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Student Spotlight

Comments From The Editor

Welcome to the first issue of the Criminology and Social Science Research (CSSR) Quarterly! The aim of this new newsletter is to provide a space to highlight exciting news from the criminology team here at Arden, to begin discussions about contemporary issues in criminology and to promote events which will be of interest for criminology staff and students alike.

This first issue acts as an introduction to the members of the criminology team. The aim of these short introductions is to highlight the range of expertise within the team including youth justice, policing, prisons and environmental criminology. In future issues, these introductions will be expanded on with individual spotlights to provide an insight into the career paths of our lecturers in the school and what motivates them in pursuing their research area.

In this issue, there are a range of articles which hope to stimulate conversation and critical thinking

about contemporary issues in criminology. These contributions from staff members include the problem of policing in a pandemic, the emerging area of hauntology and restorative justice to name a few.

For this first issue, the contributions have been made predominantly by members of the criminology team with one student submission also, but in future it is the intention for students to contribute to a greater degree either with their own pieces on contemporary issues or even a presentation of their dissertation research.

Criminology & Social Science Research Quarterly

Staff Spotlights



Staff Spotlights

Mr Sam Andrews

Sam Andrews is a PhD candidate in Criminology, with a special interest in terrorism, political violence, and preventative policy. He is also interested in human rights and minority rights, and has worked with human rights organisations in Iraq to protect minorities and human rights in the country.

Sam has published on the United Kingdom's Prevent policy for preventing terrorism, in the journal *Critical Social Policy* and in *Journal for Deradicalization*, and has published in *Diaspora* on the subject of Jewish heritage in Iraq. He has also given evidence at the European Union on the subject of the impact of Islamic State on Iraq's minority groups, and has presented at a number of conferences in the United Kingdom and overseas.

Dr Hannah Begum

I have been a criminology lecturer at Arden University since 2019 teaching on the BA Criminology and Psychology

degree programme. I was awarded a PhD in Criminology from De Montfort University, Leicester in 2018 with a thesis that explored the experiences of child sexual abuse survivors from British Asian communities. Prior to this, I received a BA in Social Policy from the University of Birmingham and an MA in Criminology.

Before taking up my lectureship at Arden, I taught at the Universities of Staffordshire, Coventry and De Montfort across various criminology and sociology programmes as well as a visiting lecturer position at Newman University, Birmingham.

My research interests include child abuse, child sexual exploitation and victims of crime from marginalised communities. I have presented on these topics at research conferences and workshops, including a child safeguarding workshop for Leicester City Council. I am an active researcher, currently working on an ongoing funded project on homelessness with a senior academic from Worcester University.

Mr Mark Bushell

Having taught on criminology, criminal justice and combined degree programmes at Sunderland, Northumbria and Teesside Universities since 2013, Mark has a wealth of teaching experience. Mark has conducted ethnographic research for his PhD studying migrant workers in the North East

night-time economy. Mark's research interests include critical and ultra-realist criminology, violence, labour markets and social harm. Away from academia, Mark enjoys a wide variety of music and has played guitar for over twenty-five years, performing with a variety of acts throughout the UK.

Dr Liam Leonard

Liam is a researcher and academic based at Arden University, Manchester UK. Liam has previously worked in Department of Criminology & Criminal Justice, Northern Arizona University, California State University, and the National University of Ireland. Liam is Chair of the International Criminology Association and former Member Secretary and President of the Sociological Association of Ireland. Liam was the Senior Academic and primary instructor on the award-winning Custodial Care Prison Studies Program, which trained approximately 1,000 recruits in a humane approach to prison and corrections work for the Irish Prison Service. Liam is the author or editor of over 25 books and numerous journal articles, as well as being the Senior Editor of *Ecopolitics* and Founding Editor of the *CRIMSOC: Journal of Social Criminology*. Liam was awarded the Sage Publishing Research Excellence Award in New York as well as the NAIRTL Research & Teaching Award in 2012, and a California State University Author's Award in 2015.

Criminology & Social Science Research Quarterly

Staff Spotlights



Dr Kimberley Marsh

Kimberley Marsh is the Programme Team Leader for Criminology and Social Science. Kimberley also founded Arden's Criminology and Social Science Research Group and is the coordinator for guest speakers within the department. She has taught on several different modules in Criminology at Arden University and The University of Manchester. In addition, she has carried out government-funded research, looking into improving the life chances of looked after children and care leavers in the UK. Kimberley's research interests focus on attachment, parenting styles, and behavioural responses.

Mr David Sheldon

I have recently started working at Arden University in September 2020 after previously working at King's College London and the University of Birmingham.

I am an ethnographic researcher which means that during my research I immerse myself into an area and population to understand how they interact and why things happen. My research has focussed on prisons, sex offenders and violence which has meant I have spent time in prison (as a researcher), talking to prisoners and prison staff and generally hanging around to understand the complexities of prison life and its social dynamics.

Aside from my prisons research, I am currently interested in ultra-realist theory (which I have written a brief introduction to in this first issue)

and the policing of the current coronavirus pandemic and the tensions between dealing with a public health crisis through the criminal justice system.

Dr Denis Tanfa

Dr. Denis Tanfa is the Co-founder of the African Forum for Restorative Justice (AFRJ), and is also the Chair and Founder of Restorative Justice Initiative Midlands UK. He obtained his Masters' degree in Criminology from the University of South Africa in 2004 and works part-time as a freelancer and consultant to assist Master' and doctoral social science research students.

Denis is heavily involved in community organisations and schools in developing crime prevention programmes, as well as being a member of Restorative Justice Council and a Member of the British Society of Criminology. Denis now supports Arden University to develop and teach our Restorative Justice modules, mixing theory and practice together.

Dr Jon Vagg

I started work here at a point when Arden University was being developed and was part of the initial group that designed the degree programme. I've been an academic now - first as a researcher, then a teacher - for 40 years. A lot of the social changes and policy developments we cover in the modules have literally happened

during my working life.

Most of my research has been around prisons, policing, the homeless (especially homeless and mentally ill offenders) and, because I spent some time working in Hong Kong, issues such as comparative criminology, and crime and economic development. I also have interests in human rights, war crimes, the dynamics of political movements and protests, and several 'niche' areas such as environmental crime. Currently I am working on more abstract ideas about the role of narrative in relation to criminal justice policy and criminology.



Ultra-Realism: An Introduction

Mr David Sheldon

Ultra-Realism is a branch of criminological theory which has emerged in recent times and seeks to explain the subjective drivers which motivate criminals to engage in deviant activity and the links that can be made between the individual and the wider political economy. This piece does begin with a very brief outline of the theory and is then linked to the current coronavirus pandemic and how it can be used to help explain people's actions such as panic buying in supermarkets.

Ultra-Realism begins from the premise that human beings are organic subjects, and as such, the events of an individual's life form an integral part in developing their subjective outlook. This outlook is

based on ideas of lack, absence, and the subsequent anxiety that this produces when they compare themselves with others. Lacan, a French philosopher, has identified this as the Real. The Real is a state of "unnameable conflicting drives and internal and external stimuli which cannot be symbolised." This means that the 'Real' is a symbolic state that individuals can aspire too which for example can be greater wealth or an increased social status. Ultra-Realists such as Hall and Winlow (2015) argue that the sense of lack and wanting created by this comparison to the Real motivates individuals to try and satisfy these feelings. Raymen and Kuldova (2020) have argued that this *need* to fill this void and escape the Real makes the human subject extremely adaptable and can lead them into

a path of deviancy to satisfy the want that they feel.

As such, ultra-realists argue that it is necessary to understand the subjective motivations of individuals if we are to fully understand why they have engaged or not engaged in deviance. Winlow and Hall (2015), who are seen as the architects of Ultra-Realism, have argued that the ultimate driving force in the modern neoliberal world deviancy to satisfy the want that they feel.

As such, ultra-realists argue that it is necessary to understand the subjective motivations of individuals if we are to fully understand why they have engaged or not engaged in deviance. Winlow and Hall (2015), who are seen as the architects of Ultra-Realism, have argued that the ultimate driving force in the modern neoliberal world can be



described as consumerism. An individual's status is often governed by their economic status and how much they are wedded to the ideals of consumerism which they describe as transcendental materialism (Hall and Winlow, 2015). This sounds complicated, but really means that consumerism has wired us to think that we need the newest items such as the newest iPhone or newest car because they are in some way better and that we are then judged by the items that we possess. Hall and Winlow (2015) then use this idea to suggest that an individual is neither good nor evil, but the possibility of either is inherent meaning that is need and desire to satisfy these consumerist ideals means either good or deviants options can be used.

This idea is then taken further by Hall (2012) who introduces the idea

of 'special liberty'. This term describes the cultural norm that operates as a form of subjective permission which allows individuals to inflict multiple harms on others but with the underlying justification that such harms are necessary for the continuation of their own progress and prosperity. As such, the individual who panic buys and stocks up on mundane items such as pasta, toilet rolls and rice is doing so in the belief that they are ensuring their own prosperity and this justifies their hoarding of such items despite the harms it causes on others. These harms were aptly apparent during the first lockdown in March and April 2020 at the start of the pandemic when images were distributed on social media of vulnerable individuals and NHS workers struggling to obtain basic food

products and household items while others were stocking up with overflowing baskets.

In a similar vein, these ideas of special liberty and transcendental materialism can be used to explain the actions of the owners of large multinational corporations, leaders of governments and drug dealers alike. Each operate under their own moral compass, but they are motivated by the underlying drivers of neoliberal values, consumerism and competitive individualism. The drug dealer knows that of the harms produced by drug addiction not only to the individual but also to society as a whole. The owner of the multi-national company for example Amazon or Sports Direct, while slightly removed from the harms caused by their company's practices, are similarly guilty of engaging in special liberty. For



instance, the zero-hour contracts and the unsecured and sometimes unsafe working conditions facilitate the harms of the modern neoliberal world such as working poverty which leads to an over-reliance on short-term credit such as payday loans leading to debt and other social problems. The owners of these company's however profit from these structural conditions. Therefore, they are using their 'special liberty' to ensure their own prosperity despite the harms that their companies produce. Finally, we can also see the concept utilised by governments. Boris Johnson and the current conservative government have used the current pandemic to distribute very high value contracts, sometimes worth billions of pounds, to people they know and are associated with who often have very little or zero

experience of what they are being entrusted with. This a prime example of special liberty where the government can certainly be attributed with ensuring their own prosperity while failing to safeguard public health such as the Test and Trace or PPE contracts handed out but ultimately failing in protecting the public as signified by the need for a further lockdown period during November.

In conclusion, Ultra-Realism is a new and exciting criminological theory and can be directly related to the practices of the modern neoliberal world. While the theory is still in its infancy, it is being used to explain the problems we see in the real world from the very mundane of stockpiling to people they know and are associated with who often have very little or zero

experience of what they are being entrusted with. This a prime example of special liberty where the government can certainly be attributed with ensuring their own prosperity while failing to safeguard public health such as the Test and Trace or PPE contracts handed out but ultimately failing in protecting the public as signified by the need for a further lockdown period during November 2020.

In conclusion, Ultra-Realism is a new and exciting criminological theory and can be directly related to the practices of the modern neoliberal world. While the theory is still in its infancy, it is being used to explain the problems we see in the real world from the very mundane of stockpiling basic items to the gifting of multi-billion-pound contracts.



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Hauntology: The Imaginary as Social

Dr Jon Vagg

'Hauntology' is used to describe different ideas, moods, aesthetics and feelings about a sense of loss or yearning for paths and possibilities going unexplored; a sense of what we have 'now' is not as good as alternative possibilities that existed previously. The thing that haunts us is a vision of a possible future that we glimpsed at some point in the past but can no longer recapture.

Mark Fisher (2009, 2014) refers to this theme frequently as a way of describing the sense of exclusion, alienation, boredom and frustration often experienced by young people faced with a lack of good quality careers, being priced out of the housing market and

through their experiences of popular culture that is oppressive and stagnant.

Hauntology did not originate with Fisher who has adopted the idea but is a concept which has some long-standing views in the social sciences. Marx for instance commented that "we make our own history but do so in conditions that were not of our choosing" hints that what haunts us may be something about the limits imposed on us of what we can and cannot do. These limits emerge from the paths followed or decisions made by the wealthy and powerful. Freud (2002) has also commented that individuals are forced to find a balance between pleasure and reality. The sense of frustration that hauntology points to can be interpreted as the intrusion of desires or traumas from the past

into someone's perception of reality.

Neither Marx nor Freud were proponents of what we now call a 'social constructivist' approach. Marx's aim was not to analyse the world but change it; Freud was principally concerned with the psychology and psychiatry of individuals and the issues they had to negotiate in their lives. Yet both acknowledged that key problems in people's lives were often the result of 'realities' created by others, whether a ruling class or at an individual level, by the relationships between parents and children. And this implies that both would recognise the significance of the 'Thomas (1928) theorem' that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

There are obvious limits to this. We can define climate change, for example, as a hoax and act as if it is, but that won't stop the weather

getting warmer, the droughts in some places and floods in others, and so on. What the definition will do is structure the way we think and talk about it, the dreams we feel we can make about the future, and the laws and government policies that help or hinder people in adapting to the new situation.

Meanwhile, Thomas' term 'men' is general and vague. Who defines what is 'real'? The wealthy and powerful, certainly – but also the media, courts and trial juries, mass movements and even culture (both cultural traditions and new cultural forms in terms of music, art, and these days even genres such as video games). There will not be a single version of 'reality' but multiple situated versions, and sometimes they may be inconsistent and come into conflict.

Beyond all this, a central dimension

of hauntology is time. Derrida refers to Hamlet's comment (in the Shakespeare play of that name) that 'time is out of joint'. Hamlet was visited by the ghost of his father, and a visitation by someone who is dead is one example of 'time out of joint'. And yet time 'always' was, is, will be out of joint. Events in the past, possibly the far past, may have some effect on us today. Anticipated events in the future may influence what we do in the present, perhaps because we fear such possible events, or look forward to them or plan to make them happen. Hauntology, while not a term with direct analytical value, does serve as a useful reminder of the range of complex factors to be considered in the social sciences.

Finally, on the idea of being haunted by the past – Fisher died

in 2017, Dorothy and William Thomas in 1977 and 1947 respectively, Freud in 1939, and Marx in 1883. Their words haunt us and influence our own thoughts, including the ways we imagine the future. And they in turn were haunted by their own experiences (World Wars, the Holocaust, and chronic depression) and by the words of others before them. As such, Criminology is haunted by the past as much as it seeks to explain the present and explore the future.

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The Professional Ex

Dr Christina Thorne

I have been volunteering since I was eight years old as one of Lord Baden's Powell's Army of Brownies and later a Girl Guide. From a young child I was made aware of the benefits of voluntary work as a service to others. Yet it was not until much later in life I learned through voluntary work, and later my research, that the benefits of voluntary work have personal benefits too.

Former offenders that go on to work with other offenders in areas of counselling, probation, youth and community work are referred to in the academic literature as 'Professional Exes' (Brown, 1991) or 'Wounded Healer's' (White, 2000; Maruna, 2001). White (2000:1) summarised the concept of the wounded healer as those

individuals that had faced, and overcome challenges, and that might have special sensitivities and skills in helping others experiencing the same adversity. Lebel (2007: 7) describes the characteristics as being:

'...a helper/wounded healer orientation can be thought of as the desire and commitment to "reach back" and help other similarly stigmatised people make it in the world.' By helping others, the individual can find a sense of self-worth and value as a result of the relationships they form with those they are helping. The wounded healers, or professional exes, are those individuals who have the desire to help others through the processes that they have already experienced.

The empowering and value ridden acts such as giving back

and seeking to help others are framed within generative pursuits. McAdams (1995: 678), (citing Erikson (1963), states that: 'generativity refers to the adult's concern for, and commitment to, the well-being of the next generation, as manifested in parenting, teaching, mentoring, and other behaviours and involvements that aim to contribute a positive legacy that will outlive the self'. Generativity derives from both the internal motivations of an individual and what they perceive as societal demands (McAdams, Hart & Maruna, 1998). Brown (1991: 223) in his study of former addicts who went on to become professional counsellors, found that. "they do not totally abandon deviant beliefs or identity." This was true for many of the desister's in Maruna's (2001: 117) study where he found



that “the desisting self-narrative frequently involves reworking a delinquent history into a source of wisdom to be drawn from while acting as a drug counsellor, youth worker, community volunteer, or mutual-help group member.”

Those individuals who work as ‘wounded healers’ benefit from the work as they get to feel a sense of empowerment which promotes personal identity reconstruction whilst also allowing them to pay back to society and thus give themselves a sense of redemption.

As part of my research exploring the desistance processes of former gang members, I explore the idea of ‘generative pursuits’ as a part of positive identity formation and rehabilitation. Three men in the research reported desisting from offending behaviour for over ten years and had all engaged in voluntary work for several years

prior to securing employed professional roles within multi-agency crime reduction partnerships. One of the men I interviewed spoke about his reasons for initially getting involved in voluntary work:

“You know if you spilt a cup of tea you want to clean it up don’t you? You want to clean it, you don’t want to leave it there.... This is a legacy that we left for the young people. It’s normalisation of gang activity and gang involvement. I’ve done the whole nine yards and I think a lot of the kids that were involved and that, they were youngen’s to me at the time and I think I would have been a negative role model. So, I just want to try and give something back, to repair some of the damage that me and some of my friends have done. I have to take

some kind of responsibility”.

Another man interviewed reflected on his experiences of doing voluntary work and how it assisted his personal development:

“It’s given me the confidence to speak, the confidence to like voice my opinion and the confidence to take my life into my own hands. Cos like as I said before I had never had that, so for somebody who ain’t in control of their life that means they are not going to be saying as much as what they want to say, they might talk a lot , but they might be talking about what other people want and not what they want. But now I’m starting to talk about what I want and what I want to do... I started to take a lot more responsibility of my life. I started to value myself as well, in, I



started to put a lot more value in myself”

Studies have shown that where offenders help others, they have improved self-esteem (Schiff & Bargal, 2000; Lebel, 2015) and a sense of accomplishment, alongside a future hope or purpose (Maruna, 2001), which are all believed to assist in rehabilitation and prolonged desistance from crime. The rehabilitative aspects from generative pursuits are to be found in the therapeutic value of helping others (Cressey, 1965). The reflexivity that comes with walking people through a path you have already trodden can shape an individual’s perspective of their own delinquent past and the subsequent consequences it produced. Maruna’s (2001) research on desistance from crime offers evidence of a link between

helping others and criminal reform. In Maruna’s study, he explored several narratives of successful desister’s who had used their own narratives to begin working as counsellors, probation officers, social workers and youth workers.

Generative pursuits are not only limited to those like the men in my research. Indeed, we all can build esteem, accomplishment and purpose from our work with others. As such, I feel volunteering is so important for those students whose future aim is to work within the numerous roles which straddle between criminal justice and psychology. The challenging experiences many of us have overcome be it through family work, mental health and education to name but a few, leave us with experiences

and knowledge that we often share with one another in a variety of roles. As a young adult, I was homeless and many years later I went onto volunteer with a charity working with young adults aged 16-25 years experiencing homelessness. Yes, I was able to share my experiences and guide the young people through many of the processes and agencies I had been in contact with; but what I gained from those young adults and trained professionals I worked alongside was far more.

One of the most valuable experiences of voluntary work while you are at university, is that you witness first-hand where many areas of your study meet. From criminal justice, to psychology and social policy, you will witness everyday how research impacts policy and practice. From those working



beside you and for those whom you provide support, be it to individuals or communities, you will give whilst also gaining invaluable skills and knowledge, developing confidence and a sense of purpose that cannot be learned from any textbook.

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Restorative Justice in Ireland: Analysis and Theory

Dr Liam Leonard

The analysis of these events applied Social Psychological understandings of Zajonc's 'drive' theory of social facilitation, social presence, group cohesiveness to restorative conferences. Hogg's concept of group cohesion and socialisation along with understandings of Functionalism in social psychology have been applied to gain further understandings of the social processes and functions of the restorative events. These understandings of the significance of functions and roles within this group process can then be applied to existing understandings of Restorative Justice. Understandings of significant variables within the conference exchange can be

highlighted.

For the purposes of this study, the key variables investigated were:

1. The *Remorse* expressed by offenders.
2. The *Satisfaction* derived by participants, such as victims or victims' families.

Functionalist Exchange:

Many studies rely on statistical analysis rather than human exchange for understandings of situations which require more in depth sociological and social psychological analysis.

I have developed the concept of 'Functionalist Exchange' published in my book *Sustainable Justice and the Community* (Leonard and Kenny 2010)

I hope to develop further understandings of the

significance of functions and roles within the emotionally charged interactions during events such as restorative conferences in further studies. Functionalism emerged from Durkheim's sociological positivism, which sought to identify and explain the 'social facts' that come to define the structures of society.

The Restorative Practitioner:

Sylvan Tomkins' (1962) theory provides a greater understanding of the benefits of the restorative conferencing process for diverse groups.

Tomkins' Affect theory is based on a psychological theory of human affect. Tomkins' theory has been analysed and presented in more detail through the work of Nathanson (1992). Affect theory is a very effective tool in explaining the success of the scripted conference. The conferencing process encourages free



expression of affect, which is the biological basis for emotion and feeling.

The RJ Exchange Process:

When participants respond to the scripted questions such as:

“What happened?” “What have your thoughts been since?” “How has this affected/harmed/hurt you and others?” and “What has been the hardest/worst thing?” & they may express all or some of the negative affects and feelings.

Anger, distress, fear, and shame are diminished throughout the sharing process amongst participants. Their expression helps to reduce the intensity of the affects and may be applied with relevant cultural sensitivity. As a restorative conference proceeds, participants experience a transition, which is characterized by the neutral affect of surprise-startle’ (Nathanson,

1992).

The ‘Compass of Shame’:

Conferences can help people move beyond the ‘compass of shame’ through acknowledgement and expression of shame and through subsequent reintegration. Because of the fact that the restorative conference affirms the intrinsic worth of the wrongdoer and condemns the objectionable behaviour, parents and offenders feel less threatened and more equipped to acknowledge responsibility.

O’Connell et al. (1999) also argues along with other theorists such as Braithwaite (1989) and Daly (2003) that victims also experience shame. Victims may blame themselves for the incident, withdraw and hide their feelings, and sometimes distract themselves. Victim may also “lash

out” at others close to them who are not responsible for the offence. In providing an outlet for expressing feelings and moving beyond shame to resolution, restitution, and reintegration, the restorative conference is as important to victims as it is to offenders (O’Connell et al., 1999). This process paves the way for improved cultural understandings in place of mistrust and misunderstandings from poorly informed cultural assumptions.

Findings:

Victims and offenders become key stakeholders in the process; they are empowered to become involved the criminal justice system. The victim is given the opportunity to address the offender and show the pain that he or she has suffered as a result of the incident. The victim may receive an apology, reparation, or in many cases both. Emotionally, victims receive satisfaction from



actively participating in the process. The benefits of Restorative practices can be seen in the inclusion of victims and members of the community in the processes of justice.

Practices such as restitution, community service, mediation, family group conferencing, and victim impact panels are utilized consistent with restorative justice values. Victims are given choices and a sense of control, which decreases fear of re-victimization. Utilising restorative justice processes allows victims and offenders to view the system as fairer overall and also more satisfying. Court caseloads are lowered by utilising a variety of restorative justice processes. The judicial system is changed by engaging the political strength of victim advocacy.

Summary:

The participant's acceptance of the exchange within the restorative process is in line with Consedine's contention that restorative justice is a process whereby those affected by criminal behaviour, be they victims, offenders, the families involved, or the wider community, all have a part to play in resolving the issues that flow from the offending (Consedine, 1995). This article has investigated the remorse expressed by offenders and the satisfaction derived by participants in six Irish restorative conferences that were the focus of this study. The author's theory of 'Functionalist Exchange' based on the role-based functional interaction that occurs at such events provides the basis for understanding the extent of

remorse or satisfaction expressed by the conference participants. Further analysis was applied through the practitioners' perspective to the findings.

In conclusion, the paper has summarised the findings of the Irish survey on restorative events, establishing the significance of the processes, roles, functions motivations and reflections of these events on those involved. These findings inform a new perspective of restorative justice as a contemporary process of community based justice that can bridge social requirements for the state, corporate sector, communities through an active civil society, providing a form of 'sustainable justice' in an evolving and changing world.



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Do 1st and 2nd generation immigrants commit more or less crime than natives?: A comparison between Sweden and the United Kingdom”.

Mr Jonathan Johansson

The background as to why I chose to research this specific area was because I had earlier in my studies read that in the U.K, U.S and Spain, both first and second generation immigrants commit less crime than the native population. This was surprising as it is often reported that immigrants are overrepresented in the Swedish criminal statistics. As such, I chose to explore the crime statistics for the UK and Sweden in detail to understand the difference between the two countries and why such differences exist.

There are difficulties in comparing Swedish and U.K studies as they adopt different methodologies. All

the Swedish studies used statistics on ‘people registered as suspects of crime’ meanwhile studies in the U.K tended to base their results on other types of data, such as crime and justice surveys. Yet, overall conclusions could be made despite these different methodologies. It was also important to evaluate what type of data could be included - prison figures, arrest rates and some other crime statistics could for example not be used due to the problem of racial discrimination which occurs in the CJS.

When examining the statistics for first & second generation immigrants in the U.K and Sweden, there is a large difference which exists. Studies by BRÅ (1996; 2005) and Engellau (2019) have both shown that immigrants have been approximately twice as likely to be registered as suspects of

crime than natives. Engellau (2019) further showed that second generation immigrants are three times more likely than natives with Swedish born parents to be registered as a suspect of a crime which causes them to be overrepresented in all groups. By contrast, Jaitman and Machin (2013), Papadopoulos (2014), Ignatans and Matthews (2017) have shown that neither immigrants, or their children, commit more crimes than the native U.K population.

Through my research, I was able to conclude that the most feasible explanations as to why first and second generation immigrants commit more crimes than natives in Sweden, but not in the U.K, was a result of demographic differences which exist between the two immigrant populations.

In short, as shown by Hällsten et



al. (2013), immigration into Sweden has for more than 40 years mainly comprised of immigrants coming as refugees or as family members of refugees. These people moreover mostly come from the same countries which BRÅ (1996; 2005) and Engellau (2019) found to be the 'countries of origin' which the immigrants who commit the most crime in Sweden originate from. In the U.K, however, ONS (2020) present data showing that immigration for a long time has been predominantly comprised of those coming for work or study and furthermore from different countries than the Swedish immigrants. Statistics by the World Bank (2020) provide a detailed picture of how Sweden has accepted far more immigrants per 1000 inhabitants than the U.K for several decades. Things including socio-economic differences, cultural factors and

even psychological harms caused by post-war experiences can account for why the crime propensity is different between Swedish and U.K immigrants.

My research also discussed how first and second generation immigrants are overrepresented in all Nordic countries as shown by Skardhammar et al. (2014) and BRÅ (2019c), which makes it a phenomenon in the whole region. If looking at numbers of refugees, Sweden has accepted more than its neighbouring countries although all Nordic countries have still accepted more than the U.S for example, if comparing it to refugees per 1000 inhabitants, and Bersani (2014) could show that the U.S has been very selective in accepting immigrants with high motivations to work and this can explain why immigrants are not disproportion-

ately more involved in crime. A hypothesis which could be further tested is that demographic differences could also explain variations in the crime-immigration nexus in more countries than only Sweden and the U.K. However, more research would be needed to be able to draw more firm conclusions about this as my research only evaluated the crime-immigration nexus in Sweden and the U.K in greater detail.

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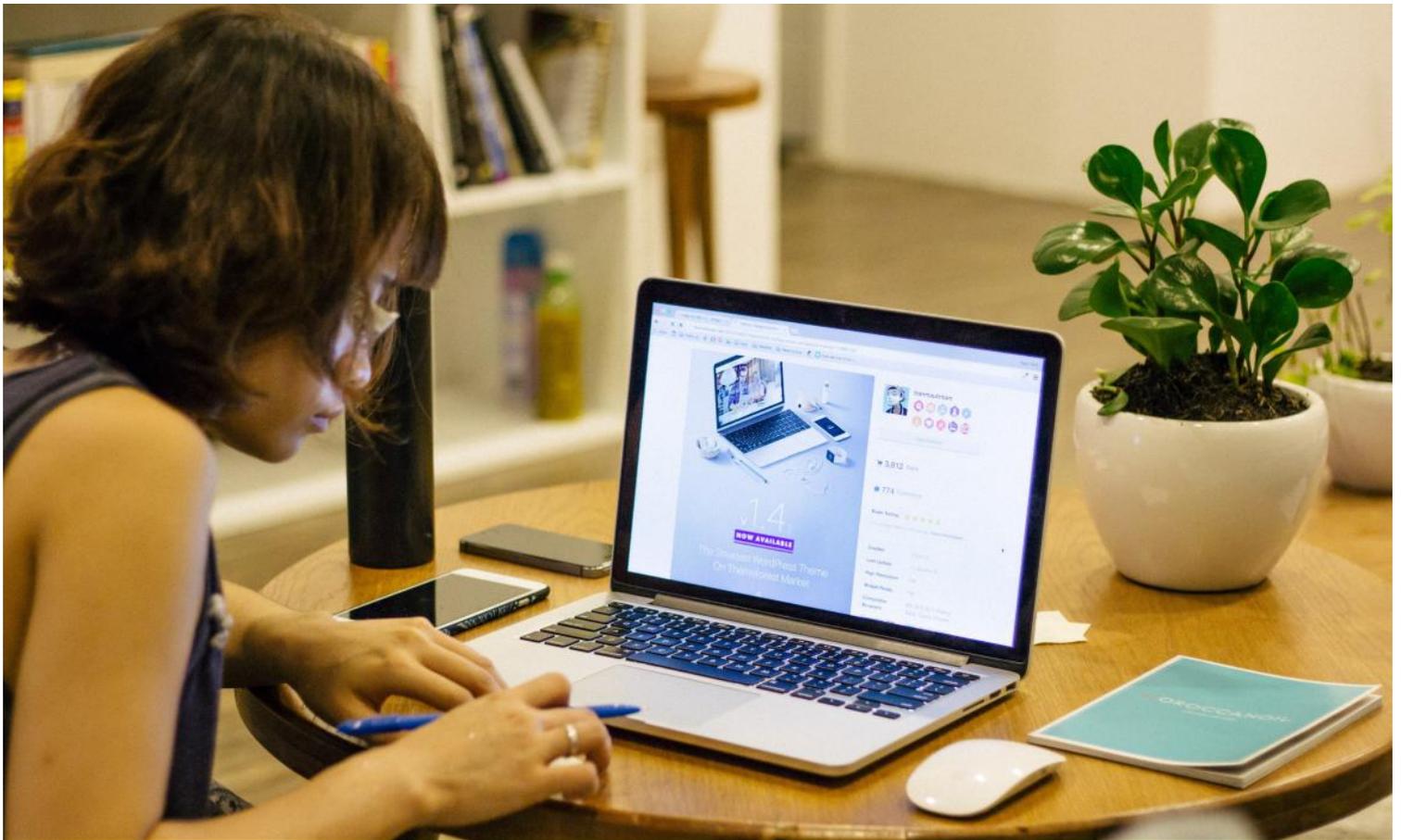
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