



CONTENTS

◆ Page 2

#Stop Asian Hate
Nadia Secundo

◆ Page 6

Criminal Narratives and the
Role of the Offender

Dr. Shannon DeBlasio

◆ Page 11

Experiences of Imprisoned
Sexual offenders

Dr David Sheldon

◆ Page 19

'Cultural criminology and ur-
ban resistance as governmen-
tality'

Dr. Liam J. Leonard

◆ Page 25

Key Dates and Events

Welcome to the third edition of the CSSR journal. In this journal we have a variety of articles focusing on a range of topics. There are a range of articles focusing on topics including the rise in Asian hate crimes as a result of the covid-19 pandemic, a focus on the role of narratives in the lives of offenders, the experiences of imprisoned sexual offenders and cultural criminology.

You will also find details of numerous external speakers which have been kindly organised by Dr Liam Leonard and you will be emailed links to the various talks closer to the time. There is also information about the virtual employability and careers event which is happening at Arden at the end of August.

This month the Criminology and sociology teams have also created a

twitter page which you can follow for information on key events happening in the school. The handle for the account is @Ardenscoandcrim so please do give us a follow!

Thank you for your continued support for this journal and if you would like to contribute to a future edition then please do get in contact through the details which you can find at the end of this edition. Happy reading!



#StopAsianHate

Nadia Secundo

Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been a rise in racist rhetoric and violence towards the Asian Community. A notable undertone of this has been that the pandemic was caused by members of the Asian community thus they are to blame. Various Asian-led organisations and activists created the hashtag #StopAsianHate' to spread awareness and to fight against anti-Asian attitudes and hate crimes. The way the COVID-19 pandemic was handled and covered during the initial outbreak has significantly increased racism towards this community, especially in the United States. Dubbed terms of the virus such as "Kung-flu" and "Chinese Virus" by former

President Donald Trump led to an intervention from the World Health Organisation encouraging people to avoid geographic association and continue to use the "COVID-19" term. One important thing to consider is whether this hatred shown towards the Asian community is something new, or whether it is something that has always been in existence.

Taking the United States as an example and historically speaking, since the 19th century, during the Philippine-American War, the Asian community has been seen as a suitable target of prejudice and ridicule. Often, it was women who were the main victims of these hate crimes as they were raped, forced into prostitution and incarceration (Mukkamala and Suyemoto 2018). During World War Two,

the Vietnam War and Korean War, American soldiers were major consumers in the Asian sex Industry (Hu, 2016). According to Mukkamala and Suyemoto (2018), a rise of hypersexualisation and fetishisation towards East and Southeast Asian women emerged that affected both their personal and professional lives. The so-called "Yellow Fever", an outdated ideology, represents racial fetishisation towards East and Southeast Asian women. This ideology contributes to the dehumanisation of these women and encourages abuse towards them (Hu, 2016). The objectification these women are faced with is undoubtedly connected with their south Asian heritage. The "exotic", "docile" and "submissive being" stereotype around these women are direct results of military occupation in



Asian Nations (Zheng, 2016). These harmful portrayals within the media focused on “positive stereotypes” contributing to a false notion that the community does not face any kind of discrimination whatsoever. Thus, invalidating the experiences of Asian women wherein both sexism and racism occurred (Lee-An and Chen 2021), these stereotypes brought misogyny and racism together.

The mass murder that occurred on the March 16th of 2021 that targeted Asian owned establishments around Atlanta in the United States can be seen as a Yellow Fever outcome. According to Elliot (2021), the shooter excused his killings due to his endeavour to “eliminate temptation and because he has a sex addiction”. The implications of Yellow Fever affect almost all Asian women, whether they live in Asia

or not. Asian-Americans have long been told to accept Asian fetishisation as complimentary instead of derogatory, because “being objectified is better than being ignored” (Ho, 2018).

According to Stop APPI Hate Reporting Centre, between March and June 2020, there were more than 2,100 Asian hate crimes in the United States. This report further shows that Asian women have faced 2.3 times more violence compared to Asian men; in 2020, Asian hate crimes increased by 150%; and, in the same time period, there were over 800 hate crimes in California alone with Orange County experiencing a 1200% rise in Asian hate crimes. Most Asian Americans seem to associate this rise of violence towards their community given the nomenclature used by President

Donald Trump to refer to the virus. Such nomenclature such as ‘The Chinese Virus’ and ‘Kung Flu’ may be at the root of the hate movements towards the Asian community. According to a United Nations report (2020), Donald Trump seemed to validate the perpetrator’s bigotry. His ineffectiveness in the face of hate crimes and the constant use of the “Chinese Virus” term, has shocked not only the Asian community but also Senate Democrats. Even though this unacceptable behaviour is coming from an important figure, this is just the tip of the iceberg. Covid-19 outbreak further exposes the persistent racism that Asians have faced for decades. The “Chinese virus” reinforces yellow peril, strikes resentment, fear, hatred and disgust towards Asians (The Conversation, 2020).



The parallels that have been drawn by President Trump and others between the Spanish flu and covid-19 have been incorrectly made. According to Hoppe (2018), the primary reason behind this name is censorship. During World War I, the warring countries censored their news to maintain military morale. Spain, however, for being a neutral country during the war did not censor its news. The first report of a massive epidemic was published in Madrid and due to being the first to spread the news, the other countries called it the “Spanish flu” (Hoppe 2018). The true origin of the epidemic is still unknown today, but it is known that the first case was not in Spain. Unlike the censorship and the miscommunication of the Spanish flu, the “Chinese virus” is being utilised deliberately out of ignorance ultimately causing a rise

in hate crimes against Asians and south-east Asians in particular.

Although this movement has only emerged recently, this problem is not new. It is important to educate ourselves about the differences between cultural and racial groups and to understand how we can help those affected and not perpetuate hatred or be complicit with it. As Chomsky (1980) explains within his language theory, language acquisition is a biologically determined process. Children are born with an innate mechanism for language acquisition that is triggered by hearing speech. The connection of what is said awakens in the brain a mechanism of association that links the word to a pre-made and socially constructed idea (Jäger and Rogers, 2012, 1956). Hence, it is important not to perpetuate

wrong nomenclatures that only spread fear and hatred towards someone.



References

Chomsky, N. (1980) *Rules and representations*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Donald Trump's 'Chinese virus': the politics of naming 2020. *The Conversation*. 21 April. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/donald-trumps-chinese-virus-the-politics-of-naming-136796> Accessed in 29 April 2021

Elliott, J., K., (2021) Officer who cited spa shooting suspect's 'bad day' has history of anti-Asian posts. *Global News*

Ho, H. (2016) *Crazy Rich Asians is going to change Hollywood. It's about time*. *Time*

Hoppe, T., (2018) "Spanish Flu": When Infectious Disease Names Blur Origins and Stigmatize Those Infected. *American journal of public health*. 108 (11), 1462–1464.

Hu, N. (2016) *Yellow fever: The problem with fetishizing Asian Woman*

Jäger, G., and Rogers, J., (2012) Formal language theory: Refining the Chomsky hierarchy. *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences*. 367(1598), 1956–1970.

Lee-An, J., and Chen, X. (2021) The model minority myth hides the racist and sexist violence experienced by Asian women. *Carleton Newsroom*,

Mukkamala, S., Suyemoto, K. L. (2018) Racialized sexism/sexualized racism: A multimethod study of intersectional experiences of discrimination for Asian American women. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 9(1) 32–46

Stop AAPI Hate (2020). *Stop AAPI Hate National Report*.

United Nations (2020). *Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of migrants; and the Working Group on discrimination against women and girls*. Geneva, Switzerland

Zheng, R. 2016. Why Yellow Fever isn't flattering: A case against racial fetishes. *Journal of the American Philosophical Association*. 2(3) 400-419.



Criminal Narratives and the Role of the Offender

Dr. Shannon DeBlasio

Narrative thinking, or ‘narrative knowing’, has been polarised as the opposite to paradigmatic knowing, which Bruner (1986) describes as rooted in scientific modes of thought. Narrative knowing is concerned with the stories that people recount about their experiences, and the psychological framework that individuals create to allow them to ‘make sense’ of their emotions (Sarbin, 1995; McLeod, 1997). It is within these personal stories, that individuals assign themselves a role, and it is through their role that an individual can act out their personal story, or narrative (Baumeister and Newman, 1994).

The role that an individual assigns to themselves has been linked to

the concept of identity (McAdams, 1988). During adolescence, the individual is believed to develop their sense of identity, and the person is described as becoming the ‘biographer of self’ (McAdams, 1988). The individual’s perception of their life, or their biography of the self, can be considered as a narrative, which unfolds over the course of a lifetime, and gives purpose to action. According to McAdams (1988), narratives are the psychosocial constructs that constitute identity, and by assigning ourselves to a specific role, we give a sense of purpose to our own behaviour. Presser and Sandberg (2015) develop this idea further, stating, “*Our self-stories condition what we will do tomorrow because whatever tomorrow brings, our responses must somehow cohere with the*

storied identity generated thus far” (Presser and Sandberg, 2015, p.1).

Differentiating the role that each individual may be ‘acting out’ is difficult, however Polkinghorne (1988) emphasises that there are relatively few narratives to decipher from, and the original ‘Theory of Mythos’ (outlined by Frye, 1957) categorises only four archetypal mythoi. In his landmark book, *Anatomy of Criticism*, Northrop Frye (1957) attempted to classify several classic stories from ancient times, focusing on the structure and plot of each of the storylines. The result of his efforts suggested that there were four fundamental story forms, or ‘mythic archetypes’, which he titled: Comedy, Romance, Tragedy and Irony. The archetypal mythoi ‘Comedy’ is suggested to relate to the season of Spring. It is linked to



a narrative of a young hero, who is usually searching for love or happiness. Following from this is the archetypal mythoi 'Romance', which Frye (1957) links with the season of summer. The associated narrative is suggested to reflect an adventurer, who, in the face of adversity, overcomes long and difficult challenges. Opposing these are the archetypal mythoi of 'Tragedy' and 'Irony'. These themes link with the seasons of Autumn and Winter (particularly the death of fall and bleakness of winter months). Frye (1957) describes these archetypes in contrast to the romance and comedy mythoi, describing here, individuals who are confronted with inescapable dangers and chaos. According to Frye, "the fundamental form of narrative processes a cyclic movement" (Frye, 1957, p.158) and consequently, Tragedy opposes

Comedy, and Romance opposes Irony. The structure itself has a strong dynamic quality and the movement is what propels each narrative archetype into the next. It is therefore considered a classic 'circular order', often referred to as a 'circumplex' (Guttman, 1954).

Initially, McAdams' (1988) life story model was applied to the experience of non-criminal individuals, however, in 1994, Canter recognised the value of this model in exploring crime from the perspective of the offender. Canter (1994) recognised the potential McAdams' work had on interpreting the psychology that governs behaviour and the value narratives had in exploring factors such as agency and motivation. In his book *Criminal Shadows*, Canter (1994) suggested that

narrative theory could contribute to, and allow us to understand, the stories that criminal activities revealed through speech. Canter (1994) suggested that criminals were not a random sample of the general population but were individuals whose life stories had become ill-formed or confused, and like the general population, offenders viewed themselves as playing a particular 'role'. It was therefore hypothesised by Canter (1994) that in any given criminal context there would be a dominant role the criminal chooses to take, and that role is related directly to a recognisable narrative. Canter states that, "Through his actions, the criminal tells us about how he has chosen to live his life. The challenge is to reveal his destructive life story, to uncover the plot in which crime appears to play such a significant



part” (Canter, 1994, p.299).

Initial attempts to explore McAdams (1988) Narrative Theory, and Frye’s Theory of Mythos (1957) within a criminal sample, suggested a link between Frye’s archetypal mythoi and the experience of offending. Overall, the studies found that the roles played by criminals, could be categorised into the four archetypal themes identified by Frye (1957) (Ioannou, 2001; Ioannou, 2006). Ioannou (2001; 2006) titled these themes The Professional (Adventure), The Victim (Irony), The Hero (Quest) and The Revenger (Tragedy), aptly reflecting their associated archetypal mythoi. According to Ioannou (2001; 2006) the Professional theme reflects the Adventurer narrative, with offenders typically agreeing with statements such as, *‘I always knew it would happen’* and *‘I was like a*

professional’. According to analysis, this offender experienced calm, competency, and mastery during their offence. Similarly, The Hero reflects the Quest narrative, experiencing hubris whilst overcoming and taking on their challenges. This offender agreed with statements such as, *‘It was nothing special’* and *‘I was looking for recognition’*. In contrast to this, are Ioannou’s (2001; 2006) Victim and Revenger themes. The Victim reflects the Irony narrative. This offender experienced disconnectedness and despair, agreeing with statements such as, *‘I was a victim’* and *‘I was confused’*. Finally, the Revenger theme reflects the narrative of Tragedy. This offender reported feelings of distress and blame, agreeing with statements such as, *‘I was getting my own back’* and *‘I*

didn’t care what would happen’. These four themes of criminal narratives, and their associated archetypal mythoi, were replicated in a later study by Youngs and Canter (2012). These findings demonstrate support for the model, however, as suggested by Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) both studies failed to differentiate across specific crime types and grouped the sample irrespective of index offence.

To overcome the limitations identified in the earlier studies, Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) explored the presence of roles between various crime types. Like the earlier studies, offenders were presented with The Narrative Role Questionnaire (NRQ-v1) (Youngs and Canter, 2012), and were asked to rate how much, or how little



they agree with statements relating to one of the four narrative role themes. They discovered that for property offences, the predominant role was Hero (50%), for drug offences the most highly scored role was Professional (40%), for violence and murder the predominant role was Revenger (50%), and lastly, for sexual offenders, the most frequent role was Victim (45%). Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) suggest that these findings reflect early theories on crime motivation, such as Flemming's (1999) description of property crime being driven by excitement, Brain, Parker and Bottomley's (1998) description of drug offences as a means to sustain 'lifestyle', and Katz's (1988) exploration of violent offenders as individuals who are seeking 'righteousness and vengeance'.

These studies highlight the

potential application of the narrative theory to explore and understand the experience of offending behaviour. The pioneering findings of Ioannou (2001; 2006) have moved researchers towards a deeper and richer understanding of the offender's subjective interpretation of their involvement in crime, and have allowed theorists to begin to consider the possible relationship between narrative roles and the experience of offending. The application of these findings leans heavily towards offender behaviour change programmes, both in custody and in the community, and suggest that the offenders narrative must be restructured if practitioners want to establish a change in motivation and action.

References

- Baumeister, R.F. & Newman, L.S. (1994) How stories make sense of personal experience: Motives that shape autobiographical narratives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 679-690.
- Bruner, J.S. (1986) *Actual minds, possible words*. Massachusetts, USA: Harvard University Press.
- Brain, K., Parker, H., & Bottomley, T. (1998) *Evolving crack cocaine careers: New users, quitters, and long-term combination drug users in N.W. England*. Manchester, England: University of Manchester.
- Canter, D. V. (1994) *Criminal shadows*. London: Harper Collins.
- Flemming, Z. (1999) *The thrill of it all: Youthful offenders and auto theft*. In P. Cromwell (Ed.), *In their own words: Criminals on crime* (2nd ed., pp. 71-79). Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.



Frye, N. (1957) *Anatomy of criticism*. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.

Guttman, L. (1954) *A new approach to factor analysis: The radex*. In *Lazarsfeld (Ed.), Mathematical thinking in the social sciences*. New York, USA: Free Press.

Ioannou, M. (2001) *The Experience of Crime: Emotions and Roles Experienced while committing an offence*. Unpublished MSc Thesis. Liverpool: The University of Liverpool.

Ioannou, M. (2006) *Hero or Villain: criminals emotional experience of crime*. University of Liverpool, UK. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation.

Ioannou, M., Canter, D. V., Youngs, D. E., & Synnott, J. P. (2015) Offenders' Crime Narratives Across Different Types of Crimes. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practise*, 15, 383-400.

Katz, J. (1988) *Seductions of crime: Moral and sensual attractions in doing evil*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

McAdams, D.P. (1988) *Power, intimacy and the life story*. New York, USA: The Guildford Press.

McLeod, J. (1997) *Narrative and psychotherapy*. London: Sage.

Polkinghorne, D.E. (1988) *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany, USA: State University of New York Press.

Presser, L. (2009) The narratives of offenders. *Theoretical Criminology*, 13, 177-200.

Sarbin, T. (1995) Emotional life, rhetoric, and roles. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, Special Issue: Narrative Construction of Emotional Life, 5, 213 – 220.

Youngs, D. & Canter, D. (2012) Offenders' crime narratives as revealed by the Narrative Roles

Questionnaire (NRQ). *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 1-23.



Experiences of Imprisoned Sexual offenders

Dr David Sheldon

Sex offenders are often considered to be somehow inherently different from other types of offenders (Thomas, 2000). Sex offenders transgress the traditional conceptions of how sexual behaviour should be experienced (Ricciardelli et al, 2015). The fact that they utilise sexual behaviour in a manner outside of socially acceptable norms necessitates their treatment as something different: an unwanted element in society. The hostility that sexual offenders experience is not uniform with particularly vehemence being reserved for the child sex offender. Thomas (2000) has argued that the paedophile has become the pariah of modern society and has

seemingly become a catch all definition of what the sex offender represents.

Sex offenders have become an increasingly 'othered' segment of modern society and they are frequently the target of increasingly punitive and restrictive campaigns by tabloid newspapers (Harper and Treadwell, 2013), described as 'perverts', 'monsters', 'deranged' and 'sex beasts' (Soothill and Walby, 1991). Such descriptions serve to increase the perceived risk that sexual offenders represent and has led to increasingly restrictive controls placed on them with an increase in the number of sex offences (See Sex Offences Act 2003); increased number of sexual offenders serving prison sentences; an increase in the average length of prison

sentences being served by sexual offenders; and, an increased use of community controls once convicted sexual offenders have been released such as sex offender registration requirements. Sex offenders are now arguably the most controlled, managed and assessed type of offender in the modern criminal justice system.

Despite the demonisation of sex offenders in the media, moral attitudes and the criminal justice system, they remain a somewhat invisible type of offender (Thomas, 2000: 1) with Marshall (1989) describing them as an 'Everyman'. There are no specific markers which make sexual offenders immediately recognisable. Few differences have been found to exist between sexual offenders and non-offenders in terms of social functioning (Stermac, Segal and Gillis, 1990), cognitions (Segal and Stermac, 1990) and substance abuse (Lightfoot and Barbaree,



1993). Indeed, research suggests that between the two groups, there exist more similarities than differences (Marshall, 1996). The fact that sexual offenders are not easily distinguishable from others without any additional knowledge serves to increase the perceived danger they represent to wider society.

Despite their apparent anonymity, the number of sexual offences recorded by the police in England and Wales has increased in recent years.

121,187 sexual offences were recorded in the year ending March 2017, which represented a 14% increase on the previous year (ONS, 2018). The increase has been even more stark for particularly serious offences such as sexual offences against children (41% increase) and rape (15% increase) (ONS, 2018). Moreover, in the period between 2012-2017, the number of non-recent (historic) sexual offences have more than tripled (ONS, 2018). While these figures could

suggest an increased incidence of sexual offending, it can instead be explained by an increased awareness of what amounts to sexually inappropriate behaviour and technological advances in the investigation of historic sexual crimes. Such a rise in sexual offending reporting means that men convicted of sexual offences now account for 20% of the entire prison population. Despite this rise, little is known about the experiences of sexual offenders within the prison environment. When studies have occurred, they have focussed on sex offender only institutions in Canada (Lancombe, 2008; Waldram, 2012), their experiences alongside mainstream prisoners (Ricciardelli and Spencer, 2014; Ricciardelli and Moir, 2013) or in a rehabilitation focussed prison in England and Wales (Levins and Crewe, 2015; Mann, 2016) rather than in a solely prison-based context. Indeed, there are now eight sex offenders only prisons in

England and Wales and it was in one of these which my own research was based. As such, the focus of this piece will be to provide an insight into some of the findings and to showcase some of the experiences of imprisoned sexual offenders.

It has long been acknowledged that prisoners form a community within the walls of the prison (Clemmer, 1940; Sykes, 1958; Crewe, 2009). Not all prisoners are equal and some naturally gravitate towards the top of the prisoner social hierarchy. These develop for various reasons including drugs (Crewe, 2005), the performance of masculinity (Jewkes, 2005; Ricciardelli et al, 2015; Michalski, 2015), and violence (Edgar et al, 2003; Gooch and Treadwell, 2015; Gooch, 2019). Nevertheless, it is the case that within these contained social hierarchies,



offence type matters. Those prisoners who have committed typically violent, masculine crimes such as armed robbery and murder are regularly situated at the apex of the social hierarchy as they represent the desired cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990) within the prison habitus (Jewkes, 2005; Crewe, 2009). At the opposite end of the hierarchy, regardless of jurisdiction, sit those men who have been convicted of a sexual offence represents (Jewkes, 2005: 52; Ricciardelli and Spencer, 2014; Gooch and Treadwell, 2015). Their status at the bottom makes them prime targets for physical and verbal abuse (Sim, 1994; Levins and Crewe, 2015) reinforcing their position at the bottom and the position of those at the top (Jewkes, 2005). The index offence is often crucial in determining the

social position of an individual in the prisoner social hierarchy.

Sex offenders – regardless of jurisdiction – reside at the very bottom of the prisoner hierarchy. They live in near constant fear of physical and verbal abuse from other prisoners and even prison staff (Priestley, 1980; Sim, 1994; Genders and Player, 1995; Waldram, 2012). Jewkes has argued that sex offenders represent the antipathy of the prisoner at the top of the hierarchy and are used by others to reinforce their own position and status (2005: 51, also see Spencer and Ricciardelli, 2017). Sex offenders therefore suffer a double exclusion from society: as prisoners, they are forced to cut ties with the outside world; and, as sex offenders they form the base of the prisoner hierarchy

and are disqualified from participating in mainstream prison culture (Holmberg, 2001). The exclusion they suffer within prison is a result of the exclusion they suffer outside of the prison (Hudson, 2005; Ricciardelli and Moir, 2013) where they are often described as less than human, monstrous (Ackerman, 2012) or even homo sacer meaning their lives have no value (Spencer, 2009). Being convicted of a sex offence means they become an unacceptable and unwanted part of society (Levins and Crewe, 2015).

The stigmatisation sex offenders suffer causes them to resent the label given to them. The very label is demeaning as it strips them of other positive aspects of their identity as well as suggesting that sex offenders are a



homogenous group (Digard, 2010). Previous research (Hudson, 2005; Digard, 2010) has shown that sex offenders attempt to resist the label through denying their guilt and instead attempt to provide their own narrative for how, and why, they have been convicted. Several reasons have been suggested for this such as the fear of losing contact with support networks (Blagden et al, 2011), being part of the process of shame management (Blagden et al, 2011) or a failure to accept wrongdoing due to their own cognitive distortions (Maruna and Mann, 2006). The denial, and neutralisation of their offending behaviour such as denial of harm or injury to the victim (Sykes and Matza, 1957), were traditionally viewed as something indicative of the pathological dishonesty and cognitive distortions of sex

offenders. However, researchers are increasingly viewing such attitudes as a means of convicted sex offenders creating new identities for themselves to move on from their sex offender self (Maruna and Mann, 2006).

Due to the low social status of sex offenders, the experience of imprisonment for them is categorised by fears for their personal safety but also the avoidance of the sex offender label ascribed to them (Ricciardelli and Spencer, 2014). Sex offenders do this through denying their offence (Blagden et al, 2011; Mann, 2016: 254) and sometimes choosing to reside in the mainstream population to conceal their conviction (Schweabe, 2005; Ricciardelli and Spencer, 2014). Such 'fronting' or 'masking' of the offence occurs because of the

distinction drawn between sex offenders and mainstream prisoners through their segregation from one another based on ensuring their safety (Priestly, 1980). The emergence and success of such practices in the late 1960's, most notably with Shepton Mallet, ensured the prolongation, expansion and solidification of housing sex offenders in separate institutions and not just on Vulnerable Prisoner wings (Mann, 2016: 250). Priestly has argued that doing this perpetuates the scapegoating of sex offenders as something different and unique to the remainder of the prison population (Priestly, 1980). Housing them separately with one another reinforces the idea that they are different thus in need of protection from the mainstream

prisoner population.

Nevertheless, such hierarchies exist in ordinary prisons where sexual offenders are compared with mainstream prisoners. In sex offender only prisons, there are no comparisons to be made between themselves and mainstream offenders. Thus, importance is then placed on their shared social identity as sexual offenders (Sheldon, 2021; Levins and Crewe, 2015) which made them equal in terms of the stigma attached to them. Despite this, not all sexual offenders are accepting of their conviction and profess their innocence despite their convictions and subsequent failed appeals. The need to this emerges because of a desire to avoid the negative connotations of the sex offender label. However, despite this sense of equality between convicted sex offenders, there remains an

underlying acknowledgement that they are far from a homogenous group and distinctions are drawn between those who have prior criminal histories which are more akin to mainstream offenders, those who committed sexual offences against adults and those who committed offences against children. Ultimately, while all being classed as sex offenders, the diversity in their offending behaviour creates a social hierarchy with those who offend against children at the bottom, and those who have mainstream offending histories at the top.

Such social hierarchies in a mainstream prison often lead to the social dynamics of verbal and physical abuse. As Jewkes (2005) has noted social hierarchies reinforce the absence of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990) for those

at the bottom of while simultaneously asserting the dominance of those at the top of the hierarchy over those at the bottom with this often materialising in exploitation and victimisation. However, the same can not be said for sexual offender only prisons to some extent. These prisons often have very low levels of physical violence but as my own study has found, the levels of bullying within the prison are extremely high. One explanation for this could be that the men who are convicted of sexual offences are often vulnerable themselves meaning that physical violence is not something they have regularly engaged in prior to their imprisonment. As such, it is unsurprising that physical violence is rare. Moreover, the sexual grooming of other prisoners was found to be a common practice



during my research study signifying that while physical violence may not be prevalent, forms of sexual violence, extortion and exploitation are (Sheldon, 2021). Such behaviour is uncommon in mainstream prisons (Stevens, 2017) aptly demonstrating that the experiences of imprisonment for sexual offenders are different and in need of further exploration.

In conclusion, sexual offenders experience lower levels of violence; they organise themselves differently into a social hierarchy and are at greater risk of being victims of sexual victimisation during their imprisonment. As such, simply moving sexual offenders into prison solely inhabited by sexual offenders may not be the peaceful and non-violent panacea it first appeared and a more nuanced approach may well be required.

References

Ackerman, T. (2012) 'Making monsters: The cultural rhetoric of sexual offenders. MPhil Dissertation: University of Cambridge.

Blagden, N., Winder, B., Thorne, K., & Gregson, M. (2011). "No-one in the world would ever wanna speak to me again": An interpretative phenomenological analysis into convicted sexual offenders' accounts and experiences of maintaining and leaving denial. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 17, 563-585.

Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Policy press.

Clemmer, D. (1940) *The Prison Community*. Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Crewe, B. (2005) 'Prisoner Society in the Era of Hard

Drugs'. *Punishment and Society*. 7 (4): 457-481.

Crewe, B. (2009) *The Prisoner Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Digard, L. (2010) *Sex offenders and their probation officers' perceptions of community management in England and Wales*. PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge.

Edgar, K., O'Donnell, I. and Martin, C. (2003) *Prison Violence: The Dynamics of Conflict, Fear and Power* Collumpton: Willan.

Genders, E., and Players, E. (1995) *Grendon: A Study of a Therapeutic Prison* Oxford University Press.

Gooch, K. and Treadwell, J. (2015) *Prison Bullying and Victimisation*. University of Birmingham, Birmingham. ISBN: 978-0-7044-2859-1. Available



Online: birmingham.ac.uk/prisonbullying

Gooch, K. (2019) Kidulthood: Ethnography, juvenile prison violence and the transition from 'boys' to 'men', *Criminology and Criminal Justice*. 19(1): 80-97.

Harper, C. and Treadwell, J. (2013) Counterblast: Punitive Payne, Justice Campaigns, and Popular Punitivism- where next for public Criminology? *The Howard journal* 52(2): 216-222.

Holmberg, C.B. (2001) The culture of transgression: Initiations into the homosociality of a midwestern state prison. In: Sabo D, Kupers TA and London W (eds) *Prison Masculinities*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, pp.78-92.

Levins, A. and Crewe, B. (2015) 'Nobody's better than you, nobody's worse than you': Moral

Community among prisoners convicted of sexual offences *Punishment and Society* 17(4), 482-501

Jewkes, Y. (2005) Men behind bars: 'Doing' masculinity as an adaptation to imprisonment. *Men and Masculinities* 8(1): 44-63.

Lancombe, D. (2008) 'Consumed with Sex: The Treatment of Sex Offenders in Risk Society'. *British Journal of Criminology*. 48: 55-74.

Maruna, S., and Mann, R.E. (2006) A fundamental attribution error? Rethinking cognitive distortions. *Legal and Criminological Psychology* 11(2): 155-177.

Mann, R.E. (2016) Sex offenders in prison. In Jewkes, Y., Bennet, J., and Crewe, B. (eds) *Handbook of Prisons* Routledge.

Marshall, W.L., (1996) *The Sexual*

Offender: Monster, Victim or everyman? *Sex Abuse* 8: 317-335.

Michalski, J. (2015) 'Status Hierarchies and Hegemonic Masculinity: A General Theory of Prison Violence.' *British Journal of Criminology*. 57(1): 40-60.

Priestley, P (1980) *Community of Scapegoats: The Segregation of Sex Offenders and Informers in Prison*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Ricciardelli, R., Maier, K., and Hannah-Moffat, K., (2015), *Strategic masculinities: Vulnerabilities, risk and the production of prison masculinities*, *Theoretical Criminology* 1-23.

Ricciardelli, R and Moir, M (2013) Stigmatized among the stigmatized: Sex offenders in Canadian penitentiaries. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 55(3): 353-386.



Ricciardelli, R. and Spencer, D (2014) Exposing Sex Offenders: Precarity, Abjection and Violence in the Canadian Federal Prison System. *British Journal of Criminology* 54(3) 428-448.

Schwaebe, C (2003) Playing the game: A qualitative study of sex offenders in a prison based treatment program. PhD Thesis, The Union Institute and University, USA.

Segal, Z. V., & Stermac, L. E. (1990). *The role of cognition in sexual assault*. In W. L. Marshall, D. R. Laws, & H. E. Barbaree (Eds.), *Applied clinical psychology. Handbook of sexual assault: Issues, theories, and treatment of the offender* (p. 161–174). Plenum Press.

Sheldon, D., (2019) 'Sex, Sex Offenders and the sub rosa Economy,' (2019) *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 21(3) 263-279.

Sim, J (1994) Tougher than the rest? Men in prison. In: Newburn T and Stanko EA (eds) *Just Boys Doing Business? Men, Masculinities and Crime*. London: Routledge, pp.100–117.

Soothill, K., & Walby, S. (1991). *Sex crime in the news*. London: Routledge.

Spencer, D (2009) Sex offender as homo sacre. *Punishment & Society* 11(2): 219–240.

Sterman, L. Segal, Z and Gillis, R. (1990) Social and cultural factors in sexual assault In Marshall, W., Laws, R and Barbaree, H. (Eds) *Handbook of Sexual Assault* 257-275. New York: Plenum Press.

Stevens, A. (2017) 'Sexual Activity in British Men's Prisons: A Culture of Denial'. *British Journal of Criminology* 57(6): 1379-1397.

Sykes, G (1958) *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum-*

Security Prison. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sykes, G., and Matza, D. (1957) 'Techniques of neutralization: a theory of delinquency'. *American Sociological Review*. 22, 664–70.

Thomas, T. (2000) *Sex Crime: Sex Offending and Society*. Routledge.

Waldram, JB (2012) *Hound Pound Narrative: Sexual Offender Habilitation and the Anthropology of Therapeutic Intervention*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

‘Cultural criminology and urban resistance as governmentality’

Dr. Liam J. Leonard

This article will examine the links between layers of urban governmentality, marginality and resistance through the lens of concepts such as ‘liquid modernity’ and ‘cultural criminology’. Public governmentality can be ‘from above’ (institutional), ‘from below’ (public/cultural) or ‘virtual’ (cyber/tech). For David Harvey, the concept of the ‘public sphere as an arena of political deliberation and participation, and therefore as fundamental to democratic governance’, was also a culturally significant association. Harvey states that:

“For some it seems to function merely as a convenient metaphor and with the arrival of the internet and the construction of “virtual communities” the

physicality of spatial organization seems scarcely to matter anymore.”

Harvey also asked how a political response could now be elucidated from the urban sphere:

“political participation in an urban world constructed out of segregated suburbs, gated communities, privatized spaces and tightly surveilled shopping malls and downtown streets monitored...with a video-camera at every corner.”

In Britain today, there now exists a new culture of transgressive cultural and multi-layered resistance in a nation that has never completely dealt with issues of political legitimacy or extensive poverty, creating a deviant form of ‘liquid modernity’ which provides the space for such resistance movements such as

Black Lives Matters to exist. Their existence and support demonstrates that the prevailing ideology in contemporary society has created the conditions for incidents of resistance that at times erupt into episodes of counter-hegemonic governmentality, that can be understood through an analytical framework of ‘cultural criminology’

In many ways, it has been the erudite criminologist Jock Young who has best captured a coherent understanding of these developments from a socio-criminological perspective. In his book *The Vertigo of Late Modernity* (2007), Young details the way everyday life has come to be ‘disembedded’ blurring the boundaries of transgression of norms and the generation of wealth or even forms of ‘society’. Young locates this disconnect within a ‘social exclusion thesis’ (2007, p. 18). Each aspect of Young’s ‘social exclusion thesis’ can be applied to late modern

society:

i) The Binary: The division between a 'satisfied majority' and 'excluded and despondent minority' or minorities is evident in contemporary society.

ii) Moral Exclusion: The decline of moral institutions, social breakdown and family dysfunction from below underpins the corrosion of society.

iii) Spatial Exclusion: Urban areas and cities are displaying evidence of endemic ghettoized criminality and gang culture, often under the gaze of CCTV.

iv) Dysfunctional Underclass: The dependency of large sections of the population on the welfare state has been exasperated by a fragmented economy, and a burgeoning crime culture.

v) Work and Redemption: The collapse of social and economic institutions has left the traditional working class largely alienated.

Cultures of governmental criminality

The concept of 'Cultural Criminology' outlines the understanding 'that cultural dynamics carry within them the meaning of crime'. In many ways, the perspective provided by the *Cultural Criminology* of Jock Young, Jeff Ferrell, Keith Hayward and Jock Young (2008) can be said to be indicative of the underlying understandings of late modernity's drive towards the precipice of societal organisation. Furthermore, the ebbing of the tide of consumerism in the recessionary era has been highlighted by the plight of survivors of the flooded wastelands of Zygmunt Bauman's (2000) 'liquid modernity', where many struggle to find a tangible life-course or to have basic rights recognised in the midst of the decline of contemporary institutions and hierarchies:

"Forms of life float, meet, clash, crash...and hive off with...equal specific gravity. Steady and stolid hierarchies and evolutionary lines are replaced with interminable and endemically inconclusive battles of recognition; at the utmost, with eminently re-negotiable pecking orders" (Bauman 2009).

This depiction of modernity as set out by Bauman presents a chaotic and somewhat nihilistic view of society. Essentially, he argues that the cultural criminology underpinning 'liquid modernity' can lead to episodes of local 'counter-governmentality', and that this process affects all aspects of modernity, across urban, suburban and rural settings. We can apply this best through the lens of 'cultural criminology' as defined by Ferrell, Hayward and

Young (2008). This will be further analysed by developing Stenson's (2008, 2009) development of Foucault's concept into what he terms 'local governmentality' or the responses of regional groups of disaffected actors who lead transgressive or deviant groups in activities of criminality and contention.

These governmental responses can be understood in relation to the transgressive responses of those in the poorest and most alienated communities. 'Governmentality' is a concept introduced by Foucault (1991) and further developed by Dean (1997, 2009) which can be applied to the various levels of governance that emanate from forms of cultural knowledge. Stenson (2008, 2009) has further developed governmentality to include an understanding of 'local governmentality' which is the governmentality derived from local knowledge, wisdom or traditions. In some circumstances, 'local'

forms of governmentality can include a type of cultural control from which shape the bounds of community behavior.

Stenson has shaped understandings of governmentality by moving beyond discourse analysis, and by emphasising the significance of the interactions between governing from 'above' (the administrative level) and 'below' (the street), while 'highlighting the centrality of struggles for territorial dominance and sovereignty at every spatial level from the local to the global' (ibid). However, we have further developed this concept here to incorporate forms of counter-hegemonic governmentality or the formation of local contentious or deviant groups who challenge perceived transgressions of local rules by elites, and also the rise of cyber-tech surveillance in response.

'Cultural criminology' and counter-hegemonic 'governmentality' as concepts can be combined and applied to situations where alienated groups respond to harsh social conditions and subsequent attempts at social control by the state. Brotherton (2004) has studied the responses of both spontaneous protest groups and criminal gangs to attempts at social control in the US. This fractious life-world of street politics and criminality is demonstrated to reflect 'larger ideological impulses' as their activities are 'framed by society's most powerful interests' creating moral panics from 'domestic demons' (ibid p. 263).

Brotherton makes the point that responses to organized crime require more than a Durkheimian intervention into the *anomie* of youth. As traditional ideologies associated with opposing concepts of neo-liberalism and the welfare state collapse in the wake of new socio-economic realities,

Brotherton's study reminds us that a re-evaluation of existing socio-criminological understandings of criminality is also required.

Conclusion

"Cities...are the dustbins into which problems produced by globalization are dumped. They are also laboratories in which the art of living with those problems (though not of resolving them) is experimented with, put to the test, and (hopefully, hopefully...)developed"

(Bauman, 2009).

Bauman's understanding of 'liquid modernity' includes a distinction between creative and destructively routine forms of cultural expression. While the former is positive in its innovative expressiveness, the latter is seen to engender a desire for an irregular transgression of established norms

in the search for freedom from the restrictiveness of hegemonic acquiescence. Sometimes, politics, crime and culture blend together in the deviant urban landscapes of contemporary society. Cultural criminology can be seen as a pathway towards the dissolving of the 'conventional understandings and accepted boundaries' surrounding criminological depictions of societal strain within understandings of both traditional crime and cybercrime. This path runs through a series of disciplines which incorporate 'urban studies, media studies... cultural and human geography, critical theory, anthropology and social movement theory (Ferrell, Hayward and Young, 2008)' in a new form of reinvigorated socio-criminological criticism which sets its focus on the fallout surrounding late modernity's 'world in flux'.

*This paper contains some material adapted from the following: Leonard, L. (2014) 'Cultural Criminology, Governmentality and the Liquidity of the Failing State: for *Critical Criminology* . *Crit Crim* **22**, 293–306 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-013-9217-0>

References:

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid Modernity* London: Polity

Bauman, Z. (2009) "Culture in a Globalised City" *Occupied London*, Volume 3 <http://www.occupiedlondon.org/bauman>

Brotherton, D. (2004) 'What happened to the pathological gang? Notes from a case study on the Latin Kings and Queens in New York' in Ferrell J. et al (2004) *Cultural Criminology Unleashed* London: Glasshouse

Ferrell, J. (2001) *Tearing Down the*

Streets: Adventures in Urban Anarchy London: Palgrave

Young, J. (2007) *The Vertigo of Late Modernity* London: Sage

Ferrell J., Hayward, K. Morrison, W. and Presdee, M. (2004) *Cultural Criminology Unleashed* London: Glasshouse Press

Ferrell, J., Hayward, K. and Young, J. (2008) *Cultural Criminology: An Invitation* London Sage

Stenson, K. (2008) Surveillance and Sovereignty, in: Deflem, M. (ed.): Surveillance and Governance, *Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance*. Volume 10. London: Emerald, pp.281-303.

Stenson, K. (2009) 'Crime, conflict, sovereignty and the struggle for governance from below' Paper to the 5th All-Ireland Criminology Conference Dublin: University College Dublin

External Speakers

We are delighted to announce the following speakers, for this quarter:

July 2nd 2021: (1.30-2.30 pm) Dr. Jill Dealey: 'Miscarriages of Justice'

August 13th 2021: (1.30-2.30 pm) Dr. Dom Willmott: 'Jury Decision Making in Rape Trials: An Attitude Problem'?

September 5th 2021: (1.30-2.30 pm) Dr. Liam Leonard: 'Environmental and Green Criminology: An Exploration'

September 23rd 2021: (1.00-2.00 pm) Mr. Erwin James: 'A Prisoner's Reflection of the Prison System'

Everyone is welcome to attend these events and you will find links to the talks sent to your emails and/or published on your modules, closer to the time.

Virtual Careers and Employability Event 23rd—27th August

The School of Social Sciences is planning a virtual **Careers and Employability Event** for Arden students between the **23rd and 27th August 2021**. The event will cover a wide range of vocational topics across criminology, sociology, psychology, and graphic design, with both external and internal speakers sharing the knowledge and expertise gained from working in their respective fields. There will also be a range of other presentations and workshops that cover everything from exploring opportunities in postgraduate study to enhancing your online presence. A confirmed calendar of speakers and events throughout the week will be available soon so watch this space!

First Annual Student Conference—25th—30th October

VIRTUAL CAREERS & EMPLOYMENT EVENT 2021

School of
Social Sciences

PSYCHOLOGY CRIMINOLOGY SOCIOLOGY
GRAPHIC DESIGN



FIRST ANNUAL STUDENT CONFERENCE

School of
Social Sciences

PSYCHOLOGY CRIMINOLOGY SOCIOLOGY
GRAPHIC DESIGN



Call for student contributions!

Is there an area of criminology, sociology or criminal justice that you are passionate about and want to write about? Please contact the Editor David Sheldon (dsheldon@arden.ac.uk) or the Deputy Editor Hannah Begum (hbegum@arden.ac.uk) if you want to contribute to the next edition!



We want to hear from YOU!

We welcome any feedback or suggestions you have about the Criminology and Social Science Research (CSSR) Quarterly. Please email the Editor David Sheldon (dsheldon@arden.ac.uk) or the Deputy Editor Hannah Begum (hbegum@arden.ac.uk) with your feedback or suggestions.