of "questionable" legal frameworks such as the Guantanamo Bay prison in which acts of torture have been well documented. In the earlier example of piracy, during the time in which Sir Richard Hawkins was raiding Spanish and Portuguese vessels, piracy 'remained a crime punishable by death' (Chambliss, 1989:186) but through the "letters of marque", these pirates were exempt from the English piracy law. The main issue here is that of international law and whether it should be

applied to sovereign nations. As seen earlier, some criminologists like Barak believe that if a nation follows its own laws, then that state should not have to be subjected to international regulation, however, before the 21st century, there were virtually no international bodies of regulation and subsequently no incentive for states to follow any law that would force them into criminality, once again leaving critical criminologists with no actual crime to study.

To combat the complications of using a legalistic viewpoint, using a human rights based paradigm allows for criminologists to consider acts of genocide and state-corporate crime as "criminal" rather than merely "deviant". A more recent definition of state crime was given by Green and Ward (2004: 431) as any 'illegal or deviant acts perpetrated by, or with the complicity of, state agencies', the inclusion of 'deviant' in the definition of "state crime" allows for a much broader scope in what can be labelled as state organised crime when compared to Chambliss' definition. Within this human rights framework, there exists two forms of though often described as the "torture paradigm" and the "health paradigm". The torture paradigm focuses on the rights summarised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Cohen (1999: 18) illustrates the paradigm by saying '[it] connects human rights with a shared perception of totally unacceptable evils which are never justified and undermines the claims to political legitimacy of any system of government'. The health paradigm is championed by the Schwendingers (1975) and is an extension of the torture paradigm, as well as covering the basic protections and freedoms of the UDHR; the health paradigm takes Article 22 of the UDHR 'all human beings are to be provided the opportunity for the free development of their personalities' (United Nations, 1948) which the Schwendingers believe entails issues such as 'food, shelter, clothing, medical services, challenging work and recreational activities' (Schwendingers, 1975: 133-134). While some criminologists such as Stanley Cohen (1993) dismiss the health paradigm as a 'a left wing "moral crusade"' (cited in Green and Ward, 2000: 104), the health paradigm exists to move on from both a legalistic view of crime and arguably even from the criminal focus of the torture paradigm and instead focuses on "socially injurious" actions like preventable death. This view of crime and deviance relies on the ideals set out by the UDHR alongside an admittedly liberal and, in the case of the Schwendingers, Marxist (Green and Ward, 2000) These factors alone confine the concept of human rights based state criminology to the mid-20th century and beyond.

It would appear that the greatest contribution to the ignorance of state crime prior to the late 20th and 21st century is the lack of any context with which to apply criminological thought in addition to the simple fact that criminology was not a specific area of study until the mid-18th century. World politics and the relationship between government and academia have both significantly impacted the direction of criminological thought, in the pre-modern era citizens had relatively little redress when it came to opposing their own government and those that challenged the preconceptions set out by their governments were in a position of danger, Galileo Galilei is the prime example of an academic that defied state approved ideas and was subsequently punished (Glover, 2007). However, due to a general liberalisation of the world at large, as well as the near omnipresent and omniscient nature of mass media and international relations, not to mention the increasing sense of state scepticism, there is comparative freedom for academics to criticise government policy and suggest practical alternatives.

To conclude, there is evidence to show that a large ignorance of the crimes of states existed before the 21st century however, there is still a stigma surrounding critical state research. Despite the fact that the massive impact of 20th Century state crimes such as the Holocaust

have had on the level of public awareness of state crimes leading to 'major new initiatives to bring perpetrators of crimes of the state to trial' (Rothe and Friedrichs, 2006: 148), many criminologists are forced 'to concede that a criminology of the crimes of the state is still very much in its infancy' (Rothe and Friedrichs, 2006: 152). Gregg Barak (2011) has more recently described how since his first studies on state crime 'the criminological study of state crimes has matured significantly' (Barak, 2011: 36) and in a reservedly optimistic manner, stated that 'the subfield or specialty area of state crime has achieved a small place at the criminological table' (Barak, 2011: 36-37).

References

Barak G (1991) Toward a Criminology of State Criminality. In Barak G (ed) *Crimes of the Capitalist State: An introduction to state criminality*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 3-18.

Barak G (2011) Revisiting Crimes by the Capitalist State. In Rothe D and Mullins C W (eds) *State Crime: Current Perspectives*. New Brunswik, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 35-48.

Boot M (2002) *Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes: Nullum crimen sine lege and the subject matter jurisdiction of the international criminal court*. Antewepen: Intersentia.

Chambliss W J (1989) State Organised Crime. *Criminology.* 27(2): 183-208.

Cohen S (1999) Human Rights and Crimes of the State: The Culture of Denial. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*. 26(2): 97-115.

Cohen A (1990) Criminal Actors: Natural persons and collectivities. In Lerner M (ed) *New Directions in the Study of Justice, Law and Social Control*. New York: Plenum Press, 101-125.

Fried R M (1990) *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy era in perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Glover G J (2007) *Beyond the Firmament: Understanding science and the theology of creation*. Chesapeake: Watertree Press.

Green P and Ward T (2000) State Crime, Human Rights, And the Limits of Criminology. *Social Justice.* 27(1): 101-115.

Green P and Ward T (2004) *State Crime: Governments, violence and corruption*, London: Pluto Press.

Newburn T (2007) *Criminology*. Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

Rock P (2007) Sociological Theories of Crime. In Maguire M, Morgan R and Reiner R (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology.* 4th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rothe D and Friedrichs D O (2006) The State of the Criminology of Crimes of the State. *Social Justice.* 33(1):147-161.

Rothe D and Mullins C (2011) Part One: Crimes of the state. In Rothe D and Mullins C (eds) *State Crimes: Current Perspectives*, Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 23-34.

Sideris A and Ehrenfeucht R (2008) *Sidewalks: Conflicts and negotiation over public space.* Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Schwendinger H and Schwendinger J (1975) Defenders of Order or Guardians of Human Rights? In Taylor I, Walton P and Young J (eds) *Critical Criminology.* Abingdon: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

United Nations (1948) *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Available at: http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml. Accessed: 10 June 2014.

Williams K (2012) *Criminology* 7th edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Neoliberalism and the US-Mexico Border Politics

Chisato Suzuki

Introduction

About one million people cross the US-Mexico border per day for business (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). The number shows the strong economic connection of these two North American countries. At the same time, however, there are some movements in the US side to restrict the flow of the people along the border. While the economics of neoliberalism demands the cheap labour force, the US border policy tries to exclude them to some degree. Hence the question arises: how does the neoliberalism affect the border policy?

The aim of the essay is to examine how neoliberalism shapes the US-Mexico border policy and to reveal the issues behind it. I argue that, although neoliberal desire basically pulls the cheap labour, it also creates the counter movement. Moreover, the US-Mexico relation is not completely neoliberal, but it is amended to fit the US national interest. The problem seems to be the economic and political asymmetry between the two countries. The paper proceeds along the following lines. First, it states the notion of neoliberalism. Then, the brief history of neoliberal practice in both countries including NAFTA will be discussed. After examining how neoliberalism shapes the border politics, I finally consider the cause of the issues and seek the way to solve it.

Notion of Neoliberalism

Neoliberal foreign policy believes in a global free trade and open market without governments' intervention, and promotes Western democracy and capitalism. This view that free economic flow and secure private property rights bring a richer and more prosperous world is, in the current international politics, promoted by many actors such as most of the leading Western states, global financial institutions, and multinational corporations. However, the fact that states' national interest is often given priority over the universal ideals in the real politics cannot be neglected (Lamy, 2011).

More specifically, Steger and Roy (2010) identify three dimensions of neoliberalism: an ideology, a mode of governance, and a pack of policies. Ideologies of neoliberalism are those based on the efficiency of interdependent global economy. Protagonists claim that free-market capitalism is self-regulative and believe that economy brings the maximum profits without any restriction by governments or international border. Therefore neoliberal ideology refers to the expansion of capitalism, which is the greater global flow of products, services, and labour. A neoliberal government adopts the entrepreneurial values such as competitiveness and decentralisation. Therefore, the government acts as a self-interested actor. Finally, a pack of policies refers to the combination of practical neoliberal policy making of deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation. These three dimensions: ideology, mode of government, and policy are intertwined with each other and form the notion of neoliberalism (Steger and Roy, 2010).

Although majority of states including post-Communist or traditional welfare countries have adopted neoliberal theory since the 1970s (Harvey, 2007), several criticisms were made against the policy. Neoliberalism is often criticised as creating the economic gap between rich and poor. Harvey (2007: 17) claims that it is a 'political project' to restore and sustain

the power of economic elites rather than a 'utopian project' that aim to pursue the universal ideal of capitalism. Due to the neoliberal government's obligation to secure the market efficiency, Koulish (2010) criticises, neoliberalism strengthens the dominance of government in the form of surveillance, contrary to the theory that suggests smaller role of state. As a consequence, only social welfare minimises. Veltmeyer (2002) argues that neoliberal economic model is not only exploitative but also exclusionary. According to the author, at least half of all economic actors suffer from the changes caused by neoliberalism, and many producers and workers are excluded from the political and economic development of capitalism. These criticisms apply to the US-Mexico border policy, which is discussed later in the paper.

Neoliberal Practice in the United States and Mexico

The neoliberal model became dominant in the United States in 1970s, when the New-Deal welfare state era marked its end. Before the spread of neoliberalism, from 1945 to 1975, the US experienced the decades of welfare state, which is called the "golden age of controlled capitalism" by some economists (Steger and Roy, 2010). During this era, the government controlled the flow of the money and imposed high taxation on wealthy individuals and corporations in order to secure the mass production and mass consumption by middle class. However, the severe economic crises in 1970s, which was caused by the oil shock and its aftermath stagflation, revealed the need of a new economic doctrine that fits the conditions of globalisation (Steger and Roy, 2010). Since then, neoliberalism has become the primary economic policy in the United States.

The shift towards neoliberalism in the US mainly took place in the 1980s. Before the introduction in the US, an experiment on the efficiency of the neoliberal model was conducted in Chile in 1973. This change in Latin America backed by the US provided evidence that supported the following shift to neoliberalism in the United States (Harvey, 2007). President Ronald Reagan, after taking office in 1981, made efforts to neo-liberalize the state by reducing tax and decentralizing the government in his ideological policy of "New Federalism". He also deregulated many economic affairs and privatized large portions of land owned by the federal government. Reagan's effort on free trade was significant; he was actively involved in the free trade negotiations such as Uruguay Round, and signed a Free Trade Agreement with Canada, which later included Mexico and became the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993 under Clinton administration (Steger and Roy, 2010).

In Mexico, neoliberalism replaced developmentalism - a theory that promotes the state's control over the economy and social affairs to achieve development, which had been adopted since the 1940s. Under the developmentalism policy, the state supported the local industry to develop by imposing import quotas on foreign products and keeping the wage and inflation low. However, in the late 1970s, Mexico went under an economic crisis following the serious recession in Western countries. Thus, combined with the global movement toward free trade, Mexico had to introduce a new economic policy of neoliberalism (Estévez, 2008).

In its relations with the United States, Mexico has adopted a friendlier foreign policy due to the change of its economic model and the international structure. From the 1940s to the 1980s, Mexico's foreign policy was a combination of balancing against and bandwagoning with the United States. However, in response to the end of the Cold War and strengthened US hegemonic power, Mexico shifted to the bandwagon strategy with its northern

neighbour. This was contrary to the influential prediction of neorealism, which claimed that countries would try to counterbalance against the hegemony (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). Domínguez and Castro (2009) explain that the main reason is the weak economic power of Mexico. In the 1980s, Mexico reduced import barriers and conducted several market-opening reforms. Similarly, the Mexican government concluded that their country would not survive without cooperating with the United States when US-Canada Free Trade Agreement was signed; thus, Mexico decided to join the NAFTA.

The ratification of NAFTA in 1993 was a turning point in US-Mexico relations. Domínguez and Castro (2009) argue that it was the first time when the Mexican government pursued economic integration with the US. The effect of this neoliberal free trade agreement was significant; within five years of the launch of NAFTA, Mexico became the second largest trade partner of the US, and the mechanism of NAFTA helped the resolution of trade disputes (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). Production of commodities became more profitable as products could freely cross the border to reduce the costs of labour and duties (Mize and Swords, 2011). The increased foreign direct investment, Domínguez and Castro (2009) claimed, alleviated the income gap within Mexico.

Although NAFTA promoted trade and investment and facilitated the trade disputes, negative economic effects cannot be neglected. Some agricultural sectors, especially corn farming industry of Mexico incurred a severe damage. During the first ten years of NAFTA, the proportion of US corn in the whole Mexican consumption grew from 2 per cent to about 25 per cent; Mexican farmers could not compete on the price. Because two-thirds of the agricultural land is cornfield in Mexico, the rundown of the corn industry caused a serious problem for the entire nation (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). Some scholars argue that NAFTA promoted the exploitation of Mexican labourers. Mize and Swords (2011) state that the assembly of commodities in the post-NAFTA era exploits the disposable Mexican labour in order to maximise the profit.

NAFTA not only had an influence on economy but also helped the decentralisation of political power. As its negotiations promoted the contact between two nations in many dimensions, such as federal, state, and local government, business executives, NGOs, and media organisations, NAFTA lessened the power of central governments to manage the bilateral foreign policy and gave more authority to the border region. Because the centralised decision-making system in Mexico had been a barrier to mutual understanding, this decentralisation in 1990s facilitated the trans-border cooperation (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). However, at the same time, it motivated states in border region, especially in the US side, to adopt their own tough immigration policies.

Some limitation of NAFTA can also be identified. Most significantly, although the agreement is based on the neoliberal ideology, NAFTA does not open the border for people. The barriers to cross the border remained, or even became strengthened (Koulish, 2010). In addition, there is a limit in its regulation of labour conditions. NAFTA deals with the labour standards, but is not capable to actually improve the conditions in the border regions (Domínguez and Castro, 2009).

Influence of Neoliberalism on the Border Region

Neoliberalism shapes the economic structure and flow of people along the US-Mexico border. The biggest factor is the neoliberal desire to exploit cheap labour. In order to achieve the maximum profit, industries try to cut the production cost as much as possible.

This resulted in two movements: the development of maquiladoras along the Mexican side of the border and the migration of labourer from Mexico to the United States.

Maquiladoras are plants that provide cheap labour to assemble or produce goods. In the border region, raw materials are sent from US producers to the Mexican maquiladoras for assembly, assembled products are sent back to US, and finally sold through the US distribution plants (Mize and Swords, 2011). Since 1965, the creation of maquiladoras was supported by the Mexican government to increase the number of jobs, which were damaged by the previous termination of Bracero Program in 1964. Mexican maquiladoras kept expanding, and ratification of NAFTA accelerated it. The high number of jobs gathered the population from the further south region and the maquiladoras export became to account for approximately 40 per cent of the country's whole export (Domínguez and Castro, 2009).

Although the maquiladoras have a good effect on the Mexican economy, the labour condition is problematic. The assembly industry is segregated by gender, and Mexican women are often paid the lowest wage by US companies and have low job security (Mize and Swords, 2011). The income gap between the US and Mexico is obvious; although the Mexican border region's standard of life is higher than that of the entire nation, the income level is less than half of that in US border region (Domínguez and Castro, 2009).

The immigration of workers is sustained by two types of factors: the demand-pull factors in the US, and the supply-push factors in Mexico. There are plenty of demands for cheap labour and employers that are willing to hire immigrants in the US, and many Mexican workers are willing to offer the cheap labour because of the poverty in their country. Indeed, almost 90 per cent of the Mexican immigrants that move to the US are motivated by jobs and opportunities (Domínguez and Castro, 2009).

For US employers, undocumented Mexican immigrants are the ideal labour force. As neoliberalism believes that the healthy market brings maximum profits, it emphasises the necessity of sound contractual relations and transactions in marketplace (Harvey, 2007); the contracts based on this ideology, however, require employers to pay the social benefit cost. In that point, undocumented workers fulfil the employers' demand to benefit from the productivity while avoiding any cost because they are not protected by the legislative regulation (Koulish, 2010). The increasing day labours also answers the demand of pull side. The employer sanctions law in 1986 rules that employers are only punished when they hire immigrants for three days or more. Therefore, the object of punishment is only the day labourers and not the employers. This relationship of employment creates 'a deregulated market that polices the worker', which Koulish calls the neoliberal ideal situation (Koulish, 2010: 66). Neoliberalism, therefore, promotes the exploitation of poor by rich, and increases the financial gap.

In contrast to the neoliberal demand of cheap labour, there are some counter movements especially in the US states along the border, as it is workers in those regions that get deprived of their job when migrants enter. The resistance movements are, to some degree, facilitated by the neoliberal decentralisation and privatisation. Some states have created their own immigration acts and private border contractors have made it difficult for immigrants to cross the border. In addition, fear against drug trafficking and violence by illegal immigrants motivated the construction of the border walls.

On the contrary to the expansion of bilateral economic cooperation, the United States strengthened the security of its border with Mexico during the 1990s. The number of border patrol agents doubled between 1993 and 1999, more and more agents of Drug Enforcement Administration and Federal Bureau of Investigation were assigned, and several border walls were constructed and militarised (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). The consequence was the increased death of immigrants. To avoid capture, immigrants would have to cross inhospitable routes, which often resulted in the exposure and dehydration. The wall also made immigrants depend on the professional smugglers—"coyotes"—that required large amount of money, and sometimes even killed the hirers (Regan, 2010). Although this was thought to deter immigration, by 2000, it became obvious that it had no effect on decreasing the number of migrants; instead, it strengthened the criminal activity of "coyotes" and changed the temporary immigrants into permanent ones (Domínguez and Castro, 2009).

Some US states in the border region resisted illegal immigrants by passing their own immigration laws. The NAFTA debate made the US local governments along the border more active and contentious in regards to migration policy. In 1994, an anti-immigrant act Proposition 187 was approved in California. This act illegalised undocumented immigrants' access to hospitals, schools and welfare (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). An immigrant profiling law SB1070 was passed in Arizona in 2010. It practically legitimises racial profiling by authorising the officers to stop any driver that is suspected to violate the civil traffic law and providing a 'how-to manual for police on how to profile those who look like immigrants' (Mize and Swords, 2011: 183). Another trend is the privatisation of border contractors and detention sites, which is backed by the court's support of neoliberalism. The main issue of private facilities is that they cannot be regulated by the Congressional immigration policy. Furthermore, they are not obliged to disclose information to public. Thus, under privatisation, immigrants may be treated unjustly and the legal integrity of immigrant policy may be destroyed (Koulish, 2010).

To summarize, the anti-immigrant movements can be a violation of the human rights. The border wall threatens the life of Mexican migrants and prevents them from going back to their country; anti-immigration laws deprive both legal and illegal migrants of basic rights to live; and the privatisation of border contractors and detention sites may result in an unjust treatment of Mexicans.

As mentioned above, the US-Mexico relation does not completely comply with the ideology of neoliberalism; NAFTA regulates the flow of people. The fact shows that the US government intervenes in the economy when it is necessary for better national interest. Historically, whenever there was a recession in the US, Mexican immigrants were excluded by the government. While Bracero Agreements was signed in 1942 to introduce Mexican workers to supply the lack of labour during and after the Second World War, there was the first effort to militarise the border in 1953 due to the recession after the Korean War (Koulish, 2010). The economic recession in the early 1990s motivated the US to make tougher border policies; Proposition 187 in California in 1994, and the Congressional enactment of Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) made the conditions harsher for legal and illegal immigrants in 1996 (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). Although the economic boom in the middle to late 1990s softened the harsh policy of IIRIRA and Welfare Reform Act, the recession of the US economy in 2007 resulted in the tightening of the border during the last days of Bush administration (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). These examples demonstrate the use of Mexican labour by the US rather as commodities than human beings.

The incident on September 11, 2001, dramatically changed the US immigration policy. It changed the responsibility of state from welfare to crime control and turned the border region into a security zone of the nation. The population's fear against foreigners increased, and the United States lessened the authorisation of legal Mexican immigrants (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). Furthermore, immigrants were criminalised as a potential risk, and the exclusion of them was legitimised by the conduct of surveillance (Koulis, 2010).

The securitisation of the United States caused the surge in the number of illegal migrants' arrest. The Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which is a law enforcement agency against the high risk criminals or terrorists, has repeated the raids on workplaces where undocumented labourers work and deported a massive number of them; in 2007 fiscal year, ICE removed more than 270 thousand illegal immigrants (Camayd-Freixas, 2008). Considering the reason why ICE targets harmless labourers, Camayd-Freixas (2008: 11) argues that 'ICE is under enormous pressure to turn out statistical figures that might justify a fair utilization of its capabilities, resources, and ballooning budget'.Koulish (2010) claims that law enforcement agencies try to arrest immigrants—often by conducting raids or charging them with "obstruction of traffic"—to meet their arrest quota. In most cases, arrested undocumented immigrants cannot claim their legitimacy to stay in the country. The Criminalisation of illegal "aliens" directly threatens the poor migrants' lives.

Asymmetry as a Cause of Border Issues

The economic and political asymmetry between the United States and Mexico has been the cause of the border issues as exploitation and exclusion of Mexican labourers and the violation of their human rights. Because of the gap of powers between the two nations, the US-Mexico relation has always been dominated by the United States both in state and individual levels. The United States has been able to include and exclude Mexican immigrants, as it desires; Domínguez and Castro (2009: 153) claim that 'the United States has acted mostly unilaterally on migration matters since the end of the Bracero Agreement in 1964'.

Although migration is sustained by both pull and push factors, the pull factor has often been neglected by the United States. Therefore, only the undocumented labourers are criminalised and the US citizens who have employed them can avoid punishment. Similarly, immigrants who were pulled by the neoliberal demand of labour in the US are easily excluded whenever there seems to be not enough workplaces for Americans. This exploitative use of Mexicans' labour can be seen as a trade rather than a migration. Indeed, illegal migrants are not considered "people" under the Constitution (Koulish, 2010), and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) Mode 4 stipulation of the World Trade Organization legalises the denial of guest worker's citizenship rights (Chacón et al, 2006). The US unilateral policies such as the border wall and criminalisation of immigrants also threaten the human rights of Mexican workers.

The unjust treatment of Mexican labourer is due to the Mexico's lack of power, which enables the United States to take its own policy. The current border, I argue, is shaped by a neoliberalism that is adjusted to fit the US interest. President Bush's failure to loosen the immigration policy serves as an example. From the 1990s, Mexico has made the effort to seek its northern neighbour's better understandings of migration; it required the increase in the number of legal immigrants through negotiation with the US. Backed by the

economic boom, the Bush administration showed keenness. However, because the decision-making was solely left to the US, the migration agreement made no progress, and finally failed (Domínguez and Castro, 2009). According to Domínguez and Castro (2009), the reason was the Mexico's lack of things to offer to the United States.

In the neoliberal border economy, it seems that Mexico can never gain enough financial power as well as political power to compete with the US. The system that exploits cheap labours of immigrants and maquiladoras keeps the poor stay poor. Furthermore, the economic gap, then, allows the US to unilaterally make a border policy that is favourable for its national interest. This vicious circle created by neoliberal economy cannot be broken without an artificial intervention. The possible solution is, therefore, a creation of a bilateral institution where both countries have the equal right to speak. The mutual progress will become possible only after the US accepts the responsibility of the demanding side.

Conclusion

This paper has argued how neoliberal economic policy shapes the US-Mexico border. The basic neoliberal demand of cheap labour in the United States pulls the Mexican workers that are willing to do the job with low wages. However, the influx of "aliens" cultivates the anti-immigrant mood, which results in the securitising of the border or the creations of state's own immigration policy. Furthermore, the fact that the border policy is based on a US-dominant neoliberalism can be seen in the temporary exclusion of Mexican workers when there are some incidents as recession or terrorism. Under the border policy, Mexican labourers are not only exploited by the neoliberal economy, but also they may be deprived of their human rights by the US-led policies.

The cause of this situation is the power asymmetry between the US and Mexico. To avoid the US' unilateral decision-making and protect the poor workers, cooperation is necessary. The border line was arbitrary drawn on the land where people have been living beforehand; countries must take the responsibility for that.

References

Camayd-Freixas E (2008) *Interpreting after the Largest ICE Raid in US History: A Personal Account* [pdf]. Available at: http://dll.fiu.edu/people/faculty/erik-camayd-freixas/interpreting_the_largest_ice.pdf Accessed: 18 April 2014.

Chacón JA, Davis M and Cardona J (2006) *No One is Illegal: Fighting violence and state repression on the U.S.-Mexico border.* Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Domínguez JI and Castro RF (2009) *The United States and Mexico: Between partnership and conflict* 2ndedn. New York: Routledge.

Estévez A (2008) *Human Rights and Free Trade in Mexico: A discursive and sociopolitical perspective.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harvey D (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koulish R (2010) *Immigration and American Democracy: Subverting the rule of law.* New York: Routledge.

Lamy SL (2011) Contemporary Mainstream Approaches: Neo-realism and neo-liberalism. In JBaylis, S Smith andP Owens (eds)*The Globalization of World Politics: An introduction to international relations*5ᵗʰedn.Oxford: Oxford University Press, 114-129.

Mize R and Swords A (2011) *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero program to NAFTA.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Regan M (2010) *The Death of Josseline: Immigration stories from the Arizona borderlands.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Steger MB and Roy RK (2010) *Neoliberalism : A very short introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Veltmeyer H (2002) Social Exclusion and Models of Development in Latin America.*Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 27(54): 251-280.

'Children are naturally innocent'. Discuss this statement making reference to key debates in the literature

Olivia Wakeman

Introduction

The notion of innocence will persistently arise when discussing matters surrounding the concept of childhood, however innocence has many different meanings and interpretations. Innocence can be considered to mean an absence of sin, or a lack of knowledge and experience. Whatever our accepted meaning of the term "innocence", it is clear that how we perceive it is 'central to how childhood is understood in all aspects of life.' (Braggs, et al. 2013: 5). This means that it plays a pivotal part in concerning how we understand the meaning of childhood. Mayhew's (1985) account of the young watercress girl if often mentioned when discussing the image of the 'innocent child' and 'implies that children should be protected from the harsh realities of life.' (Kehily, 2004: 5). Mayhew's account reflects a traditional Romantic view of children, which has been disputed in recent years but is still important to consider when discussing matters of childhood.

There are conflicting opinions as to whether children are naturally innocent or naturally evil and conflicting evidence and examples support both sides of the debate. Children have traditionally been seen in conflicting ways, including '"little innocence" (whose innocence need protecting) and "little devils" (whose naughtiness need taming) or as adults in the making' (Macionis, 2008: 406). This innocent versus evil debate is key within the study of children and is influenced strongly by the Dionysian and the Apollonian child debate (Jenks, 1996). The Dionysian approach is the understanding that children are corrupt and evil, while the Apollonian approach is the understanding that children are innocent and pure, however our understanding has developed regarding these approaches. This relates closely with ideas surrounding the victimisation of children and the conflicting concepts of children as victims and children as villains. How we view children is essential to consider as it has considerable implications on the way in which children are treated.

Our understanding of the meaning of childhood has evidently changed over time demonstrated clearly by Hendrick (1997). The way we view children today is, therefore, very different to how they have been viewed in the past. Our understanding of children is influenced by numerous things, most importantly our personal experiences and expectations. Childhood is formed by social constructions and so is not universal. A common debate within criminology is whether children are naturally innocent or evil. This has been brought to the public's attention on numerous occasions as a result of high profile cases such as the Jamie Bulgar case and other incidences of children committing violent criminal acts. This also highlights the psychological debate between the influences of nature and nurture and whether a child is born a certain way or is moulded by society to become who they are and how these influence our understanding of children. Therefore to understand more about the meaning of childhood it is important to consider where children are naturally evil or naturally innocent and in need of protection.

What is Childhood? Discourses of Childhood

Aries (1963; cited in Jenks: 2005) has often been referred to as the founder of 'childhood' due to his ground-breaking work studying the concept of childhood and what childhood

has meant throughout history. He clearly demonstrated how childhood has changed from the medieval concept of the child to our modern understanding. This later led to the work of Hendrick (1997) and many other academics within this field. Aries understood that childhood is a relatively new concept. Whereas in the past children were seen as younger adults, rather than a separate entity to an adult, it was thought that once children were 'able to survive without constant care, medieval Europeans expected them to take their place in the world as working adults.' (Macionis and Plummer, 2008: 404). This has huge implications on the way children were treated, as they were often neglected and had no rights or form of protection, such as children have now. This is evident in the high mortality rates of babies and children during this time and also the risk of pregnancy and childbirth. Our understanding and treatment of children has clearly changed since this time and we now feel a need and responsibility to protect children who are treated distinctly different to adults, in most cases. Jenks describes how Aries also understood that children are the reflections of the 'particularities of particular socio-cultural contexts' (Jenks, 2005: 121) and so represent the society of which they are a member. This is why our understanding of children has changed so dramatically over time, as over society has developed into this post-modern era.

The work of Aries led to the development of the work of Hendrick (1997) who identified the discourses of childhood, including the image of the natural and romantic child which demonstrates how society idealised children and how the Victorians had a notion of all children possessing a natural innocence. The Romantic discourse claimed 'that children embody a state of innocence, purity and natural goodness that is only contaminated on contact with the corrupt outside world.' (Kehily, 2004: 5). Children were seen as a gift from God and a blessing, which could be seen as a reaction to the high infant mortality rates as children were seen as precious and fragile. These images were often portrayed through artwork and poetry, which is where a great deal of our preconceptions regarding children emerges from. Even though, children were viewed as innocent, they were exploited throughout this period of history by working in factories and having very few rights. The idea that children are naturally innocent is therefore prominent throughout history.

The two later discourses of childhood proposed by Hendrick (1997) were the 'Child of the Welfare State' and contemporary childhood. Both of these discourses are important in the consideration and understanding of how childhood has changed over time, and therefore how our understanding of childhood innocence has changed. The Child of the Welfare State consists of two identities, the child as a family member and the child as a state responsibility in need of protection and care. Children become state responsibilities when their parents are unable to care for them, for example due to their abusive family experiences. This development in our understanding of children shows a deep concern of child wellbeing and a responsibility towards their care, suggesting them that children are understood to be the innocent victims of their circumstances. This development led the way for the establishment of contemporary childhood, involved with the emergence of children's rights and developments of our understanding of children, for example with regard to cases of child abuse and the sexualisation of children. In his discussion of the contemporary child, Hendrick states how they is a growing concern regarding 'the so-called end of innocence (or "fall" of childhood)' (Hendrick, 1997: 58) through a sexualisation of childhood and the influence of cases like the Jamie Bulger murder.

Leading on from the work of Aries and Hendrick, James (2004) notes themes which have shaped the way we understand what childhood means. These include the fact that children are distinctly separate from adults because of their age, that they have a special nature, that

they are 'vulnerably dependent' and that 'the child is innocent' (Jenks, 2005: 122). These important themes have been debated with regard to the behaviour of children. This shows how central morality is to the understanding of childhood and the notion that they are dependent upon adults for protection because of their vulnerability.

Children Are Naturally Innocent

A belief in innocence is often a key theme within discussions regarding children, with examples of child abuse and child trafficking where children are often considered to be innocent victims. However this is not always the case. It seems that society only accepts a certain type of child as a victim and it is these cases which are often prominent in the media. These cases often involve the idea of 'stranger danger' or drastically violent crimes. The crimes that are often neglected are those which are committed within the private realm of the home, such as cases of child abuse committed by the child's family members or the use of corporal punishment, which is still legal within the home in the UK. Children's rights are not the same as those held by adults, however these rights must still be upheld in order to protect the children. An approach based on children's rights suggests that children are in need of protection and that they would not need this protection unless they were an innocent party. Serious cases of child abuse often appear in the media and receive public outcry and 'the modern child has become a focus of innumerable projects that purport to safeguard it from physical and moral danger, to ensure its "normal" development.' (Jenks, 1995: 83) These cases cause such emotional responses because the public are outraged that children can be treated in such undeserving ways. Children are often thought of as innocence and people are shocked when they are treated badly through acts such as physical or sexual abuse of child trafficking. Nevertheless, many of these cases do not come to the attention of the media. These acts against these children are punishable as they violate the child's rights and also go against criminal law put in place to protect citizens, but they also go against the ideas which have been constructed regarding children. Children are sexually innocent and society attempts to keep them this way using strategies of protection and control. This opens up questions regarding the sexualisation of children which has been prominent throughout history. And yet children seem to be more sexualised now than ever before through the media etc., and the risks that this sexualisation poses to how children's innocence is perceived.

Certain work has highlighted the influence of the environment surrounding the child in determining their nature, as opposed to the child being innately of a certain nature. This work suggests that children may well be born innocent and that it is their upbringing which changes their behaviour, perhaps bringing about deviant and even criminal act. The work of the Chicago School suggests that our understanding of youth cultures should involve a close look at the environment in which the crimes take place and socialisation processes involved. Evidence to support this idea includes research which shows that crime delinquency was highest in poorest areas of the city, and later research has found similar findings. Edwin Sutherland (1956; cited in Carrabine, et. al., 2009) worked closely with the Chicago School and his work has been very influential towards our understanding of the influences of the environment upon our behaviour. Carrabine et al. described how Sutherland understood that:

> ...any person's tendency towards conformity or deviance depends on the relative frequency of associated with others who encourage conventional behaviours or as the case may be, norm violation. (Sutherland, 1956; cited in Carrabine, et. al., 2009: 56).

The work of the Chicago School suggests that we are not born a certain way, but are easily influenced by others and social situations. This theory takes a similar stance to other theories such as labelling theory. Both these suggest that we are malleable by society and some individuals are more likely to exhibit deviant or criminal behaviour because of the environment in which they are brought up. Therefore, children are not born evil, however they are not born innocent either, but are a "blank slate". This idea of a blank slate was developed by theologian John Locke who believed that children required guidance and training in order to develop into responsible adults, as Kheibly describes: 'it is the responsibility of adults to provide the appropriate education and control enable children to develop into mature and responsible adults.' (Kheilby, 2004: 6). Still, this idea that children are not pre-determined is a key idea within sociological and psychological theories, but goes against other theories such as Positivism which dictates that we are biologically pre-determined and our behaviour is driven by these biological and psychological influences. There are numerous conflicting ideas regarding the nature of children's behaviours.

Children Are Not Naturally Innocent

The idea that children are naturally evil has also been a prominent idea throughout history with many cases in the media of children who have committed horrific crimes which have completely gone against the ideas that we have of children being innocent and needing protection, instead highlighting what children are actually capable of. An obvious case to support this point is that of Jamie Bulgar who was murdered by two young children in a most brutal way which completely shocked the nation (Kehily, 2004: 16). No one believed that children would be capable of such sadistic crimes. Also, the way the public and the media reacted to the brutal crimes committed by these two boys suggesting a hardening of attitudes towards children based on the idea that some are just naturally evil and 'the case opened up an enormous public debate over the nature of children and childhood' (Kehily, 2004: 16). However, it is difficult to then determine whether these children were born evil or whether they were made that way by the circumstances of their childhood. It was well-known that the two boys who murdered Jamie Bulgar came from destructive home and had previously exhibited signs of violent and aggressive behaviour. However many children come from destructive homes like this and not every child commits crimes such as these. Mariana Warner (1994) observed that the way in which we view children has changed considerably and that the child 'has never been as such a menacing enemy as today' which 'excite repulsion and even terror' (Warner, 1994: 43) from the general public.

There have been other events that the media have brought to the public's attention which have highlighted negative youth behaviour, events such as hooliganism, drug culture and knife crime. Events such as these have caused moral panics in communities as they go against these pre-conceptualised ideas we have of youths, but also they produce fear regarding these children's deviant potential. It seems that society views children very differently to how they were viewed in the past, which is demonstrated by the treatment of children in the Criminal Justice System, but also within society as a whole. Deviant children are thought to be in need of punishment, whether that is punishment in detention centres or simply within the home, as corporal punishment, it is still considered widely acceptable and lawfully just in the UK, as long as "reasonable force" is used. This shows that we see children as in need of punishment to deter them from "bad" behaviours. This suggests that perhaps we do not see them as naturally innocence, but rather in need of discipline and control to become useful members of society. It often seems that we treat children a certain way until they behave in a way which goes against our preconceptions and then we reject them.

Conclusion

It is clear that throughout history our understanding of childhood has changed alongside political, economic and social changes within society. Children are not viewed in the same way as they were one hundred years ago, or even twenty years ago, therefore the way we treat children has also changed. There has always been a debate as to whether children are naturally innocent or not, with key debates developing regarding this matter. In my opinion, I believe that children are naturally innocent and it is the society and the culture that surrounds them which influences what they will become, however before corruption happens a child is innocent, vulnerable and in need of care and attention. This idea of innocence is based on the commonly held concept that children are distinctly separate from adults. I think this is clearly demonstrated by society's approach to child protection and child trafficking and our desire to protect children from harm. If we, as a society, were not to view children as naturally innocent then I believe that this would have major implications on the way we treat children. For example, there would be questions raised as to whether children are in need of protection from harm, such as child abuse and child trafficking.

References

Bragg S, Kehily M J and Montgomery H (2013) Childhood, Culture and Innocent. In Braggs S and Kehily M J (eds) *Children and Young People's Cultural Worlds.* 2nd ed. Bristol: Polity Press. pp. 1-52.

Carrabine E, Cox P, Lee M, Plummer K and South N (2009) *Criminology: A Sociological Introduction.* London: Routledge.

Hendrick H (1997) Constructions and reconstructions of British childhood: an interpretative survey, 1800 to the present. In James A and Prout A (eds) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood.* London: Routledge, 33-60.

James A and James A L (2004) *Constructing childhood: theory, policy, and social practice.* Baskingstoke: Palgrave MacMillian.

Jenks C (2005) *Childhood.* London: Routledge.

Kehily M J (2004) Understanding childhood: an introduction to some key themes and issues. In: Kehily M J (ed) *An Introduction to Childhood Studies.* Maidenhead: Open University Press. pp. 1-74.

Macionis J and Plummer K (2008) *Sociology: A Global Introduction.* 4th edn. Harlow: Pearson.

Mayhew, H. (1954) *London Labour and the London Poor.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Warner M (1994) *Six Myths of Our Time: Little Angels, Little Monsters, Beautiful Beasts and More.* New York: Vintage.