

How child protection policy has been affected by Victoria Climbié's case?

"Victoria had the most beautiful smile that lit up the room." Patrick Cameron

Children as innocent and vulnerable members of family have been abused by different degrees throughout history. It takes a long time for the public and politicians to recognize child abuse as a crime, and to consider protection of children as the best resort in specific cases. The death of Victoria Climbié is one of the most horrible cases which come into light at the last decade of the twentieth century. Victoria's case has shocked the nation and introduces dramatic changes and reforms to the way we carry child care and face child abuse. However, these suggestions and new legislations need empirical proof in order to prevent a similar tragedy in the future. Does our child care policy is now safeguarded against similar tragedies? Do we have a child care policy in place that fits the requirements of the 21st century?

It can be argued that acts and actions which are now recognized as abuse and neglect have been always practiced against children; what is new is the way the public see and challenge the matter. When an adult assaults another adult it is generally recognized as a crime or assault, however if a parent beats a child it may be seen as normal discipline. [Saraga, 2001:194] child abuse had been publicly known as physical abuse in the 1960s and sexual abuse in the 1980s, although they did believe that the problem was completely new. [Saraga, 2001:198] domestic abuse against women has been appeared in the victim surveys long before child abuse; child abuse appears only when a child's name is placed on the child protection register or in child abuse offences recorded in criminal statistics. Child abuse and domestic violence have come to the public attention as serious problems of the society at the last decades of the 20th century; however the way they deal with them lacks clarity. [Saraga, 2001:197]

Victoria Climbié came to England in 1999; seeking a better life when she was only eight years old. She was murdered in 2000 by her aunt Marie-Therese Kouao and her boyfriend Carl John Manning. Her murder came as a result of a long process of abuse and neglect, as Neil Garnham QC told the inquiry:

"The food would be cold and would be given to her on a piece of plastic while she was tied up in the bath. She would eat it like a

dog, pushing her face to the plate. Except, of course that a dog is not usually tied up in a plastic bag full of its excrement. To say that Kouao and Manning treated Victoria like a dog would be wholly unfair; she was treated worse than a dog." [Lord Laming, 2003]

Marie-Therese Kouao visited the social services 14 times between 26 April and 7 July, 1999, in seven visits Victoria was with her. Although her visits were for housing purposes and a possibility for staying in England, however someone might realize that the child was not keeping well and probably abused. Obviously the staff realized that the relationship between Kouao and Victoria did not look like a relationship of mother and daughter. At the same time one of the staff, Deborah Gaunt, described Victoria's appearance as similar to the look of a child on 'Action Aid Poster'. [BBC News, 2002]

It can be argued that, the staff were concentrating on the issue of their housing and any possibility of staying in the country more than searching for any possibility of child abuse or neglect. Some of them may even considered Victoria's appearance as normal for that situation and even Lisa Arthurworrey, a social worker, had considered Victoria's relationship with her aunt, which was a master and slave relationship, as culturally normal for African people. [Davies, 2005] [Children's Green Paper, 2003] Burton, 1997: 57] further supports this view by saying: "There are few countries in world in which there is as much community violence as in South Africa." These assumptions became stronger after Kouao allegedly reported that Victoria was sexually abused by Manning, as Davies said:

"Following the sexual abuse allegations, the managerial mindset was that the allegations were a device to obtain housing and plans for a child protection conference were not progressed." [Davies, 2005]

However, it can be argued that culture should not become an excuse for child abuse, when a member of staff witnesses a case of neglect or abuse he/she has to take it as a matter related to the health and safety of a child in the UK; so only positive cultural notions may worth regarding. A master and servant relationship is not a healthy relationship regardless of the culture of the perpetrators. [Children's Green Paper, 2003] From the same context, it can be argued that, although girl's circumcision is widely practiced in many Islamic and African countries; however it is not a cultural or religious excuse to practice it against a girl in the UK; no matter to which culture the parents belong.

Ms. Kinnair, who was a nurse appointed by Lord Laming to be a nurse assessor in the inquiry, believed that Victoria was treated like a refugee or an asylum seeker; that had a great effect on her case. Health professionals, she argues, know that asylum seekers and refugees has limited access to public services, so the fact that Victoria was not in education does not attract their attention. [Healy, 2003] However taking the point from the child's best interest, a child should be a child whatever her/his social or legal status being. So 'every child matters' should look at children as minors and vulnerable not to take their status as an excuse.

The notion of racism in Victoria's case pushed many to believe that if Victoria was a white child she could be saved. However, Lord Laming believes that, according to the evidence in front of him, it is difficult to answer that question. The fact that two black persons murdered a black child and a large number of the staff who had contact with

Victoria were black did not prevent Lord Laming from thinking about the effects of racism in this case, as he remarks:

"But to dismiss the possibility of racism on the basis of this superficial analysis of the circumstances is to misunderstand the destructive effect that racism has on our society and its institutions." [Lord Laming, 2003]

It can be argued that even when racism is not a direct cause of her death; it plays a part in the way they handle her case, and as Lord Laming describes it, they do not see her needs as any other seven-year-child from whatever background. [Lord Laming, 2003] At the same time it can be argued that Victoria's needs as a black child had not been met, the staff made a lot of cultural assumptions which had bad consequences on the child. Pastor Pascal Orome told the inquiry that he thought Victoria came freshly from Africa that is why she behaved in that way. The doctors believed that children who grow up in Africa may have more marks on their bodies than children of Europe. Lord Laming believes that these assumptions regardless of being true or not, have negative effects on the case. [Lord Laming, 2003] What is sad is that the staff failed in treating Victoria as a normal child who has the same concerns of any other child in the country [Children's Green Paper, 2003]; it can be argued that this point needs to be regarded in dealing with any other child in the future in order to prevent a similar tragedy.

It can be argued that any excuse to prevent child abuse and neglect is not valid anymore; as there have been other excuses throughout history to avoid recognizing child abuse as crime. Some people may see child abuse as a necessary physical discipline of children; in order not to become spoiled! Others may see it as a problem of specific families who lack necessary interior discipline and functionality, or due to certain pathological and medical conditions. Feminists see the problem as a problem of masculinity and male violent nature and from human rights perspective it is true that they regard children rights, however 'parental rights' may come into conflict with 'children's rights' [Saraga, 2001:197-198] It is worth mentioning that Marxists view the problem as a problem of capitalism; which can not be prevented or solved as long as capitalism survives.

In the inquiry Neil Garnham QC mentioned 12 missed opportunities to save Victoria's life. [Children's Green Paper, 2003] It is obvious from Victoria's case that professionals and agencies lack coordination and information share. The staff was not properly trained and they did not get proper support. Davies (2005) argues that if Arthurworrey was properly trained she did ask for an interpreter in order to talk directly to Victoria; an action which could save the child. Penny Thompson, executive director of social services at Sheffield Council, believes that if social services, health and education and all other agencies share information between themselves and get linked within a single national net; alarm bells will ring to tell all the agencies why a child like Victoria is absent from school. [Children's Green Paper, 2003]

All the local authorities in the country should hold electronic database of every child's details in special computer programmes to include child's name, address, date of birth, school attended and the GP. This information should be available to all the agencies related to child care and protection and to include any instances of attending police, youth services, social services or any other agency for whatever purpose.

[Eaton, 2003] It can be argued that Victoria's case has shown that these procedures are crucial, as she dies

"Despite having had contact with four social services departments, three housing departments, two specialist child protection teams of the Metropolitan Police, two hospitals, and a family's centre managed by the children's society the NSPCC." [Eaton, 2003]

Providing funds and plenty of staff do not guarantee a proper child protection strategy if the staff has not been trained fully for that job. Recommendation number 43 of Laming's report confirms the vital role of training for social workers before applying section 47 of Children Act 1989 related to child protection. [Wild, 2003]. The Department of Education and Skills (DFES) is now responsible for child protection in England and Wales in order to enable local authorities to prepare their own procedures in cooperation with practitioners and professionals who have close contact with children. [Walters, 2006] It can be argued that these procedures together with social work courses may prepare better professionals safeguarding children.

Safeguarding children is a wider term which includes children's welfare and ensuring providing necessary measures to prevent child abuse and neglect. When there is reasonable belief that a child is abused; child protection should intervene in order to prevent the abuse and safe the child. [Walters, 2006] According to the Children Act 2004 local authorities have a responsibility for the health, safety, education, and general welfare for all children not only those who in need or risk of significant harm. [Walter, 2006] It can be argued that every child should be a matter of scrutiny from the government not only those who appear to be in need, as many of those come to light after many years of abuse and neglect or in reality after their death; as in the case of Victoria.

O'Hagan (2006) argues that the term child abuse is far from being clear. They use, she argued, 'child abuse and neglect' emotional abuse and neglect' without explaining what is neglect. Child neglect here becomes something different from any other kinds of abuse. The Department of Health defines neglect in a way to include any neglect of physical, emotional and psychological needs. O'Hagan (2006) notices a dramatic rise in child neglect cases registered in England and Wales which rise from 11,200 in 1996 to 12,400 in 2001, and by 2003 39 percent of the total of 26,000 child abuse cases are registered as neglect. The main definitions of neglect speak of depriving a child from shelter, food, water and hygiene; however O'Hagan believes that child neglect comes under the scope of abuse if you explain it better, as she says:

"If a mother repeatedly neglects changing her baby's nappy, resulting in the pain and distress, isn't that physical abuse? More pertinently, is it not more honest to the parent to call it abuse rather than neglect?" [O'Hagan, 2006]

Children need to be satisfied physically, emotionally and psychologically. It is not possible for a child who faces neglect for her physical needs to be psychologically happy and for the carers to sustain a good emotional relationship with her, while she is deprived from food, hygiene, clothing or safety. O'Hagan argues that every definition of neglect contains physical abuse, emotional abuse and psychological abuse rather than neglect itself. Social workers are reluctant to use child abuse as a

harsh term, so they seek a softer term such as neglect. [O'Hagan, 2006] It can be argued that children safeguarding procedures mentioned in Every Child Matters and the Children Act 2004 may face jeopardy if social workers can not understand the real meaning of abuse to a child.

It is expected that the full procedures of Children Act 2004 and Every Child Matters to come into force between the years 2006-2008. A Shropshire council has put an electronic system to share assessments of vulnerable children with other public sector agencies. [Hadfield, 2006] This project is piloted with Telford and Wrekin Borough Council for:

"...Information Sharing and Assessment system with More than 1,000 child welfare practitioners. They represented 71 schools, eight social work teams, 11 specialist local education authority teams, eight Connexions teams, two family protection units from the police, two youth offending teams and eight health centres." [Hadfield, 2006]

It can be argued that this is a good step, however the problem of information sharing may come into struggle with and protection and confidentiality. Sometimes the confidentiality may prevent a professional from passing the information; however failure to pass the information may bring another tragedy. It can be argued that in such a case the welfare of the child has the first priority:

"Before making a referral - and only if you are sure that the child will not be compromised - seek consent from the parents. If you believe that doing so may increase the risk to the child, seek help urgently. If consent is refused, remember that your first duty is to the child." [GP Practice, 2005]

At the conclusion it can be argued that the death of Victoria Climbié has affected the policy and everybody who work and have contact with children to think twice about the general wellbeing of a child before any other action. Every Child Matters and Children Act 2004 come as a result of that tragedy which brings the whole system of child care and child protection in England and Wales under question. However, It can be argued that, only new laws and legislations, funds and extra staff can not guarantee a better system if it is not accompanied by good training and personal enthusiasm of those who carryout the work.

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According to Marxism social order is maintained by conflict and coercion

'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it' [Marx, 1845:158 cited Hughes, et al. 2003: 20]

Karl Marx (1818-1883) is a great philosopher and thinker of all times. His contribution to the contemporary sociology is alive and in reality, as Cuff, Sharrock and Francis (1992: 68) argue, he builds the theoretical framework for conflict theory. Although Marx was born in Germany he spent about 30 years in the library of the British museum in London studying the history of mankind and analysing the processes of evolution, conflicts and transferring of power and authority during different historical periods. Fredrick Engels was financially supporting Marx and his family, he was a good friend and colleague and his contribution to Marxism can not be neglected. Marx and Engels wrote the *Communist Manifesto* which contains the framework of Marxism which is:

...A living, powerful and practical body of thought and doctrine which shapes the destiny of millions of men and women. [Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 1992: 68]

However the socialist revolution did not occur as a result of class struggle and inner conflicts in the industrial countries, as it was expected by Marx. Other sociologists such as Durkheim (1858-1917) saw the society from another point of view; which puts unity and solidarity in the place of conflict and coercion. Do social order maintained by conflict and coercion or by solidarity and consensus, this is a central question for sociology.

Marx believes in dialectical method of thinking. He applies the dialectics of nature and material world to history, so called historical materialism. He was the first to say that:

BA Criminology

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. [Marx, 1859, cited Townley and Middleton, 1986: 33]

People can not determine the way of their life by the way they think but the way they think is pre-determined by their social situation. So it can be argued that history is not the history of great men who, as they say, make it but it is about the way people relating to each others and the conflicts they face pushes the history forward.

Class struggle is the dynamo of all the history of mankind, the history itself is a history of 'class struggles', as Marx and Engels argued in the Communist Manifesto. [Marx & Engels, 1848:39) Although the primitive history has experienced a period of primitive communism where everybody was equal in rights and duties. In these societies people were working for their immediate needs in food, clothes and shelter. There were no signs of extra property or in Marx's terms 'surplus value'. Man does not produce commodity to be sold or bought because:

His labor is a direct transformation of material things. All of this means that labor activity, the act of production, the act of consumption, and the relations between the individual and his society are ruled by a condition of equilibrium which has relative stability and permanence. [Mandel, 1970: 12]

Individuals could not live alone, they need who works and defends the tribe or group, who hunts and who does the domestic work. Some are skill workers and others manual, some can make decisions while others have to obey. So production makes people to be connected to each others and to be in conflict with each others as well. In this process a minority controls over the means of production and the majority have to sell their labour in order to survive. [Marx, 1859 cited Townley and Middleton, 1986: 32-33]

In the ancient times slaves had nothing of their own, they were themselves property of others. They had to work for their masters most of the time and they got their minimum necessities of survival. The peasants were working few days for themselves and the other days for their landowners. Here the peasant or the serf looks free comparing to the slave, although he is doing unpaid work for his landowner. While in the capitalist society the labourers are free and it is not easy to detect how they do unpaid work for the capitalists. The workers are paid in cash this on the surface looks like that all their work is paid, although the surplus value goes to the capitalist. [Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 1992: 86]

Man starts his struggle with nature, he tries to control it and use it to improve his life. He builds houses instead of staying in caves, he build boats to cross rivers and aircrafts to fly. Man is fundamentally different from other animals in his relationship to his environment, as Marx says:

In creating an objective world by his practical activity, in working-up inorganic nature, man proves himself a

conscious species being. [1844b: 71 cited Hughes, et al. 2003: 40]

The bourgeoisie who was born from the reins of the feudal system as a revolutionary class does not solve the class antagonism but creates new classes and new ways of class struggle and oppression. [Marx & Engels 1848: 40] The feudal system of production was unable to respond to the expanded needs of the market, it could not stand on the way of new industry and machinery; so the destruction of that system was unavoidable. The bourgeoisie was first appeared as a revolutionary class who lead a revolution against feudalism in order to build capitalism on its reins. [Marx & Engels 1848: 41-43]

The bourgeoisie with its capitalist system has put an end to the former ways of production, former ways of social relations and former ways of exploitation. However, it builds its new system of 'naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.' [Marx & Engels 1848: 43]

So, it can be argued that the transformation from feudalism to capitalism is just a new era of class struggle and controlling the majority of the masses, the labourers, by a minority of the owners of the means of production, the capitalists. The goals of humanity in transforming the environment for their benefits through industrial revolution became a means for exploiting the majority by minority; instead of a human life which depends on conscious work it brings alienation of labour. The work is alienated because the workers have to do it as they are told, not as they think it should be according to their will and creativity. [Wennerlind, 2002: Electronic] Alienation of labour makes man a stranger to himself and his community, as Hughes et al. argue:

Alienated of labour not only destroys the possibility of a genuine human community based on co-operation and fellow-feeling, but also creates social arrangements which are conflictual. There is an inherent clash of interests between workers and capitalists. There is also, as we shall see, antagonism between workers who must compete with each other for jobs, and hostility between capitalists who have for profit in the market. [2003: 41]

The bourgeoisie has to renew the means of production, the relations of production and the whole social system in order to survive. In this context its system has affected the whole society and has changed the way people view each others and the way they deal with family, religion and the government. In the capitalist society as Hughes et al. (2003:41) say 'God had been replaced by capital.'

Marxists argue that society is divided between two main classes which are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In this case the middle classes have either to go up to become capitalists or to be thrown down into the ocean of the working class masses. Marx argues that social life under capitalism is very similar to the military system; the workers are organized in groups in the same way as soldiers and they have managers and supervisors instead of officers and sergeants. [Marx & Engels, 1848:51]

The capitalist system so controlled over the life of the workers that they are obliged to sell their own labour power in the market in order to survive. The capitalists want to have the maximum work from a minimum payment. Marx says:

The second essential condition to the owner of money finding labour-power in the market as a commodity is this - that the labourer instead of being in the position to sell commodities in which his labour is incorporated, must be obliged to offer for sale as a commodity that very labour-power, which exists only in his living self. [Arthur, 1992: 99]

The capitalists, who own money, have to transfer their money into capital. The workers who are free in two ways; because they can sell their labour power as their commodity and at the same time they have nothing else to put for sale apart from their own labour-power, are ready to exchange the money for the bourgeoisie into capital. [Arthur, 1992: 99]

The capitalist system, according to Marxism is a pyramid which the working people are its base, who Marx called them the forces of production, the second stage is the relations of production which is the capitalist way of production; these two parts are the economic base of the society so called the infrastructure of the society. On top of this base there is the superstructure of the society which contains family, religion, politics and state and education. [Cuff, Sharrock and Francis, 1992: 90]

The infrastructure decides upon the way that the superstructure works in a capitalist society. In this aspect the whole system of government, media education and religion are working for the benefits of the bourgeoisie; in Marx's terms: 'ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas.' Marx and Engels, 1974:64 cited Hughes, 2003: 59]

It can be argued that the ruling class i.e. the capitalist system, does not enforce its ideas by physical force only but by encouraging their own ideas and pushing the other's to the margins or making them insignificant and weak through their dominant of the medias, television, radios, entertainment industry and the whole process of education. [Hughes, et al. 2003: 59]

The maintenance of law and order has ever been a useful excuse in the hands of the ruling classes. They are in reality enforcing their own control and applying their class surveillance over the working class people. They enforce their social control formally through the criminal justice system and informally through different other social institutions such as friends and family, school and religion. [Hale, et al. 2005: 472] Marx has criticized the English Legal System in bringing the capitalists to justice by saying:

But what was the good of summoning the capitalists when the Courts, in this case the country magistrates-Cobbett's 'Great Unpaid' - acquitted them? In these tribunals, the masters sat in judgement on themselves. [Arthur 1992: 168]

According to Marx, the proletariat needs its own awareness, its own way of enforcing its own ideas in order to transfer from a class 'in itself' to a class 'for itself'. However this consciousness of the working class has never been created in the western industrialized countries. More than that, there are many other kinds of identities which have their own strength in the society: gender, ethnicity, religion nationality etc... They represent social differences which are not economic and can not easily be resettled within the Marxist class division. [Hughes, et al. 2003: 59, Smart, 2003: 11]

Contrary to Marx, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) believes that social order is maintained by solidarity and social integration. He argues that different parts and institutions of the society are the same as the organs of the human body; in Durkheim's term 'Organic analogy'. Economic base and class conflict are not essential to Durkheim, but he sees class conflict as a temporary abnormality of the society which could be corrected through shared ideas and believes 'conscience collective'. As Cuff, Sharrock and Francis argue, Durkheim believes that:

Society somehow exists over and above us. It was this notion which Durkheim appeared to be drawing on when he suggested that a society was a 'moral reality', a 'moral entity'. In his view, that moral reality included the collective values, the order of priorities on which the members of the society are agreed. [1992: 29]

However, Marx and Durkheim both believed that society is in dilemma, they, both, have macro approaches towards social change, although they maintain different methods: Marx strictly believed in a revolution but Durkheim believed in social reform. Craib argues that Durkheim saw state as a mediator not as Marx argues a class controlling over the others, from this point of view:

He was not the political opposite of Marx but his theoretical opposite. The Kantian idealist tradition in which he worked, when it is taken into the social sciences, is concerned with the ways in which our thought, our ideas, and our ways of thinking organize the social world. [1997: 15]

Marxism's over-emphasis on the economic determination is criticized by many theorists including Durkheim. As smart argues, Marxism believes that social and historical process are determined by economic powers beyond the will of the human agents. [Smart, 1983: 25] Marx see religion as the 'Opium of the masses' and believes that our thoughts and ideas are reflections of our economic and material being. Durkheim believes that our thoughts and ideas determine our social situation, more than that he believes in the strong power of religion in creating social integrity and solidarity. [Craib, 1997: 118] also [Starkey, 1992: Electronic]

It can be argued that Marx understands the pros and cons of capitalist system. He has explained the struggle and the conflict between the opposing classes. At the same time, Durkheim argues that society could be reformed through shared ideas and

values; without a class revolution. However as the course of the history does not follow Marx's direction, it can be argued that:

If Durkheim has difficulty in grasping the importance of the effects of capitalism, then perhaps Marx has difficulty grasping the effects of modernity per se. [Craib, 1997: 202]

According to Marx, in a capitalist society a social institution such as family has lost its essential roles and becomes a relationship of money and interest. Capitalism has transferred the working people's women into means of production, children into 'articles of commerce and instruments of labour' [Marx & Engels, 1848: 68] While Durkheim believes that family is a basic unit towards social integrity and solidarity.

Despite the core belief of Marxism in materiality of nature and history, however they do not neglect the power of ideology in affecting the people. The publication of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party' and the call for the 'Workers of all countries, unite!' are best proves of the importance of the ideology and the power of ideas in moving history. In this point Marxists agree with the Functionalist view in the effects of 'Ideological Persuasion'. [O' Donnell, 1986: 103] also [McCaughan, 1993, Electronic]

Marxism's essential belief in the historical necessity of socialism and communism as the last stages of humanity left no room for any moral suggestions for the existing capitalism system. While Durkheim believes in a type of morality; he called it solidarity. Durkheim argues that social solidarity is an authority between God and society. [Thiele, 2005: Electronic]

At the conclusion it can be argued that Marxism still has a reliable understanding of society and the powers of social change. It is obvious that the socialist revolution does not take place in the advanced capitalist countries, and the so-called socialist countries all collapsed. However, the present situation of capitalism in the most advanced countries still contain the basic class conflicts, the greed of capital and industry and over production threaten the environment and the stability of life on this globe.

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The diagnosis of mental illness is as complex as using it as a defence in law

Mental illness is a complex field to diagnose for health authorities and the Criminal Justice System as well. Human mind can not be x-rayed or tested in a laboratory in order to determine the mental state of the subject. Either a person is mad or bad is a question which can not be answered straight away. At the same time the public opinion, to a large degree, concentrates on the idea that: 'mentally ill people are dangerous, and people who commit bizarre crimes are mentally ill,' [Bartol, 1999:135 cited in Brookman, 2005: 85].

The media portrays criminals as mad and mentally disturbed persons, as (Philo, 1996) mentioned, two-thirds of the characters of television dramas who act as mentally ill persons are shown as violent. [Ainsworth, 2000, 93] Even judges are more than ready to label the offenders of brutal crimes as evil, crazy and highly dangerous when they pass their verdict. [Brookman, 2005: 85] Here, it can be argued, that the relationship between mental illness and violence is very popular. However this relationship is far from proven.

If an offender commits an offence because of his mental illness this does not mean that mental illness is always an evidence of crime. Crime can be committed by mentally disordered people and mentally healthy people as well. Menzies and Webster (1989:116) mention the possible dangerousness of the mentally ill persons as the reason behind connecting them with crime and violence. In a recent study, Brookman explains this point by saying:

Essentially they are referring to the fact that it is the potential for dangerousness that allows so-called experts, as well as the general public and the media, to make associations between certain mental disorders and violent crime. [2005: 87]

Torrey (1994) argues that most persons with mental illness, and even those with serious mental illnesses, are not violent or dangerous; however there is a subgroup within them who are dangerous and the problem is in increase, according to the data. [1994: 658 cited in Ainsworth, 2000: 93]

This view is further supported by Badcock (1997), who argues that the percentage of mentally ill persons within the offender population is small; they estimated the figure to be about 1%. [1997: 26] However he argues that some types of mental disorder

may result in offending behaviour and may become newsworthy because: 'Even though the actual numbers may be quite small, the cases can be notable for their high profile or unusual nature.' [Badcock, 1997: 26]

However, Gunn et al. (1978) believe that the percentage of the mentally ill offenders is high within prisons. They have carried out some questionnaires and interviews and find out that in a sample of 149 prisoners over 34% of them were diagnosed with some degrees of psychiatric disorders. [Hollin, 1989: 102]

It can be argued that, a high percentage of mentally ill offenders in prison by comparison with the general public can not be counted as prove of a direct link between crime and mental illness. As Feldman (1977) argues, mentally ill individuals may commit their crimes less skilfully which leads to detection and prosecution easier than organised and well planned crimes. The police may charge persons with mental illness more than others because of the potential harm reduction or to establish some treatment for them. Guilty pleas also may be more decided as a route for securing treatment. [Hollin, 1989: 103]

A relatively high presence of mental illness within prison population is a controversial area of study. It is very difficult to prove either the person was mentally ill when he commits the crime or he develops mental disturbances as a result of his offence. Here the problem remains within the matter of cause and effect; either the guilt of the crime or the difficult life within prison causes mental disturbance or mental disturbance causes crime. Gunn said:

If prison populations are studied they apparently contain a large number of mentally-disordered individuals, but this may be more closely related to their function as institutions than to any special relationship between crime and mental disorder. [1977: 327, cited in Hollin, 1989: 104]

The term mental illness is not defined in Mental Health Act 1983 (MHA, 1983), it is left for medical opinion to decide upon it. [Ashworth and Gostin, 1985: 212, cited in Hollin, 1989: 105] It may contain a wide range of psychoses, affective disorders, anxiety states, hysteria, and so on. [Prins, 1980, cited in Hollin, 1989: 105] however:

Inspection of admissions to Special Hospitals shows that by far the greatest number of mentally ill serious offenders are diagnosed as schizophrenic, with depression the next most frequent diagnosis. [Craft, 1984; J. R. Hamilton 1985, cited in Hollin, 1989: 105]

Schizophrenia is one of the most complex and difficult mental diseases ever known; it is difficult to diagnosis and even more difficult to know its causes. The patient may look quite normal at times and the personality change may come so slowly that it is hard to detect. The ill personality of the individual may be mistaken by specialists as true personality. [The Schizophrenia Association of Great Britain, 2002, (Online)]

As schizophrenia has many symptoms such as hallucinations, hearing voices, disturbance of thoughts and motor behaviour; all of them will not necessarily be found in one individual. There is no evidence of a direct link between this disorder and crime, however, as (Sosowsky, 1978) argued:

Schizophrenics are slightly more likely to commit violent offences than other disordered groups or the general population. [Cited in Hollin, 1989: 106]

Schizophrenia, especially paranoid schizophrenia, is somehow associated with violence. However, the violent behaviour of paranoid schizophrenic patients also can be controlled with treatment. The National Alliance on Mental Illness supports this view as they argue:

Almost all people with schizophrenia are not dangerous or violent towards others when they are receiving treatment. The World Health Organization has identified schizophrenia as one of the ten most debilitating diseases affecting human beings. [National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI) The nation's voice on mental illness (online)]

The process of treatment is complex and difficult in the case of paranoid schizophrenia; many patients may not accept treatment and there is a higher possibility of committing serious crimes such as homicide. They only get help when they come to the Criminal Justice System. Although criminals such as Peter Sutcliffe (The Yorkshire Ripper) are believed that they had committed their murder crimes under the influence of paranoid schizophrenia; the persons who commit such crimes are very rare. [Hollin, 1989: 106]

In a ten year study in Sweden, Belfrage find out that from 58 offenders who are under treatment in Stockholm in special hospitals 14 had committed murder or manslaughter. Most of those offenders are diagnosed with schizophrenia, affective psychosis and paranoia. [Belfrage, 1998]

However, it can be argued that creating a direct link between schizophrenia and violence is far from proven. Gunn (1996: 117) argued that even if a study find out that 11 percent of men who had committed murder were suffering from schizophrenia is not an evidence of the connection. As he argued, schizophrenia affects only one percent of the community and many psychiatrists may not face a violent schizophrenic patient within their normal practice.

It can be argued that mentally ill patients may be more violent against themselves than against others, even when they are violent against others they are more likely to assault their close relatives or members of their families. This view is true for schizophrenia and manic depression; however it is more likely for manic depression than schizophrenia when it is combined with delusions. [Badcock, 1997: 28-33]

In the case of depression it is even more difficult to establish the cause and effect between a criminal act and mental illness. People who commit a crime may suffer

depression as a result of their offence and guilty conscience; however they may have committed the crime as a result of their depression. People who murder members of their immediate families before committing suicide may have suffered from some kind of depression which made them to be disappointed of life. [Hollin, 1989: 107-108] This view is further supported by Badcock (1997: 33), who recognizes the case as symbolic suicide.

It can be argued that the choice of victims may tell something about the cause of the crime; however this is also not an indication that all crimes of the type are committed by mentally ill individuals. Badcock said:

Nearly all homicidal attacks made by people with a diagnosis of depression are launched either towards their spouse or partner, or towards their children... the choice of victims is much more restricted, with children being the commonest target and spouses the next most common. [1997: 34]

As people who suffer from mental illness may be connected to crime in one way or the other, as Purchase (1995: Electronic) argues they repeatedly commit crimes and in this issue both male and female psychopaths are responsible for some amount of violent crime, although the balance is not equal for both sexes. However not all violent crimes are committed by mentally ill patients and not all mentally disturbed individuals commit crime. Lykken (1996: Electronic) said:

Psychopaths are at high risk for engaging in criminal behavior, but not all of them succumb to that risk. Even the identical twins of criminal psychopaths, with whom they share all their genes and many of their formative experiences, do not necessarily become criminal themselves.

Crime, especially violent crime, is a complex phenomenon. It may have many causes such as social, personality, and environmental factors, which can not be explained only with mental illness. [Purchase, 1995: Electronic] Some studies about mental illness and crime, as (Borum, 1993: Electronic) argued, may stigmatize the mentally ill individuals and create public fear more than helping in controlling the problem. Ainsworth said:

It is often difficult to establish cause and effect. Given that most people will commit some form of crime at some time in their lives it would be naïve to presume that those who suffer from mental illness are propelled towards criminal activity solely by their mental state. [2000:95]

It can be argued that substance abuse, such as alcohol and drugs, take a part in creating violence and crime. [Gunn, 1996:118] In some circumstances it is even difficult to differentiate between somebody who is mentally ill and another who show the same signs under the influence of some drugs. Badcock (1997:39) argues that

drugs such as amphetamines, heroin and cannabis if used over a long period and in heavy doses, can create most of the symptoms of schizophrenia. Schuckit (1982) has found out that 22% of a sample of 220 male patients who have received treatment in an alcohol treatment programme had a history of hallucinations, and 19% had other symptoms such as delusions. [Taylor et al. 1994: 192]

Individuals who are mentally ill are more vulnerable to substance abuse and drinking alcohol, so the mixture of mental illness with drugs and alcohol may increase the risk of violent behaviour which will be much higher than any single condition alone. [Swanson, 1994:113] He further emphasizes this point by saying:

On the other hand, we now have compelling evidence that the mentally ill, as a group do not pose a high risk in absolute terms. Only about 7% of all those with major mental disorder (but without substance abuse) engage in any assaultive behavior in a given year. [Swanson, 1994: 132]

Jamieson & Taylor (2004: Electronic) have carried out a study about re-conviction among special (high security) hospital patients and find out that Individuals who have mental illness may be sent to hospitals for treatment or control. This process may be carried out via several ways; however it is very rare to be directly from the community unless the patient will be known to the hospital and this happen as a matter of return or recall.

In this case it can be argued that most patients have been involved in some kinds of crime or anti-social behaviour which make the authorities to refer them to hospital. According to the study of Jamieson & Taylor (2004: Electronic) the majority of the patients in these hospitals have psychotic disorders; two-thirds of those patients will re-offend within two years. However they conclude by saying:

It is nevertheless important to recognize that the majority of people in any of the disorder groups do not reoffend. It is as important to examine further the personal and service factors associated with desistance from reoffending as it is to examine those associated with offending. [Jamieson& Taylor 2004]

In the English Legal System a person can not plead guilty when he can not understand the charges against him, who can not challenge the jurors and can not differentiate between pleas of guilty and not guilty. [Read & Seago, 2002:197] However it is very difficult to decide who is fit to plea guilty and who is not. In this case the judge may consult psychiatry, as different experts may give different opinions or leave it to be determined by the jury.

Many defendants in the past had pleaded guilty in order not to be referred to mental hospitals, which means they have not to be released unless the Home Secretary approves the decision. The Criminal Procedure (Insanity and Unfitness to plead) Act 1991 brings some important changes such as:

No jury may make a finding that the accused is insane or unfit to plead unless they have received evidence from at least two qualified medical practitioners, at least one of them must be approved by the Home Secretary as having special experience in the diagnosis or treatment of mental disorder. [Read & Seago, 2002:199]

However, it can be argued that, the experts or medical professionals have not a concrete decision as in the physical medical cases, so different professionals may give different views and these views may affect the trial to a large degree. In this case the interventions of the lawyers have its weight; as defence and prosecution lawyers try to win the battle for their own sides. It is not possible to plea guilty without *mens rea*; which is the mental element of any crime. In this case, as Hollin said:

The question of outcome, that is, treatment or punishment, for such offenders remains nevertheless a fundamental moral issue. Whether it is lawyers or psychiatrists who are best placed to decide on that issue remains a question for debate. [1989:125]

Despite all the developments of medical science and psychiatry mental illness remain as a problematic field in the Criminal Justice System. It can be argued that further up to date studies and research are necessary and vital for the protection of the public of potential harms, treating those who need treatment before they involve in criminal activities and avoiding miscarriages of justice. Hale et al. (2005) suggest that the cooperation and coordination between law makers and medical profession is so important that:

...Forensic psychiatrists are occasionally asked to assist in making recommendations to Parliament. [2005: 129]

The best conclusion for this essay is what Badcock suggests for finding out the mental state of an offender:

The offenders focus of interest, the type of relationship that he makes with the victim, the criteria by which he chooses the circumstances of the offence, the amount of planning he engages in and the risks he is willing to run, all help to build up a picture of the offender's mental world. [1997: 40]

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Punishment is beneficial because it deters, incapacitates and rehabilitates offenders

Throughout history, whenever a crime or an offence occurred there has been some kind of punishment administered by the rulers and the authority. Punishment is as ambiguous as crime itself; because crime happened in so many different shapes and kinds it is not easy to find a universal punishment to fit all. Offenders also are not homogenous and unique so the effects of punishment may vary according to their differences. The central question about punishment is that: does punishment work to deter people from committing crime, incapacitate them so they can not commit any more crime or rehabilitates the offenders to come back to the society as conforming and useful citizens?

Punishment always needs some kind of justification, because it is related to people's liberty, freedom and choice, and may contain deprivations and sufferings, as Cavadino & Dignan say:

"Punishing people certainly needs a justification, since it is almost always something that is harmful, painful or unpleasant to the recipient." (1997:32)

The most common justifications for punishment are retributivism and reductivism. Retributivism justifies punishment on the basis that it deserves it or what is known as 'just deserts', the offender deserves that punishment because of his bad behaviour. While reductivism justifies punishment on the grounds that it helps to reduce crime. Punishment has experienced many developments and many other theories have been developed; some of them combining elements from both reductivism and retributivism. [Cavadino & Dignan, 1997: 32]

Easton & Piper (2005) argue that all kinds of punishment can be categorized as either retributivism or utilitarianism. The offender is either punished for his wrongdoings in the past; retributivism, or they try to prevent him from any further offences in the future through utility methods; deterrence, incapacitation and rehabilitation.

According to the retributivists offenders should be punished because they deserve punishment, they did evil so they should face evil in return. Individuals are fully responsible for their acts and behaviours, they argue, so they should face the consequences of their acts. [Muncie, 2004: 4] The roots of this sort of punishment may be traced back to a very old history of punishment known as an eye for an eye

and the bloody code; when the most common punishment was execution and brutal killing.

The retributivist theory has experienced many reforms since the times of the ancient philosophers such as Hegel and Cant, so now it is recognized as 'Modern retributivism'. [Easton & Piper, 2005: 60] The modern retributivists argue that there are three elements in a crime: a victim is hurt by an act from a perpetrator and that perpetrator has shown that he is responsible for the harm, so something should be done in order to give a message that this action has some bad consequences. It is also useful for the general public and 'third parties' to avoid such bad behaviour. [Easton & Piper, 2005: 61-62] Andrew Von Hirsch summarizes this theory by saying:

"Once it is accepted as a requirement of justice, the commensurate-deserts principle should determine the sentencing structure. The seriousness of the offender's crime- not his need for treatment, his dangerousness or the deterrence of others- ought to be decisive." [Hirsch, 2003: 346]

However, from a utilitarian perspective, punishment should fit the offender not the offence. Offenders differ regarding age, both physical and mental health, gender and social and economical situations, so the target is to deter people from committing crime, incapacitating them to prevent re-offending or to rehabilitate them whenever they need; not only to punish them for their previous faults.

Deterrence is a utilitarian justification for punishment which argues that the criminal justice should try for the wellbeing of the people not only to punish the offenders. According to this theory law can deter individuals from committing crime in the future not to punish them for their past bad behaviour. The roots of deterrence theory can traced back to the 18th century classical school of criminology who argue that people try to get pleasure and avoid pain; individuals who commit offences are violating the rights of others for the sake of their personal advantages. So, the utilitarian principle is based on 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. [Muncie, 2004: 4-5]

Deterrence may work on two levels: individual deterrence and general deterrence. In individual deterrence; when a person is punished for committing an offence, the pain and suffering of the punishment may make him so frightened that he will never commit another offence. Individual deterrence looks credible theoretically, as Cavadino& Dignan (1997) argue, however it is not working at the same level in practice. When offenders experience severe punishment they must have less re-offending rates comparing to others who face more lenient punishment, while in reality the opposite is more plausible. [Cavadino& Dignan, 1997: 33-34]

General deterrence is the effects of punishing an offender on the general public that they realize there are regulations they have to follow otherwise they will be punished too.

It can be argued that, punishment should have different degrees according to the severity of the offences committed; otherwise it does not work properly. If there will

not be a difference between the punishment for a mild and a most serious crime, what deters the offender from committing the most serious one? [Hucklesby, 2004: 207]
Beccaria (1995) argues that punishment should be assessed according to the severity of the crime; the minimum pain should be considered to achieve the target. In this case violent and serious crime should be treated separately from the non-violent and petty offences. [Easton& Piper, 2005: 103]

It can be argued that punishment is necessary for deterring people from committing further offences; however, there is not enough evidence to prove that the severity of the punishment is a decisive element in deterrence. Beccaria (1995) argues that the certainty of the punishment is vital not the severity. An even mild punishment, he argues, have more deterrence effect on the public than a harsh punishment which is more linked to a hope of 'not being punished at all'. [Easton& Piper, 2005: 104]

Nelken (2006) compares the punishment system in Europe and USA. He argues that punishment in Europe is more lenient than in the USA, which he describes as 'humiliating to the offenders'. At the same time, it can be argued that the harsh punishment in America does not bring a better result than that of Europe. Easton& Piper say:

"Within criminal subcultures the experience of surviving harsh punishment may itself be a source of status within the group and imprisonment may become more tolerable over time as the individual develops adaptive strategies."
[2005: 120]

What supports these arguments is that punishment may have anti-deterrent effects as offenders become labelled as criminals and stigmatized, so it will be difficult to bring them back to the mainstream society afterwards. The labelling theory in criminology (Becker, 1963) claims that those who are labelled as criminals may find lawful gates closed to them and the illegal ones are open. It can be argued that prison itself is a 'school for crime' where different offenders can learn from each others and may create criminal subcultures. [Cavadino & Dignan, 1997: 34]

Bentham (1996) argues that punishment should not be imposed just because somebody did something wrong, but it should be imposed to prevent somebody from re-offending, to deter others from committing crime and to bring a greater happiness to the society. Bentham believes that punishment in this way is not only morally justified but is morally necessary. [Easton& Piper, 2005: 105]

It can be argued that deterrence works to a degree to prevent crime either individually or in general. James Q. Wilson argues that by increasing the costs of crime together with the benefits of non-criminal activities we can achieve deterrence. [Wilson, 2003: 329] However it is difficult to estimate the degree of its effectiveness. There are many reasons for that; Hucklesby (2004: 208) argues that there is a great amount of hidden crime, which means that most offenders are not detected or punished. Cavadino and Dignan (1997:35) argue that the effects of deterrence are limited because most of the people obey the law for moral reasons; people may be more deterred by the moral reactions of their close contacts than by the threat of the government punishment and

finally many offenders are ignorant of the outcomes of their acts as they are under the influence of drugs or alcohol or they are very angry.

Incapacitation is another justification for punishment. Incapacitation means preventing the offender from re-offending by the punishment forced on him. Historically the most effective incapacitation was death penalty which is even now in action in many countries including some states in the USA. In other countries, such as in Saudi Arabia they cut the hands of a thief to prevent him from theft! Imprisonment is also regarded as an incapacitation means either temporarily or in a long term.

In the UK further to imprisonment there are other measures to incapacitate offenders such as disqualifying drivers and keeping football hooligans away from the matches. [Cavadino & Dignan, 1997: 37] It can be argued that the new punishment procedures such as curfews, electronic tagging and surveillance have deterrence effects on offenders.

The government's 2002 White Paper 'Justice for all' says that they want to send just 'the most dangerous, serious and seriously persistent offenders' to prison. [Davies, Croall & Tyrer, 2005: 353] In this case those dangerous offenders will be incapacitated and they cannot commit any more crime, Frase further enforces this view by saying:

"Incapacitation prevents crime by imprisoning high-risk offenders, thus physically restraining them from committing further crimes against the public. This crime-control method assumes not only that such offenders can be reliably identified but also that they are not made worse by imprisonment." [Frase, 2005]

However, the idea of keeping dangerous criminals in prison as an incapacitation measure is very controversial. Who are the dangerous offenders and how do they know that they will be dangerous in the future? Robinson (2001) argues that punishment is always related to some harm, evil or wrong doing in the past, while 'dangerous' related to potential harm in the future. They can 'restrain' imprison or detain a dangerous person but logically it is not possible to punish 'dangerousness'. He concludes by arguing that keeping people behind bars for more than they deserve because of their dangerousness is punishing people not only for crimes that they are not convicted of, but they have not even committed them. [Robinson: 2001] The Floud Report (Floud and Young 1981:213) confirms this view as it argues that there is not such a category of dangerous person. Danger and risk, as they argue, are different: "...Risk is, in principle, a matter of fact; but danger is a matter of judgement or opinion." [Hucklesby, 2004: 209]

It can be argued that incapacitation has a limited role in crime prevention, as most serious crimes are committed by 'one off' offenders. [Hucklesby, 2004: 209] Keeping serious offenders in prison may make prisons overcrowded and more expensive without making the society safer. Tarling (1993:154) estimated that in order to get one per cent fall in the crime rate in England, you have to increase the prison population by 25 per cent. The Carter Report (Carter, 2003) also found out that the high

imprisonment from 1997-2003 only brings 5 per cent decrease in crime. [Easton & Piper, 2005: 133]

Rehabilitation is another justification for punishment. This method tries to prevent re-offending by reforming offenders and bringing them back to the community with a new personality. In the 1960s when studies show that crime reduction can not be achieved by mass imprisonment or severe punishment, they thought about a more 'humanitarian' method to prevent crime; rehabilitating offenders and treating them as ill people; criminals, they argue, need treatment not punishment. [Hucklesby, 2004: 210] [Davies, Croall & Tyrer, 2005: 299]

By the middle of the 1970s the idea of rehabilitation started to decline and 'nothing works' took its place. It is obvious that nowadays there are not many people who believe that criminals are patients and science can treat every social problem same as an illness of the body. [Cavadino & Dignan 1997: 37] However the idea of rehabilitation has been developed to help those offenders in need of reform to come back to the community as law-abiding citizens.

The rehabilitation is criticized because it may justify longer sentencing for an offender than his offence deserves in order to have enough time for treatment. The offender may need treatment outside the prison so this would mean that the public are not protected from the dangerous offenders. However the new rehabilitation procedures are aiming at 'the sentence fit the offender not the offence' [Davies, Croall & Tyrer, 2005: 299] in this instance the offenders must be fully assessed and rehabilitation should meet their immediate needs in consideration to the seriousness of their offences and public protection.

Rehabilitation model has been criticized by both left and right. The left argue that they neglect the inequalities of the society that may cause offensive behaviours; treating individuals can not bring any social change and does not contribute to crime prevention. The right also criticize this model because, as they argue, it denies individuals responsibility for their behaviours and acts; they believe that the rehabilitation programmes are only extra expenses on tax payers. [Easton & Piper, 2005: 289]

However, it can be argued, that the rehabilitation model now enters a new era which is different from the previous model. Offenders are not homogenous so they may have different personal situations which could become worse by imprisonment if not accompanied by a programme of treatment inside or outside the prison. The new rehabilitation is concentrating on justice not only treatment and the rights of the offender should be protected; it should emphasis on 'non-coercive training and treatment'. [Easton& Piper, 2005: 291]

It can be argued that new rehabilitation is part of the restorative justice and community punishment which try to reintegrate the offender in the community through treatment, both physical and mental, and training which should take the human rights of both the offender and the victim into consideration. Mallinder (2006) argues that, even on the international level, all victims do not like their former abusers to be imprisoned but they may wish those offenders being reintegrated to the community and to face the consequences of their acts. The victims may wish to be

compensated for their sufferings and be helped to rebuild their lives. It can be argued that these goals can not be achieved by imprisonment alone, so restorative justice and community punishment may be good alternatives. Worrall (2005: 533) describes community punishment as an answer for all justifications of punishment, as says:

"It [Community punishment] has a chameleon-like ability to adapt its aims and objectives to fit almost every traditional justification of punishment-retribution (visible hard work), reparation (unpaid work for the community), deterrence (working for no reward), incapacitation (restriction of liberty), and rehabilitation (learning skills and/or achieving something of worth)."

At the conclusion, it can be argued that, as there is no one cause and explanation for crime, there is no one kind of punishment to fit all. Criminal justice and punishment system need improvements and further research should be carried out in order to find more suitable methods for punishment regarding the rights of the victims, the community and the offenders.

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How different statistical methods analyse the amount of crime?

It is very rare to find a piece of work by a criminologist, social scientist or legislator, which does not depend on some statistics in order to prove their views. Political parties use statistics in their election campaigns and the Media create moral panics about the dangerousness of the community we live in. Government institutions as well as social scientists and academic experts have been trying to find reliable methods to measure crime from an early history, however until 1960s there were not proper studies about crime data. [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996:12]

There are different methods for gathering information on crime: crime statistics by the home office, police reports, British Crime Survey (BCS), legal reports of the courts, self-report studies, local surveys, and many others. Although all of them contribute in the process of analysing, defining and measuring crime, however, as validity and reliability are not always in balance, all these methods have their limitations, and the true extent of crime remains unknown to a large degree.

The police may detect a small amount of crimes by themselves, but Official statistics mostly depend on the crimes reported to the police and recorded by them. So crime statistics result from the contact and conversation between the sender and the recorder, between the individual and the authority. In this meaning it deals with the fundamental issue of criminology- the relationship between crime and the controlling of crime. [Hale, et al., 2005:56]

People report crimes according to their own views and understanding of the matters not for the bare sake of statistics. There are several reasons making people to report a crime to the police such as the seriousness of the offence; when someone's life is in danger he/she will report the crime to the police. This may explain why most crimes

of murder are reported, however there are cases of murder which go undetected as it happened in Dr. Shipman's case. [Williams, 2004:71] People are keen to report car theft, burglaries of insured houses and the theft of insured mobile phones. Age, gender and race may affect the reporting process, as Asians report more than young male whites. [Hale, et al., 2005:51]

There are several other socio-economical reasons behind not reporting a crime such as the shop keeper who does not want to report theft from his shop in order not to be obliged to close his shop for a court hearing. [Young, 1991:368, Cited in Coleman & Moynihan 1996: 34] People who have been stopped and searched by the police in previous occasions and those who use drugs or who has been continuously victimized do not tend to report a crime unless it is very serious. [Macdonald, 2001(online)]

As every crime is not reported to the police, the police are not recording every single crime reported to them. The police may do not believe the victim, they do not think that the offence is punishable by law, the problem has been solved between the two parties or there is not enough evidence to prove the crime. However, most of the unrecorded crimes are not serious crimes. [Coleman & Moynihan 1996: 34]

Official statistics do not include crimes recorded by forces outside the police power like the Customs and Excise, British Transport police and the UK Atomic Energy Authority police. However, as Hale et al., said:

For all their faults, official statistics of crime are public records, whose cost of collection is borne by the state. [2005:40]

It can be argued that Official statistics left the gap of the dark figure of crime to be filled by other methods, but they remain as:

A better reflection of society's attitudes towards crime and criminals than an objective measure of criminal behaviour. [Williams, 2004: 70]

In order to solve or try to solve the problems of dark figure of crime left by official statistics, British Crime Surveys (BCS) have been created. BCS have revealed much more crimes than the official statistics. They find out that:

Only %60 of the type of offences covered by the BCS and apparently reported to the police were recorded by them. [Mayhew et al., 1994 cited in Coleman & Moynihan, 1996: 34]

It can be argued that BCS surveys can not give a true picture of crime in the society. They may raise the amount of some kinds of issues, but they have their limitations. As they interview samples of the society they can not reach those who are in prisons, young offender institutions, hospitals and residential homes. What is interesting here is that those people may have a different view and different victimization from the wider community. [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996: 77]

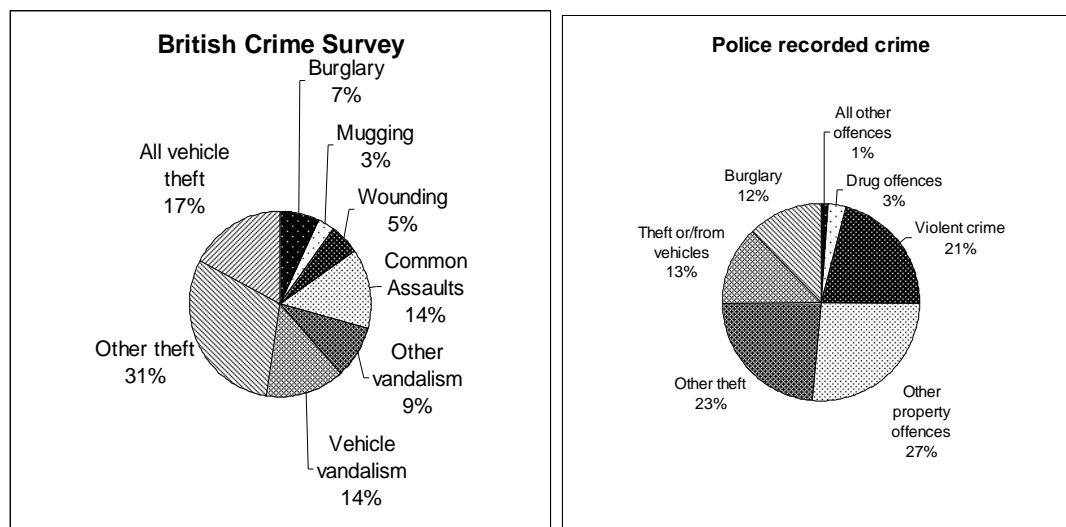
Victimization surveys tell us more about the size of crime in the society; however they are far from filling the gaps left by the official statistics. BCS can not record crimes against the environment, corporate crimes and a wide range of white collar crime. They can not cover crimes against children as they interview adults over 16 years. [Williams, 2004: 77] Many crimes against women and domestic violence may remain undetected especially in ethnic minority communities who have little knowledge about women's rights, as many offences in this country are normal daily traditions in other communities.

As the BCS depends on interviews with subjects, it is very difficult and even impossible to interview everybody in the country. [Jupp, 1996: 36] However it can be argued that it is not possible to take information from victims who are no longer available for interview, victimless crimes and crimes against those who are not staying legally in the country such as failed asylum seekers and other illegal immigrants. Despite all these limitations BCS can:

Look at public attitudes to the police and to preventing and dealing with crimes. They can study special areas such as crime committed against workers, or such special groups as ethnic minorities or the young. In these and other ways, therefore, crime surveys are a very valuable tool. [Williams, 2004: 77]

The figures below show some differences between official statistics and BCS statistics:

BCS crime and police recorded crime by type of crime, 2004/05



[Nicholas, S., et al., 2005. (Online)]

It is obvious here that property crime covers a large area in both statistics. What is interesting here is burglary covers seven per cent of BCS crime but 12 per cent of recorded crime; in this case the official figures are higher than the BCS. Drug offences are not mentioned in the BCS statistics and the violent offences are broken down to different sub-categories. Differences in the two methods are not so huge for

violent crime which covers 22 percent of BCS and 21 percent of the police recorded crimes.

Farrell et al., (2005, Online) argue that people answer the questions of the BCS according to their experiences of crimes within a certain period of time; their memory will be affected, to a large degree, by their victimization prior to the questionnaire. In this context people who have been victimized repeatedly may report their instant victimization. It is observed through Victim Support visits of victims of crime that many victims have been repeated victims of burglary, but they reported the most recent one to the police.

Repeated victimization is a field of criminology which deserves more study and analysis. Most of the crimes are experienced by a small percentage of the whole population, as Pease said:

The British Crime Survey suggests that 16 percent of the population experience property crime but 2 percent of the population experience 41 percent of it, and that 8 percent of the population experience personal crime, but 1 percent experience 59 percent of it [Pease, 1998:3 cited in Farrell et al., 2005 (online)]

However, MacDonald (2001, Online) argue that many victims who have been victimized several times get bored and do not tend to report crimes to the police. It can be argued that what balances this argument with the previous ones of the BCS is that: repeated victims of crime may not report every time to the police, but they may answer a BCS interviewer according to their immediate experience of crime.

There are comparative statistical studies between special countries e.g. between UK and US statistics, or between the European Union members or on the international level i.e. International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS). [Williams, 2004: 74] It is worth mentioning that these studies have their limitations as they depend on official statistics, at the same time there are cultural, legal, administrative and statistical method differences that may affect the reliability of these statistics.

Another method of counting crime is Self-report studies. In these studies the researcher collects answers from individuals, especially young people, about their own experiences in offending. These studies have shown many high levels of crime especially among young people; however they record a lot of trivial items which may be practiced by all members of the society at some time of their lives. [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996: 60] and [Muncie & McLaughlin, 2001: 39]

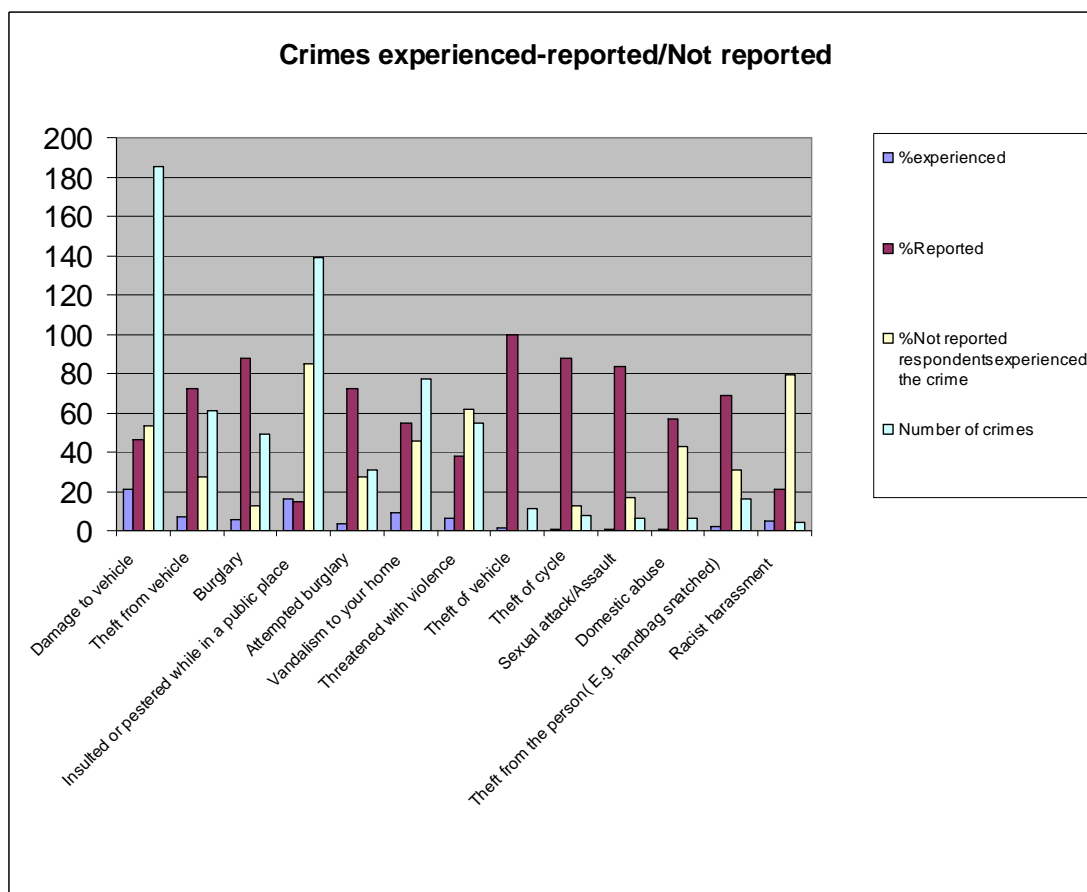
Self-report studies have not regarded the time scale of crimes so they may contain old and new offenses together. They have not regarded class, gender and race differences. They have been concentrating on juvenile delinquency and forgot about adults. Most important of all, self-report studies, same as other types of statistics have not solved the problem of the dark figure of crime. They have no figures for white collar crime, corporate crime, child abuse and domestic violence. [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996: 69]

However, self-report studies may help explaining some sides of offending behaviour and may help, to a certain degree, in revealing the dark figure of crime at least for some kinds of offences. [Williams, 2004:75] argue that:

This research method is mostly used to test hypotheses about the reason for crime rather than to assess how much crime is actually committed. Nonetheless, self-report studies do record levels of criminal statistics above the official figures and so may be useful in assessing the dark figure, at least in respect of particular offences.

Local statistics is another method for collecting information about crime, measuring crime and explaining different geographical features of offending behaviour. These kinds of surveys have followed criticisms of the victimization surveys. It is worth mentioning that in some places they challenge the interpretations of the BCS if not the exact facts. [Moore, 1996: 223] the first local surveys such as Islington (Jones, MacLean and Young 1986) and Merseyside (Kinsey 1985) have concentrated on crimes which are not reported so much such as domestic violence and sexual assaults. They revealed interesting differences with BCS figures. [Moore, 1996: 223-224] This fact encourages these kinds of surveys.

In July 2001 a survey took place in Blackburn under the name of Citizen's Panel. They send a postal questionnaire to residents of Blackburn with Darwen in order to know about the residents' sensitivity to fear of crime in their community. 55% of the residents who has been contacted answered the questionnaire, a total number of 879 persons. [Blackburn and Darwen Crime and Disorder Partnership, 2002:68]. This survey was about the crimes citizens have experienced in the borough; have they reported them to the police or not. They find valuable data about the way people understand crime; as they are shown in the following figures:

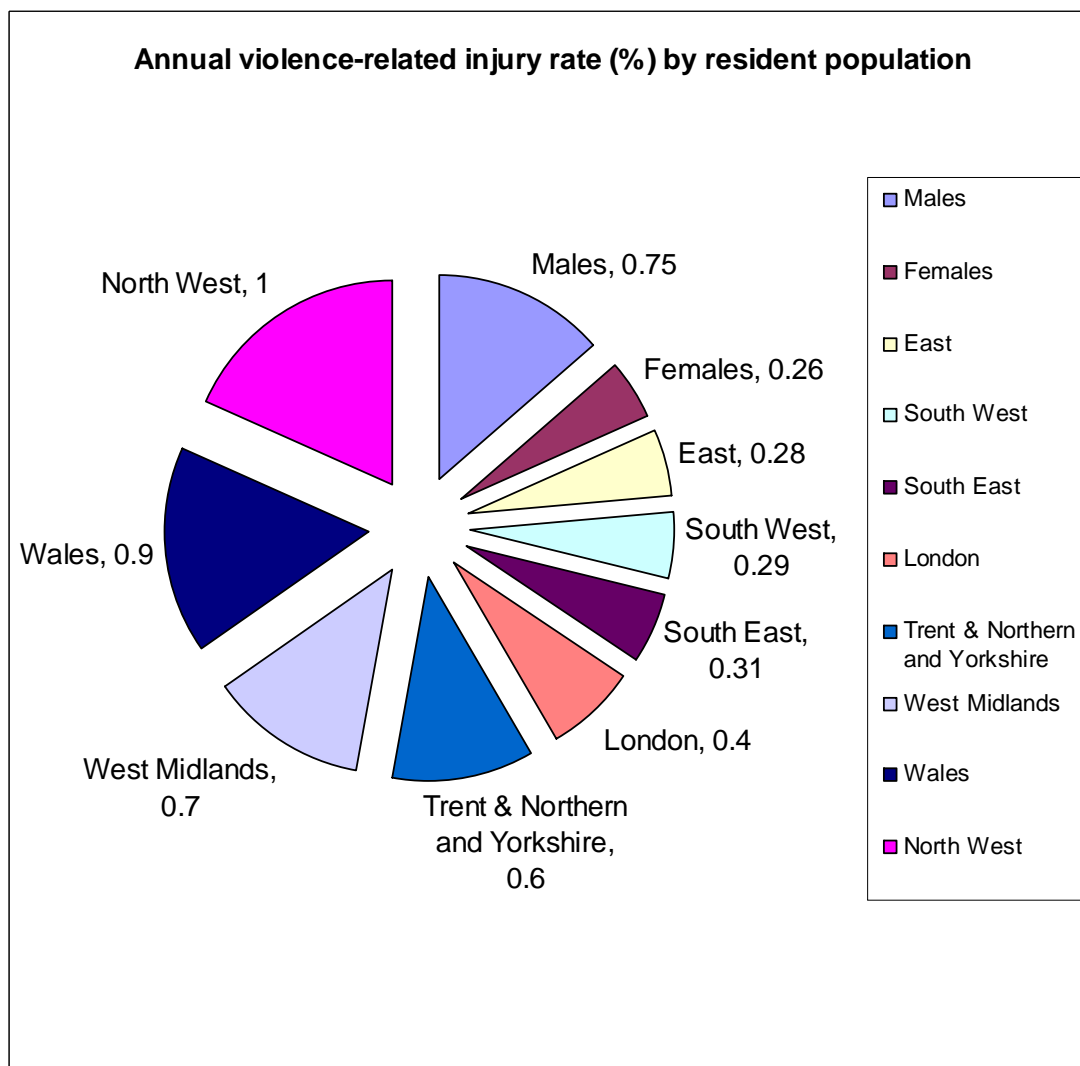


[Blackburn with Darwen Crime and disorder Audit report 2002, p.68]

Damage to a vehicle was the crime mostly experienced by the respondents; 21%, while theft of a vehicle was the crime mostly reported; 100%. This is in line with other studies which suggest that economical reasons stand for reporting most property crimes (insurance). Domestic abuse and sexual attacks came in the least; a fact which is observed in most other surveys. White respondents have covered 94% of the total number of the respondents while %5 of them were South Asian and 1% were black. These figures do not match the ethnic diversity of the borough.

A person who experience offences which result in injuries and need medical treatment has to go to Accident and Emergency units (A&E). It is obvious that all injuries that need medical treatment in the A&E are not occurred as a result of an offence. However, some studies suggest that a considerable amount of injuries, caused by offences, and recorded by A&E centres; have not been recorded by the police. [Sivarajasingam, et al., 2003, (online)] This finding has been supported by successive BCS surveys. [Shepherd et al., (1989) cited in Sivarajasingam, et al., 2003, (online)]

The following graph is showing the annual violence- related injuries recorded by A&E centres in England and Wales:



[Sivarajasingam, et al., 2003, (online)]

The annual injury rate for England and Wales was estimated as 0.5 percent. [Sivarajasingam, et al., 2003, (online)] BCS' estimation for violence-related injury in England and Wales for 1995, 1997 and 1999 surveys was 0.6 percent. [Mirrlees-Black et al. 2001 cited in Sivarajasingam, et al., 2003, (online)] These surveys show different violence-related injuries for males and females as well as for different health regions throughout the country. 0.75 percent of the injured were males while 0.26 percent of them were females. The region with the lowest injuries was East of England (0.28), while the North West had registered the highest rate of injuries which is 1 percent. These figures suggest that people who live in western and northern health regions need to visit the A&E centres much more than people who live in the southern and eastern regions.

A&E studies as Sivarajasingam, et al., (2003) argue, have noticed seasonal differences in attending the A&E centres. As there are more incidents in spring than in autumn and winter. It can be argued that these findings are useful for crime-prevention agencies who may consider seasonal related violence in their crime and disorder prevention plans.

The 2004-2005 Crime in England and Wales statistics has shown separate crime statistics for British Transport Police (BTP) because, as mentioned before, police recorded statistics do not cover those offences recorded by the BTP. These statistics can be counted as another source of data and another means of gathering information on crime. More than half of the offences recorded by the BTP 54 percent were robbery, 16 percent criminal damage and 17 percent were violence against the person. Violence against the person showed a 14.6 rise while robbery showed 21 percent fall. [Nicholas, S., et al., 2005. (Online)] It is worth mentioning that the Crime in England and Wales report 2004-2005 has highlighted falls in crime only in their analysis on the figures not the rise; this is a common behaviour of the official reports. [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996:86]

There are different approaches for collecting information on crime, reporting crime and counting them, however, the real extent of crime remains undetected to a large degree. We can see 'the tip of the iceberg' [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996:3] of the real amount of crime. Williams supports this argument by saying:

Many people have tried to estimate the real level of criminality in Britain, either for a particular offence or for crime in general. The estimates differ enormously, but all agree that of criminal activity (many estimate well over 50 per cent) goes undetected. [2004:74]

However, it is nearly impossible to measure all the acts which are illegal in the society such as prostitution, drug offences, child abuse, domestic violence, corporate crime, environmental offences, victimless crimes and etc... As in many occasions the victim may not be aware that a crime committed or there is not a victim, one who is capable to report or a survival victim to report the crime. [Hale, et al., 2005:42] [Coleman & Moynihan, 1996:75]

At the conclusion it can be argued that crime statistics can tell us something about the extent of crime in the society and the way people and the state see each other. Different methods should be tried and the present methods should be reformed and expanded to bring as much as possible of the dark figure in to light. Hale, et al., said:

In sum, comparing the different profiles of incidents and recorded crime statistics can tell us something about the extent of crime, the public's demands on the police service, and the way in which the police respond to such demands. [2005: 47]

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Society gets the crime it deserves

Looking for the sources of crime and criminality in the social structure and the physical environment of society follows a long process of blaming the abnormality of the individual's body, soul or mind for their criminal and deviance behaviour. The Chicago School of human ecology believes that the physical structure of the city we live in determines the behaviour of the residents; criminal or conformity. Now, as we live in the 21st century, governments take into consideration the physical environment of the cities in any crime and disorder reduction planning. Fighting crime in the real social environment of the people with a wider participation of the citizens is a priority in any crime reduction strategy. How we can prevent or reduce crime by analysing the physical environment of our society and to what degree it is practical for our up-to-date life, are vital questions for our future. Does society get the crime it deserves? How we can challenge the criminal behaviour within our social environment?

The early theories of crime, such as Lombroso's atavism, Glueck's body type theory and the psychiatry, believed that the individual's body shape, soul or mental abnormality cause crime. Emile Durkheim argued that the industrialization and the weakening of social ties caused antisocial behaviour and crime. Applying some aspects of Charles Darwin's theory of nature to the human society, known as social Darwinism, also has its effects as argues that people who adapt to their environment easily are more successful. The Chicago school of criminology further developed this theory into a social and ecological theory of crime which locates the causes of crime in the very physical shape of our modern cities.

America has experienced waves of immigration and by the second half of the 1800's it had experienced a rapid pace. Among American cities Chicago was more significant; as it expanded from 4100 residents in 1833 to more than 2,000,000 by 1910. Most of them had carried not much with them, as they were immigrants, displaced farm workers and Blacks who just escaped from the miserable life of the rural south. They came with big hopes; however they had faced a harsh life of hard work, long working days and pitiful wages. Upton Sinclair (1905) gave this environment a distressing name "the Jungle". [Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2002: 32]

Robert Park (1925) argues that city's grow and expansion is not random; it grows according to a systematic pattern. So social phenomena and processes, including crime, can only be understood through a careful study of life environment in the city. [Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2002: 34] Burgess has formulated a model of the city known as the concentric zone theory of city development. He argues that as city develops outside the central business zone, other zones will be created for residents in the shape of rings one after the other according to the affluence; moving from centre to the margins.

Burgess's model has distributed a city to five zones: zone one is the central business zone, zone two is zone in transition, zone three is zone of respectable working men, zone four is residential zone and zone five which is the zone of affluence; known as commuter's zone. Zone two, which is called zone in transition because new arrivals are living there before they become wealthy enough to transfer to upper zones, has a greater importance. Those people are always on their way towards a better life and have the slightest integration to the society. This zone, as Burgess argues, is the zone of cultural instability, disorder and potential criminality. The Chicago school describes this zone as the zone of social disorganization. [Graham, & Clarke, 2001: 164]

Shaw and McKay (1942) had developed this theory through their research into juvenile delinquency at the University of Chicago. They agreed with Burgess's assumptions that the concentric zones can formulate an understanding of the roots and causes of crime. They had reached the conclusion that neighbourhood organisation was decisive in preventing or permitting juvenile delinquency following Burgess's model of concentric zones. [Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2002: 34]

It can be argued that this argument still has its strength for crime reduction strategies. Neighbourhood watch and community safety partnerships concentrate on crime reduction through reinforcing confidence in the neighbourhoods and strengthening the community safety; through better involvement and cooperation of the residents. [Blackburn with Darwen Community Safety Strategy 2005-2008] Recently the police and the Council in Blackburn have agreed to form a partnership in order to make police officers being based in community centres across the Borough to enable the residents to have immediate access to their community beat officers. This scheme has already being piloted in Bangor Street and Mill Hill community centres. [The Shuttle March/April 2006]

It can be argued that what makes people in the zone in transition look so disorganized and potentially criminal is the fact that they are strangers. Strangers or foreigners are from elsewhere, they may be from another district or from another country. Sometimes they are born citizens of the country, however they do not have the full national belonging due to linguistic features or because their parents are from another country. [Valier, 2003:1] Park (1917/1950:226) argues that racial prejudice is a defence reaction against people who are different to us, as he says: 'We hate people because we fear them'. It is obvious that there is a sense of attraction and curiosity towards the stranger, but the stranger crates a sense of insecurity and hate in the hearts of the natives. [Valier, 2003:15] This argument has more strength nowadays as the fear and threat of terrorism reaches every corner of the world.

At the beginning of the twentieth century new technologies were invented which facilitated the movement of people and goods. People immigrated to Chicago from different places and they bring with them their own traditions and habits. The concentration was on the bad habits, as Valier (2003) argues, they called Chicago as 'the crime capital of the world'. They even specified some nationalities with some kinds of ant-social behaviour; as 'fighting was seen as a national habit of the Irish'. [Valier, 2003: 2] However it is not clear either The Irish had a higher crime rate than the local people or just were highlighted because they were strangers. The Chicago

school believed that this movement had broken down old ties and bonds; however they might bring new forms of social integration. [Valier, 2003: 2]

Pratt (2001) argues that researchers have studied and analysed the structural causes of social disorganization such as poverty, unemployment, racial and ethnic differences, urbanism and mobility, however they did not examine the social disorganization itself. Shaw and McKay, as he argues, have specified the variations of the crime rates from their expectations. [Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2002: 37]

Park (1926) argues that literacy helped people to be informed about distant lands. Films were exported and reached almost everywhere. People from far countries could see other people from the alien countries in action and face to face. This new movement created a sense of adventure and curiosity among a wider population to leave home and seek a new life in a new world. [Valier, 2003: 4] It can be argued, that the beginning of the 21st century has made the world a small village, as satellite dishes and internet connections reach everywhere on the globe; immigration still has its verdict for people from the poor and insecure countries to the western world. However it is not proven that the new comers have more offending rates than the locals.

The Chicagoans saw some areas of the city as socially disorganized; people from different races, colours and cultures were mixed together there were no ties to connect them and neighbourhoods disappeared. However, it can be argued that these are the characteristics of city life as Wirth (1931) writes:

Contacts were extended, heterogeneous groups mingle, neighbourhoods disappear, and people, deprived of local and family ties, are forced to live under the loose, transient, and impersonal relations that are characteristic of cities. [Wirth, 1931 cited in Valier, 2003: 4]

Sutherland (1942/1973) argues that social groups have different organizations; some of them are organized to support criminal activity while others are organized against such behaviours. At the same time he follows Shaw and McKay's logic that those areas where social ties are weak and people's values and actions are planned on the daily bases are more prone to lawlessness and criminal activities. In such areas where criminality is norms people learn and imitate criminal behaviour from each others and they can easily take criminal values as their normal differential socialization. [Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2002: 39]

However, it can be argued that devaluation and discrimination has been almost always present but in different shapes and forms. Once the criminal was portrayed as the born dangerous man who should be imprisoned or executed in order to save the society, and as FBI in the 1930's called him the 'The public enemy'. [Melossi, 2000: 297] At other times it is called the stranger, the underclass and those who tend to torn the society apart. The media has always been the immediate tool for those racial and hate campaigns. It can be argued that the new immigrants to Chicago are not far from these prejudices. Melossi writes:

The devaluation of the criminal went together with the collective devaluation of the social group to which criminals were seen as belonging, namely, a racially defined and demonized underclass. [Melossi, 2000: 311]

It can be argued that criminality and deviance behaviour is attached to any activity and behaviour which is different from the mainstream culture. Sutherland argues that criminal is no longer regarded as a normal human being like others. The spotlights of the police helicopters in LA were focusing on people who are not 'at all nice or charming'. [Melossi, 2000: 297-312] It can be argued that the present day CCTV cameras and shopping centre guards have the same notion about the strangers on the streets and in the markets.

Variation in crime rates across the neighbourhoods has been examined by the social disorganization theory from three points: poverty and being disadvantaged, residential stability and informal social control. [Martin, 2002: 132] It can be argued that social disorganization theory can be used as a framework for crime and disorder reduction planning in the community. Neighbourhood regeneration, community policing and community safety strategy are within those steps taken by the British government to combat crime and disorder within the neighbourhoods. Martin (2002) argues that community policing is vital in engaging the community in the process of fighting crime. A disorganized community, he argues, is a result of losing common values and informal social control in any community. Recent studies show that there is a complex relationship between poverty, residential stability, informal social control and crime rates. [Martin, 2002: 133]

According to the social disorganization theory poor areas have to experience more crime especially residential burglary; as relationship between poverty and social disorganization is significant. However, Martin (2002) argues that rich areas are not experiencing fewer burglaries than the poor areas. Stable and rich areas are experiencing informal social control as everybody know each others and they are more concerned about the safety and security of their neighbourhoods; if they see a strange or suspicious activity they are in a rush to report it to the police. Martin (2002) concludes by saying that either the more affluent areas are reporting more incidents to the police or the rich and stable neighbourhoods are more targeted by the burglars as attractive and beneficial goals. [Martin, 2002: 141]

Ecology of crime still has its strength in crime reduction plans, as Bursik and Grasmick (1993) argue, an updated ecological model can be applied not only to juvenile delinquency but to explain offender rates, crime locations and how to respond to other outcomes of disorder such as fear of crime. [Taylor, 1997: 114]

Neighbourhoods can tell us more about the links that connect people to each others and how people feel about crime and disorder in their area and other areas around them. Taylor (1997: 117) find out that people in general feel safer when they are closer to their place of residency and exercise informal social control more easily. Taylor concludes by mentioning that people feel safer in their areas because they have more responsibilities, they have more ties, and they are familiar with the faces they see every day. [Taylor, 1997: 119] This can better explain the fear of stranger and the criminal label of strangers in the cities, although people are more likely to be

criminalized by a relative than a stranger especially when it is related to child abuse and sexual crimes.

Taylor (1997) argues that there is a strong relationship between residential instability and an increase in disorder; the more stable the neighbourhood the less likely to have disorders. He further argues that the physical shape of the neighbourhood has a role in making some places more desirable for life, so they become more expensive and perhaps become more stable in the future. [Taylor, 1997: 135] Long term immigration to the area and the decline of the manufacturing base beside unemployment have been taken into consideration as decisive factors by the Blackburn and Darwen Crime and Disorder Audit (2002: 7) in analysing crime and disorder in the borough. This is an indication that the current government's policy is regarding these factors in its crime reduction plans.

Social disorganization can be applied to British cities too. Croall (1998: 51] argues that immigrants arriving in a British city are less likely to get council housing, they face discriminations and forced to look for cheap houses in poor and unpopular areas. However, this may happen with others from the local community who can not get access to mortgage. So city grow may have different shapes and may be different in different areas.

Social disorganization and ecology of crime is criticised as it is not possible to explain all crime in terms of poverty and poor neighbourhoods. Crimes such as sexual crimes, child abuse and domestic violence can happen in neighbourhoods including the most affluent ones. At the same time it can not explain white collar crime and corporate crime which are known as crimes of the rich. White collar criminals, as Sutherland (1940) says: 'start their careers in good neighbourhoods and good homes [and then] graduate from colleges with some idealism.' [Sutherland, 1940 cited in Lilly, Cullen & Ball, 2002: 41]

At the same time, despite all the criticisms social disorganization theory is still at the heart of government's policy for reducing crime and disorder. The five year plan Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity has put a lot of strength on the community regeneration and public participation in organising their communities. The plan argues that if we make the amount of care in the communities twice the present amount we may not need to run some services in some parts, but people may organise themselves and look after each others. They no longer wait for the government to feed them like a baby. [ODPM, 2005 (Online)]

CCTV scheme is one of the important weapons in the hands of the present government in combating crime and disorder. It is considered as a useful method for deterring crime and antisocial behaviour. It is also part of dealing with crime within the physical environment of cities and towns, as it is suggested by the ecology of crime theory. Fussey (2004) argues that CCTV is very important in reducing crime and fear of crime as it happened in Birmingham when CCTV schemes introduced to the city. [Brown, 1995: 31 cited in Fussey, 2004: 254]

However it can be argued that CCTV may displace crime to other areas of the city or make the offenders to transfer to other kinds of crime. A study by Ditton (2000) about introducing CCTV in Glasgow has revealed that CCTV scheme does not help to

reduce crime in the city but even crime rates increased after they installed them. It can be argued that CCTV deters those who are aware of the scheme or have knowledge and mental awareness at the time of the crime, as it does not deter those who are under a strong influence of drugs or alcohol. Gray (2003) suggests more sophisticated models of digital technology in CCTV schemes, such as face recognition systems. However it can be argued that still they may carry many limitations of the traditional CCTV systems in preventing crime and reducing its amount.

At the conclusion, it can be argued that social disorganization and ecology of crime have more to offer for combating crime and disorder; in the physical environment of cities and at the hearts of communities. Although this theory can not explain all crime in the society but it can give a better picture especially of crimes of economic necessity. Ecology of crime is not a dogma to follow, but it is a base for further study and research in that field; it needs to be updated in line with the social, economic and urban developments of the country.

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SUBSTANCE MISUSE AND ITS EFFECTS
ON THE COMMUNITY
IN
EAST LANCASHIRE

By

Ata Arif & Lynn Yates

Index

	Paragraph
Introduction	1.1
Hypothesis	1.2
Background	1.3
Aims	1.4
Research Question	1.5
Methodology	1.6
Current situation with substance misuse	2.0
What is substance misuse?	2.1
The Effects of substance misuse on:	3.0
Family life and children	3.1
Creating sub-cultures within the community	3.2
Ethnic minorities	3.3
Violence and crime rate	3.4
Conclusion	
Bibliography	
Appendices	
Glossary of terms	

1.1 Introduction

A study of the effects of substance misuse on the community in East Lancashire

1.2 Hypothesis:

It is generally accepted that substance misuse affects people on all levels and from all sectors of the society. It is obvious that it affects poor and rich and it reaches everywhere, however some regions and some communities are more vulnerable for substance abuse. The media almost everyday have a story about substance abuse in Lancashire, at the same time the Lancashire Police Authority's Annual Report 2004-2005 suggests that:

"Regular public consultation tells us that antisocial behaviour, particularly that fuelled by alcohol and drugs, has continued to be major concern of people living in Lancashire."

1.3 Background:

Drug use is not something new. There are evidences of drug use from ancient civilizations. Opium was used by the Sumerians 6000 years ago and later on by the ancient Greeks. [Drug Scope] The Chinese physicians used Cannabis for treatment around 4600 years ago, however soon they have realized that if it is used in big amounts it will affect the brain and cause dependent. [Brownlee, 2002: 41-42] The ancient civilizations soon realized the bad effects of drugs; in 1770 B.C legislation was created by Hammurabi in Babylon in order to control drinking alcohol among his people. [Armitage, 1987: 10]

In Britain the use of drugs for medical purposes or for recreation was not considered problematic prior to the 1960s. The great social change and the introduction of the pop music have been accompanied by a rise in drug use. The misuse of Drugs Act 1971 was a government reaction to the rising problem of drug use. [Pratt, 1999: 12]

Britain has experienced the wide spread and problematic misuse of drugs during the economic downturn of the 1980s which affects many local industries and the working class communities. Drug and drug related problems become part of the life of many neighbourhoods in that era. This generally recognized characteristic can be seen in Lancashire towns more than any other area. Emmett & Nice (1996) argue that in the past 10 to 15 years the use of drugs has experienced a dramatic change. [Pratt, 1999: 12-13] Pratt (1999) has mentioned two reasons for that change, first one is that drug users are the younger generations and the second reason is drug supply becomes so easy that it reaches any city, town or village. Drug users are not seen as losers and marginalized people, but as fashionable and cool. [Pratt, 1999: 13]

1.4 Aims:

This research aims to create a better understanding of the effects of substance abuse on the personal and social life of individuals, families and communities in East Lancashire.

1.5 Research Questions

How substance misuse affects the community in East Lancashire?

How far it affects family life and children?

Does it cause creating sub-cultures within the society?

What are its effects on the Black and Minority Ethnic communities (BME) in the area?

How it affects violence and crime rate?

1.6 Methodology

It is generally agreed that drug use is not easy to measure. It is not same as other offences to be reported to the police but the police may know about the offence when somebody arrested. In this context the police will see the tip of the iceberg. [Pratt, 1999: 5] As it is very difficult to make reliable questionnaires in the fields of drugs and substance misuse, and it is far from getting real answers; this research will be carried out in the methodology of a secondary research.

We will consider the following methodology:

- 1) Contacting centres and agencies
- 2) Statistics
- 3) Formal and academic literature
- 4) Interviews

2.0 Current Situation with Substance Misuse

2.1 What is substance misuse?

Any use of non-medical drugs either illegal such as known illicit drugs e.g. heroin, cocaine, MDMA ecstasy, cannabis, amphetamines and LSD or still legal by law but have psychoactive effects such as alcohol and tobacco when they are abused. Misuse of solvents known as volatile substance abuse is another field which should not be neglected; especially in relation to children and young people.

3.0 The Effects of substance misuse on:

3.1 Family life and children

"Conventionally, the social world is understood as divided into public and private spheres, with 'the family' situated within the private domain. There is, of course, no one kind of family, but a great diversity of household arrangements in which people live; family forms vary historically, socially and culturally." (Muncie et al., 1995)

(Muncie and McLaughlin, 2002, 193)

The ideal family would be seen as a haven from the demands of the outside world and society, from the stress of work, financial or criminal activity. It is supposedly a place where parents can bring up their children and instil the correct social values on the children.

It could be said that a typical family would be seen as a place where people are loyal and care about one and another. The father figure will be the protector and go out to work to earn money, in exchange for the female to bring up the children and take care of the domestic chores. This idealistic picture is not always the correct picture of family life. Strong families, it could be said are needed for the maintenance of social order in society.

Substance misuse is a major concern with the break up of families, and therefore causing them not to be able to function correctly. Drug and alcohol use it could be said has long been associated with domestic violence. Substances involved can be legal or illegal, therefore could range from cigarettes, alcohol, to hard drugs and glue and aerosol misuse.

One of the major factors in the break up of family life would be seen to be alcohol misuse. Alcohol is readily available, cheap and legal, therefore easier to obtain. It could be said that males are the main users of alcohol, although the number of females who drink, especially those in stressful jobs are increasing rapidly. Alcohol abuse is a major factor when dealing with domestic violence. It could just take one drink for a person's personality to change; this could be from a normal happy mood to depression or aggression. It is generally thought that males were seen as the primary aggressors in these types of situations, although it could be said that now with the growing numbers of females with alcohol related problems the problem of females becoming the main aggressor is also increasing.

According to a study for the Home Office, entitled Home Office Research Study 191, Domestic Violence, Findings From, A New British Crime Survey Self Completion Questionnaire by Catronia Mirrlees Black it was suggested that "The degree to which men are victims of domestic violence is controversial. Some commentators claim that women are as violent as men in couple relationships, (Lucal, 1995; Henman, 1996; Carrado *et al* 1996). A more common view is that women are the main victims of domestic violence. It is argued that men commit assaults more frequently and more severely, and that women suffer greater direct and indirect consequences of such victimisation (eg Nazroo, 1995; Browne, 1993) (Home Office Research Study 191, Mirrlees Black, 29. 05.06)

According to the same Home Office study it was found that the majority of victims were aged between the ages of 16 to 19, with the next most common ages for victims will fall between the age brackets of 20 to 24. It was also found that women who went out to work were at lower risk than those who not earning and would stay at home and did not go out to work.

Victims of domestic abuse, it could be said were more likely to have higher levels of alcohol consumption, this it could be said would be to block out the abuse, therefore give a false sense of security. It would be seen to be a form of self- medication to give relief from pain, hide feelings of isolation and guilt.

"Victims were also far more likely to say they had recently used illegal drugs. A fairly small minority of the BCS sample of 16 to 59 year olds said that they had used at least one illegal drug in the last year: 13% of men and 8% of women of these, 11% (men) and 15% (women) said that they had been assaulted by a partner within the

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year – much higher figures than those reported by non drug users (3% and 3% respectively) (Home Office Research Study 191, 29.05.06)

It could be argued that there is no definite research to show that alcohol use definitely causes domestic violence, although it could be said that alcohol has emerged as a risk factor domestic abuse in studies that have specifically taken into account its contribution.

According to the Home Office Research study 191, it was found that a third of assaults took place when the abuser was under the influence of alcohol. Although it could be argued as to whether it was alcohol that was the contributing factor, or would simply be a correlation, alcohol use, it could be said may be higher in the group that is more likely to commit an assault. It was suggested, by Morley and Mullender (1994); alcohol could be seen to be a way of gaining the courage to carry out an assault; or could be used as an excuse as to why the assault has taken place.

If a person does drink when it would be better that they did not, it could be said that the person character may change, this could happen within seconds of the alcohol arriving into their system. Alcohol is a known depressant; therefore if a person is already feeling low the alcohol will exaggerate the feeling.

On the 28th of May 06 Lancashire launched its Operation Summer Nights; Lancashire Constabulary's assistant chief constable Mike Cunningham launched this. The Operation Summer Nights is a campaign in which to tackle alcohol related crime, this would include domestic violence. During the 2006 World Cup it is expected that incidents involving domestic violence would seem to rise, this may be due to the amount of alcohol drunk and rise in tensions as the games are being played. Attention must be made aware of the times of the games being played, are they being played at sociable hours, therefore more people can get to watch the games. In 2005 during Operation Summer Nights all recorded crime fell by 10% and violent crime was reduced by 13%.

Operation Summer Nights will work in partnership with other agencies such as the local emergency services, Youth Offending Teams, Trading Standards and the Lancashire Drugs Action Team plus various agencies. The aim of Operation Summer Nights would be to reassure the public and to reduce incidents of anti-social behaviour, alcohol-related crime and criminal damage this would also include domestic violence.

Alcohol cannot only be classed with domestic violence, but what about the effects it may have on any children witnessing a parent with an alcohol problem. The children may become neglected; as the alcohol will take over parent's lives, the families' home may become dirty and run down. The children may witness the mood swings of the parent, therefore may have devastating psychological effects on the children; it could be said that they are socialised into thinking that this would be normal behaviour. Children's needs are often overlooked when dealing with families of alcohol or drug abuse.

A parent that may suffer from alcohol abuse may have trouble in holding down any employment, therefore financial matter's may be need to be taken into consideration.

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It could be that a person with an alcohol dependency problem may be able to hold down a job, keep up on domestic chores; therefore to the outside world there would not seem to be a problem. It could be said that too much alcohol may lead to aggression, therefore may result in a person behaving in an irresponsible way, too much alcohol can affect the memory resulting in not remembering what was done or said while drinking.

Alcohol and drug abuse could help contribute to child abuse whether it is, sexual, physical, emotional or mental. If persons, are not in control of themselves; it could be said that their judgement or actions may be impaired. Substance misuse could plunge a family into debt, therefore lose the family home, money for food, clothes, gas or electricity. Debt can cause a huge amount of stress for a family.

Drugs, it could be said is another growing problem within families in today's society have to face. Drugs it could be said was originally a problem within the urban or inner cities; although it is now increasingly becoming a problem for small towns and villages as people are becoming more mobile, therefore drugs are becoming more wide spread and readily available.

"Currently social conditions exhibit rapid transformation in 'population, migration and social institutions...[change in] family's shape and structure [and]... rapid technological advances [which] have transformed the meaning of work and the roles associated with it.'" (Hess, 1995: 172-3, South, 2000,: 69)

Individuals have to adapt to different types of stresses, this could be due to factors such as divorce, remarriage, lone living and lone parenting in today's society. Therefore families could be embedded characteristics of high levels of conflict, or young people, whose parents cannot provide adequate supervision, effective discipline and emotional support.

It is a general conception that it is a man who would use drugs in some form or other, although it could be said that far more females are becoming regular users, this could then become a problem if a woman was to become pregnant.

"Women who use drugs are likely to be of child bearing age; this will create additional problems for them and the unborn child if and when they become pregnant. A number of drug users do become pregnant, but how many and how many give birth as opposed to seek a termination is not known" (Bean, 2004, :211)

It could be said that once a woman has conceived, the baby will now encounter two sets of problems, first would be the problems during pregnancy and those affecting the child immediately after the birth. Drug using during pregnancy can affect the size and weight of the child, there may also developmental problems and impairment. It could be said that one of the major sources of income for a female drug user may be prostitution; therefore if the woman becomes pregnant she may have to stop, this in turn could become positive outcome, as the woman may resolve the problem of being a 'junkie' into becoming a mother. Although the mother will have to stay clean as there would be the risk of the child being taken away and put into care, once this has been done it is very difficult for the child to be returned to the family.

It is not only illegal drugs that can split up or cause disruption to family life, it could be said that prescription drugs can be dangerous as some of them are addictive. Some one in a family may become addicted to tranquillisers, although these are legal if not used correctly can be lethal, how can a mother or father look after a family or go about their normal life if they are too 'out of it'. Tranquillisers it could be said can help a person overcome an illness such as depression.

Parents are not the only members of a family that could have problems with substance misuse. Solvent abuse is generally considered to be a teen trend. "A wide range of products are used now-solvent based glues; dry cleaning fluids; thinners; paint; correcting fluids Tipp-Ex, etc); aerosol sprays (deodorants, hair sprays, furniture polish, etc); butane gas (particularly in cigarette lighter refill canisters); petrol; and others. The methods of use vary too-from directly inhaling products from their containers; to pouring substances into plastic bags and inhaling from the bag; and through spraying aerosol sprays directly into the mouth" (Solvent Abuse Resource Group).

In Lancashire, as with other areas in Britain, it could be said that solvent abuse has not declined, although it could be said that Blackburn has one of the very few specific programmes dedicated to solvent abuse, in the Solvent Abuse Resource Group. Solvent abuse affects many young people and many will try it in vary of degrees and for different reasons.

Under-age drinking has become more of a problem in today's society, as more teenagers are drinking are we developing into a nation of alcoholics.

"Research carried out with young people by the Lancashire Alcohol Project revealed that 61% of young people between the ages of 9 and 13 drink alcohol. Nationally statistics show that young people under 16 are drinking twice as much today as they did 10 years ago and that by the age of 13 young people that drink out number those who don't. Alcohol misuse has the potential to severely affect the life chances of many young people in the long and short term" (Lancashire Constabulary, Alcohol Related Crime and Other Problems, underage drinking)

A question that would need to be addressed would be as where are these young people obtaining the alcohol, it could be that parents are allowing them the alcohol, some parents have the idea that it is ok to allow their child alcohol, it could be said that some shops will illegally serve a minor alcohol, or it could be that someone older is buying the alcohol for them. It is illegal to serve or buy a minor alcohol, therefore would be issued with a fix penalty notice if found to be doing so.

In East Lancashire, it could be said that the problem has been recognised and action has been taken to educate society about substance misuse. The education has started as early as in the primary schools, with a programme called 'Life Education Centres for Lancashire'. These centres will visit the majority of school and educate the children. The programme starts in the Reception year discussing how the body works and how to look after it, it progresses to how people are individuals, therefore making them accepting of others, thus gaining confidence in oneself, therefore understanding peer influences and decision making. It could be said peer pressure is a major reason as to why a person will try drugs for the first time.

By year 4, the risks of alcohol and cigarettes will be discussed. After primary school and the infants, there is a campaign run by the police called 'choices' this programme deals with the issues of drugs in more depth.

Alcohol and substance misuse it could be said crosses over the whole of society, therefore is a problem that cannot be tackled over night, although there are programmes and campaigns already been put into place such as The Summer Nights Programme and Life Educations Centres visiting the local schools, more needs be done to reduce the harms and prevent abuse.

3.2 Creating sub-cultures within the community

"Only some drugs are criminalized and studies of illegal use reveal that they are widely used in different settings, from the dance scene to cultures in which heroin use can be an alternative status symbol" (Croall, 1998: 266)

Along with the different setting within society would come the different cultures or subcultures associated with substance misuse and drug cultures? In East Lancashire, especially Darwen, the different cultures are noticeable; this it could be argued that it is due to Darwen being a small close- knit community, therefore anybody that was classed different from the 'norm' would certainly be noticeably different and thus possibly judged so.

A subculture is classed as a culture within larger culture that would have different beliefs and interests from the larger group or culture. It is a general misconception that the majority of subcultures are seen to be classed as deviant, although this is not always so. In certain cases, it could be said that substance misuse could go together with certain subcultures in society.

During the 1940's and 1950's the influential US subcultural tradition was seen to be at its peak, it therefore incorporated five main explanations of crime and criminal behaviour. Merton's concept of anomie and the theory that a person may turn to criminal or deviant behaviour in order to obtain material goals, or possessions, or it could be said that a person may seek alternative goals. The Chicago School suggested that young males living in socially 'disorganised' areas would have a different code of moral standards to other people in society, thus helping them to become involved in deviant behaviour. The next theory would be suggested by functionalist sociologist Talcott Parsons (1937); he argued that the role of the male was seen to be 'worked' based, the female's role would be in the home, therefore it was suggested that as the father was away from the home there would be no 'masculine' role model to influence the children. A fourth theory would be the 'differential' association theory suggested by Edwin Sutherland, it was developed from the Chicago School and the 'social disorganisation' theory. It was suggested that people were more likely to turn to criminal or deviant behaviour, if they had consistent contact with others involved in criminal behaviour, thus forming a pattern. A fifth theory was suggested by Thrasher (1947), this theory was also developed from the Chicago School theory, and was a study carried out on adolescent gangs. It was suggested that the youths were simply

seeking excitement and adventure, which would not be found in the home, but in the streets.

It could be suggested that in society to a certain extent, these theories could still be applied to today's modern subcultures. Not all of societies subcultures are deviant, but it could be argued that due to the media and the term 'moral panic', "Jock Young (1971) first coined the term in his study of recreational drug users in north London and it was developed by Stanley Cohen (1973) in his study of the social reaction to the 'mods and rockers' disturbances of 1964" (Hopkins Burke, 2003: 144)

"Cohen (1973) found the press to be guilty of exaggeration and distortion in their reporting of the events in Clacton over the Easter bank holiday weekend in 1964" (Hopkins Burke, 2003: 144)

Therefore it could be said that there was a misconception, triggering public concern about safety issues and the media in turn fuelled further clashes between the groups. It could be argued a person will become labelled if they belong to a certain gang.

It could be said that the theories to the subcultural approaches were developed in America; therefore as there were less violent or criminal gangs in Britain would not always appear relevant to gangs and subcultures in Britain.

In a study by Downes, it was suggested that youth did not conform to the images suggested by Cohen of subcultures and the way that they behave. The study took place in Stepney and Poplar in London, it was found that youths of poor educational standards; were not committing deviant behaviour through frustration but to have fun, therefore thrill seeking.

"Rather than being opposed to mainstream values they were 'disassociated' from the middle-class and school values. Their delinquency could, however, be related to 'leisure goals' of youth culture. Compared to middle-class youth they could not afford to own cars or participate in expensive leisure pursuits but they had more time for leisure, being less involved in educational pursuits. Searching for kicks and fun made delinquent activities an attractive solution to a leisure problem" (Downes 1966) (Croall, 1998: 54)

This could be said of a certain number of teenagers today, as the only form of entertainment apart from play stations, mobiles, appears to be to hang around on the streets in gangs. These gangs of youths can appear threatening by using threatening behaviour and language. It could be said that they have already disassociated themselves from society and its acceptable behaviour, therefore will not want to progress in life but accepting that this is their place in society. It is quite acceptable for these youths to have a criminal record and in some circumstances an ASBO or anti-social order could be classed as a tag or a medal. Drinking on the streets and underage drinking is a major concern when dealing with these youths. Although it could be said that the media is taking this problem out of context, therefore causing a 'moral panic' as not all teenagers in tracksuits would use deviant, threatening behaviour. The modern term used for this group of youths would be 'chavs', whereby this subculture would be classed as the sociological under class, therefore stereotypical of a white working to lower class youth. A 'chav' it could be said would be uneducated, uncultured, anti-social and the typical uniform would be a baseball cap, an imitation addidas tracksuit tucked into their socks.

"...In Lancashire, around 40% of violent crime is associated with Alcohol - during the summer period that equates to around 3000 violent crimes" (Lancashire Constabulary)

During the eighties came another concern by the media, thus in turn causing a moral panic, only this subculture was not about violence, but was about drugs and dance music. The summer of 1988 would come to be known as the 'summer of love'. Although drugs in some form or another have been around for a long time, they were brought back into the spot light. "The prevalence of adolescent drug use had been on an upward curve since the late 1970's (Wright and Pearl, 1995) and then through the 1980's focused largely on the use of solvents and heroin. Use of such drugs was generally regarded as a marginal act linked closely to urban deprivation and social dislocation, and undertaken by those stereotypically labelled by the media at least as 'mad' bad 'or sad' (ISDD, 1976) (South, 2000: 17)

This new dance or rave culture brought about a new set of problems, "What has happened since the late 1980's is a significant broadening of the drug-using constituency encompassing a much wider range of substances taken by ever-larger groups of young people. For a significant minority who would consider themselves 'ordinary' members of the community, drug taking has become an unremarkable part of the lifestyle kit" (Hirst and McCamley-Finney, 1994; Parker *et al.*, 1995) (South, 2000: 18)

The rave culture and Acid House had arrived. It was a time of great uncertainty for the youth in the UK, high unemployment, lack of community and political issues. This generation were looking for a sense of belonging, many young people found it with the rave culture. "The immediate assumption about Acid House was that it concerned LSD. Infact, this turned out to be correct, as LSD figured quite prominently in the early period just ahead of or alongside Ecstasy as a drug of choice" (South, 2000:28) Ecstasy was the main drug taken, although it could be said that the up and coming stockbrokers got into the scene cocaine became popular.

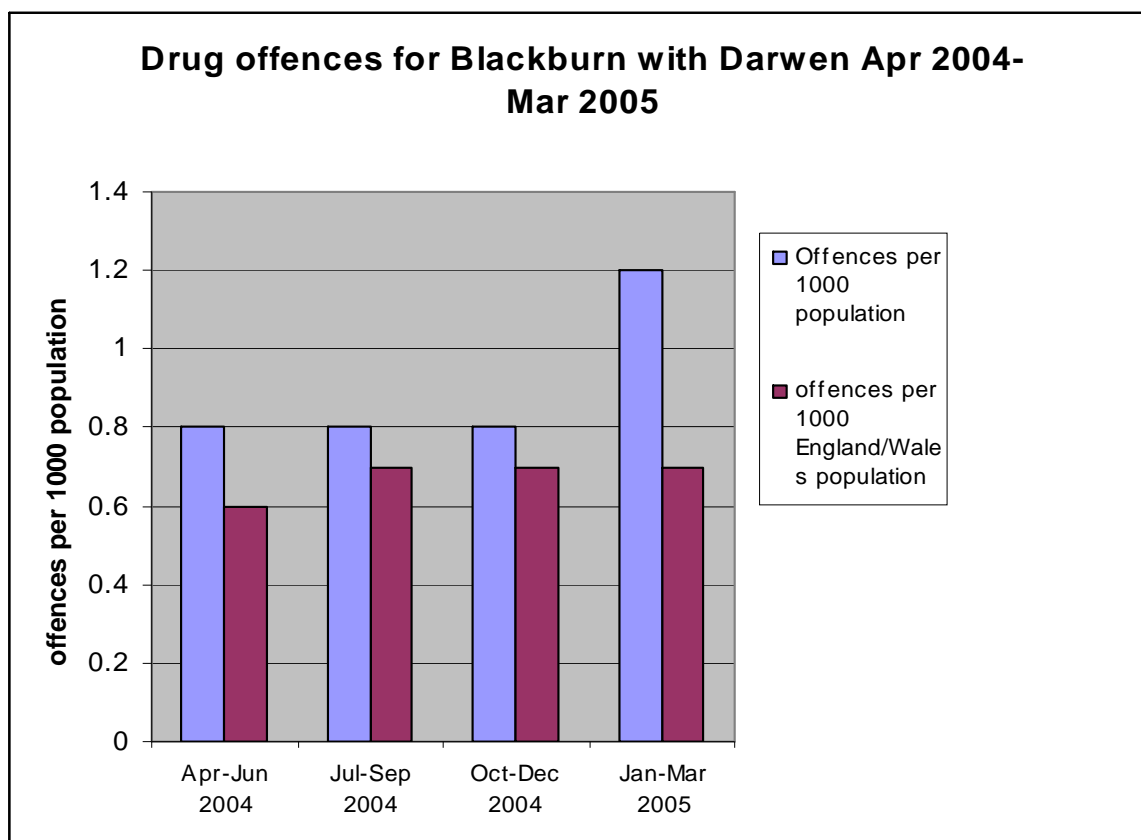
Ibiza was seen to be a major contributor in the rave scene, with clubs such as Space (The Terrace), Pacha, Ku and Amnesia. In London 1993/4 The Ministry of Sound was opened, in Leeds there was Back to Basics. Designer labels had to be worn. As the scene became more popular the price of drugs would come down from £15.00 to a couple of pounds for an ecstasy tablet.

It could be said that when the price would be higher there would be more corruption, as the price would come down, these drugs would be available to an under class of youths who would probably be unemployed or in poorly paid jobs under educated, rented or poor housing. They may take drugs or drink as a way to ease their humdrum life. In this lifestyle the DJ's have become the superstars being paid thousands of pounds for a set. It could be said that in East Lancashire, this is still an important part of life for the allegedly 18 year old and upwards, although it could be said that there are a vast majority, especially girls that are under 18 who are allowed into the clubs and bars as they look older. Under age drinking is a very big problem not only in East Lancashire but nationally. With underage drinking comes another set of problems such as deviant and criminal behaviour.

"In 2003 The Youth Justice Board found that 16% of school attendees who had committed crime said that they had been under the influence of alcohol at the time the crime was committed" (Youth Justice Board, Lancashire Constabulary)

Another subculture is of the addict, an addict will live a life completely different from the norm, it could be said that there is no concept between day and night with disturbed sleep patterns for an addict; bouts of insomnia, mood swings. An addict could have problems with their appetite, and be of poor health and hygiene. It could be said that whether it alcohol, or drugs, it could be said that along with addiction comes crime. East Lancashire has a high number of people with addictions. "The descriptions of local outbreaks of heroin use (users starting by smoking illicitly imported supplies which had not previously been available) in the mid-1980's in some towns and cities in North West England provided strong evidence that economic factors rather than ideology, or the attractions of the addict subculture, played a large part in their development and for a stronger link with acquisitive crime. Heroin was found to be most prevalent in most socially and economic deprived areas with high rates of youthful unemployment where the busy life style of 'thieving and scoring' provide occupation during the long workless days and user-deals enjoyed considerable status" (Pearson 1987; Parker 1988) (Bean, 2004: 22)

When a person becomes addicted, money is needed for them to be able to finance their addiction, as they are probably not able to hold down any employment, crime will become the only way in which they are able to get the finances needed. "The National Association of Probation Officers claimed that nearly a half of all property crime and theft had been cleared up had been committed to fund drug and alcohol dependence" (cited by Mathews and Trickey, 1996, p3) (Muncie, 2nd Ed; 35)



The graph above is taken from the Home Office statistics April 2004 to March 2005, it is clear to see that Blackburn with Darwen has a very high crime rate, where drug offences are concerned when compared with UK national statistics.

Operation Nimrod is a long- term campaign run by Lancashire Constabulary, which will try to tackle the problem of dealing class A drugs from the streets, the campaign is seen to be a success, originally launched in 2002, there have been 600 arrests with 500 convictions.

In areas of high unemployment, and it could be said where areas have a high number of rented properties, are the areas where drug taking could take place. The areas with rented properties are significant as most people could live on benefits, therefore the government will pay housing benefit. Landlords may not check the tenants' references, these type of landlords just want to collect the rent, therefore are not choosy who they allow to live in their houses. It could be said that then the properties and surrounding areas are left to fall to rack and ruin. The James Q. Wilson's broken windows theory could be applied to this. The most common type of drug used within this culture would be heroin, smack or cannabis.

Illegal drug use is spread across all social classes "Nonetheless inequality and structural factors create the conditions in which the drugs economy flourishes in the most disadvantaged areas, and provides an alternative form of employment" (Croall, 1998:266). Therefore it could be argued, that the drugs industry may offer employment to people, that may not be able to find legitimate work, although like legitimate employment people are open to exploitation.

Another problem with the addiction subculture, it could be said would be the problem of diseases such as HIV, Aids and Hepatitis C.

"Drug addicts in Blackburn face a viral epidemic unless they start following the advice being offered to them by experts, according to a Lancashire drugs worker. Kath Talboys, of the Lancashire Drugline, believes that HIV and Aids is on the decline, but now East Lancashire heroin-taking population faces a new problem hepatitis C" (Lancashire Evening Telegraph, Hepatitis danger for addicts)

A danger with addicts; could be that although there are needle exchanges, of which The Jarmen Centre in Blackburn is one; it could be argued that there needs to be more services offering spoon and filter exchanges, although these services are operated in Manchester already, people, it could be said can still infect each other through spoons and filters used in the preparation of the drugs.

Therefore, it could be said that along with substance misuse, there will be subcultures or classes different from the 'norm', but a question that could be addressed may be, what is normal and who defines it? Does not society need these subcultures for it to be able to function normally. Teenagers will generally form some form of subculture as a way of gaining independence or an identity. However when these subcultures are used for substance misuse, deviant or criminal behaviour, society finds it unacceptable.

3.3 Ethnic minorities

It is obvious that UK is a diverse society with many people coming to live and work here from all parts of the world. However the most known minorities are Blacks and Asians.

The term Black and minority ethnic communities (BME) is a term used to contain all those communities in the UK who are non-white communities. The popular view is that drug services are largely targeting the white people. Drug studies, same as many other social researches are aimed at the majority than the minority, as it is easier to study and to collect data and facts.

In previous years many concerns have grown about the drug use among Black and minority ethnic communities and the lack of services for those people. The government's drug strategy put the initial for giving everybody equal opportunity to access drug services. A number of studies have been carried out in order to reach these targets. [Sangster et al. 2001]

However, drug study within the BME communities is very controversial, as many of them are closed communities and they may be reluctant to participate in any research or even to answer questions; as they may take them as racial indications and stigma for their own community. So, it can be argued that denial of drug use is very common among those communities. Sangster et al (2001, 13) say:

"'Denial' of south Asian drug use has been identified as an important barrier to the development of appropriate services and one which has not simply been imposed upon these communities from supported, the idea that Asians do not use drugs." [Perera, 1998; Patel, 1999]

However the public opinion is exactly the opposite, Blacks and Asians are stereotyped as drug users and dealers. Pratt (1999) believes that racism should be taken into consideration in any study concerning policing drug offences. He mentions what O'Connor (1991) found out about the rise of drug use in All Saints Rd in North London, which is an area mainly inhabited by Blacks.

The police, Pratt argues, saw the problem as a pure black problem; they targeted them and used their legitimate power against them. The police had planted drugs on some of those they arrested which resulted in the creation of a climate of mistrust in the mid 1980s. The enquiries which followed found many officers guilty of corruption. [Pratt, 1999: 40]

It is apparent that BME communities use drugs but the statistics still show a low level of drug use among them than among the whites. [Sangster, et al 2001:1] The main problem here is that individuals within these communities who have drug problems do not get proper services. They may not wish to report their drug use to their GPs or drug services, due to cultural traditions. Asians want to keep their problematic drug users as family secrets and try to solve the problem within the family to avoid bringing shame to the family, as they say. [Patel (1988) cited in Pratt, 1999: 53]

Lancashire is one of the most diverse areas of the country. According to the 1991 census there are 49,558 people from the Asian heritage; Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi. The Asian population who came to live and work in Lancashire in the 1950s and 1960s has grown by reuniting families and marriage as well as by the

second and third generation of children born in the UK. [Pratt1999:6] They are recognized for having a large population of young generation. The Asians in Blackburn make up 19% of the population however 30% of the school children are from Indian and Pakistani heritage. [Blackburn with Darwen Crime and disorder Audit report 2002] It can be argued that the Asian population has grown faster than the general population which is expected to rise by just 2.6% by 2021. [Blackburn with Darwen Crime and disorder Audit report, 2002]

The Asian population of Lancashire is mostly Muslim, as Pratt (1999) argues 95% of them are from Islamic heritage. The family and kinship relations still very tied as they have extended family and relatives who live in the same town or area. Pratt (1999) have a detailed research about the Asian community of Lancashire, as he argues, they are mostly Muslims and very tied to their traditions and to their own copy of Islam. [1999: 52]

It can be argued that all these social and cultural characteristics have impacts on the way people behave in their personal and social lives; this fact is supported by Pratt (1999). As drug study is a complicated field of study and research due to illicitly of the drugs and the community view, drug research is even more complicated within the Black and minority ethnic communities.

It can be argued that fear of racial accusations may have prevented many researchers in studying the minorities which is an area difficult to study and hard to investigate. [Pratt, 1999: 42] At the same time some critics argue that drug services are orientated for the needs of the white people; no work or only poor work is done for the BME communities. However, drug use among BME communities can not be simply neglected as a study by Mirza (1991) about police arrests in London borough of Camden/ Hackney has revealed that:

"From those arrested by the police for drug offences 50% were black people, yet 80% of drug users known to the agencies were white. The picture is clearer for cocaine users; as 95% of the arrests were black while 85% of the cocaine users known to the agencies were white." [Pratt, 1999: 41]

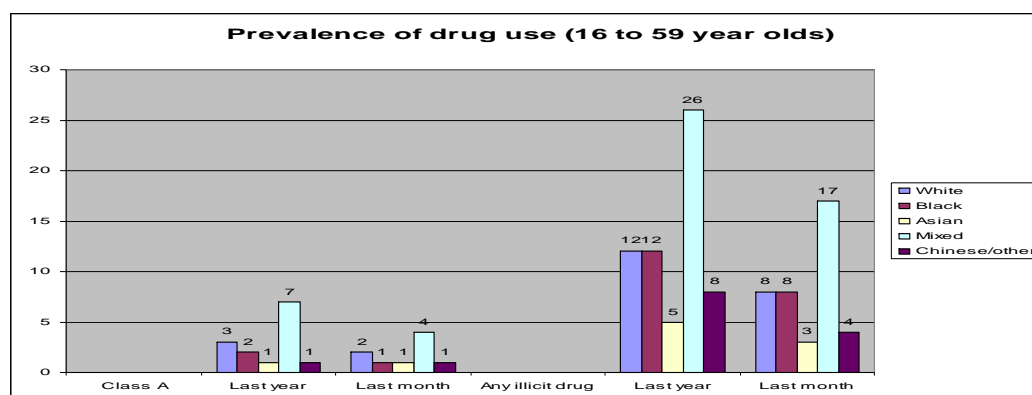
The Blackburn with Darwen Drug Action Team has declared some more facts about drug use among the Asian community. The Asian community consists about 20% of the population. However, as they argue, police arrests about 600 people each year from which 20% are from the Asian community; from the age groups 17 to 25. The needle exchange in the borough has 1,500 individuals registered; about 10% of them are Asians. At the same time the Community Drug team has 800 persons registered for drug problems, only 2% of them are from the Asian heritage. They conclude by saying that the majority of those seeking drug treatments are white males, aged between 25-30 years. [Blackburn with Darwen drug action Team, 2002]

It is obvious from these studies that there is problematic drug abuse within the BME communities; however the fact that they do not approach the treatment services or they do not get the proper service needed, remains unsolved to a large degree. They are reluctant to come forward to the services because of various reasons some of them are already mentioned above starting from racism to marginalization and traditions. It

can be argued that BME drug users need proper services and to be delivered in an appropriate way which builds confident among them.

A drug worker from African Caribbean community in London argues that many individuals from ethnic minority communities strongly believe that they are anyway not part of the main body of the community, so what if their children become drug abusers; it only doubles the trouble. So it is better to shut the door on it and keep it to yourself. [Sangster et al, 2001] This may explain the problem of labelling in criminology (Becker, 1963) and the reasons behind the creation of sub-cultures within society.

In 2001/2002 the British Crime Survey (BCS) beside the experience of crime asked the respondents to indicate their ethnicity and ethnic background. They make a survey about the experience of drug use among 16-59 year olds in the last month and last year in England and Wales. BCS suggests that drug use among the BME is relatively lower than the general population. However, people from a mixed background have a higher rate of drug use in the last year 26%, whilst the rate for white is 12%, black 12%, Chinese/other (8%) and Asian (5%). People from a mixed background have a higher rate than the other groups for drug use in the last month and for using a class A drug in the last year and last month.



[Aust & Smith, 2003]

It is obvious that BCS depends on private household surveys. As any survey is not free from errors and shortcomings, BCS may face another problem in relation to problematic drug use; it can not reach homeless people, people in prisons, mental health institutions and those individuals who are in the margins of the society. [Sangster et al. 2001: 15]

It can be argued that finding valid and reliable data about drug use among the BME is much more complicated than any other group. There are several cultural and religious barriers preventing them from true expression of their drug use, as well as a climate of lack of trust in any official questionnaire among many minority ethnic groups. Pratt (1999) argues that many Asians hide their drug habit within the family and try to deal with it as a family problem or at least to hide it from the community. This view is further reinforced by [The African Community Involvement Association (ACIA), 2001] who suggests that many black people do not wish to report any problems of the family or of themselves to drug services; they simply believe that the agencies want to stigmatize the black people as drug users and drug dealers, so they are reluctant to

give any information. 'Black people are seven times more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than white people.'

[Home Office, 2003]

The under-reporting of drug use among the BME communities may explain partly why statistics and studies which include the BME communities show a low rate of drug use among them despite the availability of other evidences of drug use. It can be argued that even if drug use among the ethnic minorities will be equal to the white people, there is no enough evidence to prove that they are largely 'drug users and drug dealers'. However the media coverage and the public opinion have taken a different view of the black and minority ethnic communities. As Pratt (1999: 43) said the label 'Asians do not do drugs' is now replaced by Asians and particularly Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are drug users and drug dealers. This notion is further reinforced by some racist and Islamophobia trends.

The relationship between social deprivation and exclusion and substance abuse is very popular [South, 2002: 922], however according to the BCS data for drug use according to ethnicity; the relationship is somehow the opposite. Black, Asians and other ethnic minorities usually live in high social deprivation areas yet they have lower drug use comparing to other groups. [MacDonald, 1999]

At the same time, as validity and reliability of any statistics is always under question, it can be argued that the BCS' data about drug use among the BME communities needs further care and different tactics due to the reasons already mentioned in previous paragraphs.

Blackburn with Darwen has a higher rate of substance abuse within Lancashire as whole. Of the total number of drug offenders for the period 1991-2001, 78% were white, and 21% were Asian. However Audley, which is a ward predominantly inhabited by people from Asian heritage, 44% of the offenders were Asian. [Blackburn with Darwen Crime and disorder Audit report, 2002] These data suggest that substance abuse within the Asian community in Blackburn with Darwen is equal to the white people, by considering the ratio of the Asian people in the borough.

Many Asians and Blacks have mentioned social deprivation and exclusion as a factor behind their habit. [Uddin et al., 2001:54] This point is enforced by Pratt (1999) in relation to examples from America and from the UK as well. Areas of social deprivation and exclusion which is accompanied by poverty, unemployment and other social and economical problems have a higher rate of substance abuse. The substance misuse families get the minimum of social support and are subject to interpersonal conflicts. [Pratt, 1999: 56]; [Uddin et al., 2001:54-55]

However, the family structure and the effects of tight religious teachings may play a role in preventing delinquency and by the way drug use among many of those communities, especially Muslim communities. This relationship is known as social control theory. It is generally agreed that youths with strong links to their families, school, religion and work have lower rates of delinquency. [Pratt, 1999: 52] This may create a balance for some individuals, however, it can be argued that those communities are not homogenous; they differ in relation to gender, age, languages

and religion. Family, religion and other social relations are subject to change and vary in different periods of time, even if they look stable on the surface.

Black and Minority Ethnic communities are not unique and homogenous. It is obvious that they are mostly forgotten in the literature about substance abuse, however the rare ones who talk about these communities have not built a clear picture of their situation. They are divided and subdivided among themselves within different ethnic, religious, language, and other differences. Researchers who study those minorities may study one category of them, such as Patel (1988) and Arora & Khatun (1998) about the Asian community in Bradford, Perera (1998) about North Hertfordshire Asian community, Ahmed (1997) about the Bangladeshi community, and Pratt (1999) about the Asian community in Lancashire. [Pratt, 1999: 53-55] There are different studies about Black communities in general or about specific communities such as Black Caribbean, Somali, Ugandan and etc...

Although many studies have more general titles such as 'Delivering Drug Services to Black and Minority Ethnic Communities', however in reality they have little information about many minor communities or new arrived refugees and asylum seekers. [Fountain et al. 2003] Sangster et al. (2001: 18-19) have mentioned the recently established communities however they could not go further than the Vietnamese and Somali communities. They find interesting information about those communities that include the effects of their culture at home on their drug use in the UK; as the khat house in Somalia for Somali men is just like a pub for the British. The Vietnamese older group is suggested that they have started injecting opiates while they were in refugee camps in Hong Kong. Here, it can be argued that there is a link between drug use and post-traumatic stress disorder. As a Vietnamese community group, LSL described it:

"It [drug use] is a big problem in men who are not working, those who stayed in the camps and were in the army. They take drugs, they want to forget who they are." [Sangster et al. 2001: 19]

Pratt (1999: 53-55) has talked in detail about the uniqueness of the Asian community of Lancashire, his work is important and have many findings about drug use within that community. However, it can be argued that the picture is very different since his work. In 2000 the Home Office has set up the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) to deal with the new arrived asylum seekers until they are settled in the country and become refugees or sent back to their country of origin if their claims failed. They started to dispatch asylum seekers to different parts of the country including East Lancashire. Although not every immigrant is recognized as an asylum seeker, there are people who over-stay after their visas expired and there are even illegal immigrants who do not report their arrival to the immigration officers.

People who are recognized as refugees can settle in the community; however it is a difficult mission for the immigration authorities to remove all those who fail. There are now four categories of those people: individuals currently supported by NASS, people refused asylum and wait removal, people refused asylum but are in temporary accommodation and people refused asylum and gone underground. The immigration authorities have information about the first three groups; however the third group is a mystery.

According to the facts mentioned in previous paragraphs those groups, especially the last group, are most vulnerable for drug use and even drug dealing. They have not right to work and have not any government support, when all the legal gates are closed people seek alternative illegal paths, drugs and drug dealing may be one of them. As it is mentioned about the Vietnamese community, they have more than one reason to be involved in drug problems. They are mostly young, the age which is most vulnerable for substance abuse and crime.

Pratt (1999:53) in his popular study about drug problems in the Asian community have mentioned some excuses which have been stated by Patel (1988) about the effects of lack of employment, racism and discrimination in pushing individuals into drug dealing in order to make some money out of it. It can be argued that the asylum seekers and failed asylum seekers have more than one excuse if we consider their life conditions comparing to that of other minorities in the country.

According to a study carried out by [The African Community Involvement Association (ACIA), 2001: 34] most Africans in the UK view themselves as temporary immigrants who have to work hard in order to get enough money before they go home. The report argues that the pressure and stress from the hard work, family pressure and a need to cope with the hard work may lead them into drug use. They mentioned the illegal immigrants in this context, as they say:

"It was also suggested that some people who may be in the UK illegally might start using drugs to help them cope, as they will want to work as hard as possible before possibly being deported." [The African Community Involvement Association (ACIA), 2001:34]

It can be argued that this situation can be generalized for all asylum seekers from all the corners of the world not only Africans or Asians. Bean (2002: 31) telling a scenario about a 15 year old boy from an ethnic minority group who mocks his friends about a large new found wealth (from drug dealing). He argues that this is much more effective than the parents' advice for study and hard work which may bring him wealth or rewards after 10 or 20 years. So what about a refused asylum seeker who has not even the choice for studying or hard work in a legal way?

Asylum seekers and refugees are not homogenous and they are so dispersed that it is very hard to collect data about them. [Fountain et al.2003] The asylum seekers who are in NASS accommodation in Blackburn with Darwen are 364 persons from 37 different nationalities! They can be categorized according to the countries of origin as 171 from African states, 23 European states, 162 from Asian/Arab states and 8 from other states [Mullholland, 22nd November 2005 (E-mail)] [See Appendix 1] It can be argued that even a larger number may be in temporary accommodation or gone underground.

Iraqi Kurds are one of the major groups of asylum seekers and failed asylum seekers in the country as a whole and in the East Lancashire as well. The Iraqi nationals are the second after the Pakistani nationals in Blackburn; [see Appendix 1] who predominantly are Iraqi Kurds. From personal experience and personal contacts, it can be argued that Iraqi Kurds have no or little drug habits at home. There is no evidence of problematic drug use in Iraq so far; although a few incidents of drug use and drug trafficking have been reported in recent years. However it is observed that a growing

number of them are using drugs in the UK; some have been arrested for drug offences. The Iraqi Kurds are not bound to religion and even to their own culture in the same way as the Asian people; they are mostly keen to integrate to the western culture soon. Ironically most of them, who are single young men, have integrated to the bad habits of the society: through friendship, work mates, girlfriends, deprivation and dispute and finding all the legal gates closed in front of them. Peer pressure plays a crucial role in spreading the drug problem same as an 'infectious disease' [Pratt, 1999: 67] among the Iraqi Kurds. The following interview is an example of the peer pressure:

A is a Kurdish asylum seeker from Iraq; he came to England in 2003. He did not use drugs before and even he had not any idea about drugs.

He has experimented drugs through peer pressure. He has told me the story:

I had visited a friend but I found many people sitting there. They were smoking and laughing, laughing and smoking.

I was very surprised, as I had not seen anything like this before. My friend, who was laughing continuously, had told me that this was nothing but a laugh medicine! He was trying to make me comfortable and calm and to join their fun also.

A young man from the other side of the room drew my attention to him by saying: Do not be afraid, this is nothing except making you happy and laugh like a hell! You can try it and stop it whenever you want, do not believe those who say you can not stop once started!

I was reluctant to try anything like this, very anxious and frightened. Everybody was focusing on me and they said: Look, still he is afraid of his daddy!

I got a smoke and tried it. It brought me a bad feeling of headache.

It can be argued that different groups need different analysis and research in order to assess their needs and guarantee access for services provided by the government's drug strategy and harm reduction policy, as they aim at:

"Reducing the harm that drugs cause to society, including communities, individuals and their families. In seeking to deliver this, the Strategy aims to ensure that diversity issues are addressed across all areas of activity." [Aust & Smith, 2003]

3.4 Violence and crime rate

Substance misuse or drugs and crime are traditionally linked together. Many government documents, police reports and academic texts mention 'drugs and crime' as a unique term. The Home Office drugs website has mentioned 'increase in crime' as one of the direct effects of drug abuse. [Home Office- Drugs] As illicit drugs are forbidden by law so any production, possession, supply or dealing is an offence. Individuals may commit crime in order to pay for their habit, as they may involve in drug problems as a result of the huge money they got from crime. However establishing a direct link between drugs and crime is far from clear. The problem

remains as a matter of cause and effect; does substance abuse cause crime, or crime causes substance abuse?

According to the BCS almost 11 million people from the 16-59 age groups have used illicit drugs in some point of their lives. Three and a half million have used illegal drugs in the past year and more than two million have used them in the past month. [Roe, 2005] Many police forces believe that around half of all recorded crime has related in some way or other to drugs; either in personal consumption, drug dealing and distributing or in the other side-effects of drugs on the criminal behaviour. [Pratt, 1999: 32] Pratt concluded by saying:

"A small number of people are responsible for huge numbers of crimes -664 addicts surveyed committed 70,000 offences over a three year period." [1999: 32]

Carrabine et al. (2004) argue that the relationship between alcohol and crime is neglected to a large degree, although, as they argue, for violence and crimes on the road it is either a direct cause or a factor. Drugs and alcohol, Carrabine et al argue, are not only contributing to violence and crime but they are a problem for the National Health Service in the UK. HIV/Aids and hepatitis C may spread through intravenous drug use and needle sharing. Manslaughter deaths on the roads are mostly caused by intoxications. People with mental health problems face additional difficulties when they use drugs or alcohol. [Carrabine et al., 2004: 207] Swanson (1994) also argues that the combination of drugs and alcohol with psychopathology has a greater impact on violence behaviour than any condition alone.

The problematic drug use in the beginning of the twentieth century leads to introducing the Dangerous Drugs Act 1920 in order to control the import, distribute and possess of many drugs. [Pratt, 1999: 27] The Licensing Act 1921 has mentioned that alcohol is an intoxicant which needs some regulations, however throughout the twentieth century it became 'our favourite drug'; as the Royal College of Psychiatrists (1986) define it. The legal status of alcohol does not mean that it is not linked to crime, Carrabine et al. argue that it contributes to crime through illegal smuggling from the Channel and 'alcohol is a serious intoxicant associated with crime in various ways'. [Carrabine et al., 2004: 209]

Governments, the media and the public see drugs as a serious threat to the whole society. Even those who support liberalisation and legalisation of drugs agree that drugs cause harms to individuals, families and the community, although they argue that the criminalisation of drugs and drug users causes these problems. [Carrabine et al., 2004: 212] Many people agree that, at the mean time, the bad effects of legal drugs such as alcohol and smoking are much greater than the illicit drugs. However it is hard to estimate the destructive effects of the illicit drugs if they would become decriminalized.

From a labelling perspective (Becker, 1963) drug users may view themselves as deviant and as soon as they accept that label they feel that they are not anymore part of the mainstream society; so they may tend to commit further crime as a result of their stigmatization. (Young, 1971) [Carrabine et al., 2004: 212]

The fact that drugs are illegal creates an illegal market and they are expensive. Drug users need large amounts of money to pay for their habits, so as it is rarely possible to get these costs by legal means, they commit crime. (Chaiken & Chaiken, 1990) argue that an addicted male drug user may commit 80-100 serious property offences per year and a female may start prostitution to pay for her habit. [Bean, 2002: 7-8] Gossop supports this view by saying that as heroin is more expensive than gold in the market how an addicted can fund his habit legally [Gossop, 2005]

Many offenders claim that they commit crimes to feed their habit; they believe that if they were not drug users they would not become offenders. [Bean, 2002: 8] However the relationship between drugs and crime can not be explained so easily; as there are many offenders who are not drug users and there are many drug users who are not offenders. [Bennett & Holloway, 2005]; [Bean, 2002: 11] At the same time, it can be argued, that many drug users from the upper classes can hide their drug problem for years because of their wealth as they can pay for their habit without a need for traditional offences. They may commit white collar crime to fund their habit, which is rarely detected or prosecuted.

However all those who claim that their offences are drug related are not trustworthy. It can be argued that any offender getting in touch with the Criminal Justice System (CJS) looks for some kind of defence, even if it is in vain. A burglar may claim that he becomes a burglar because of his habit; he tries to put the blame elsewhere. He may believe that the government is responsible because drugs are illegal so expensive, drug dealers asking for high prices or the treatment and rehabilitation services are not reliable. Although this is not a proper defence however they try at least to say that they are not criminals but they have a habit beyond their control. [Bean, 2002: 9]

The term 'alcohol related' offences covers all those offences which occur at places where alcohol is consumed. However at these places violence is approved and even encouraged by those who are violent with or without the alcohol influence, so it is not the alcohol itself which causes violence but other factors outside the alcohol influence. [Bean, 2002: 23]; [Croall, 1998: 263] Moore, et al., (2005) argue that people who decide willingly to engage in risky activities may abuse alcohol, take drugs, have unprotected sex. They believe that alcohol misuse and aggression are both risky activities so people who like to take such risks may consume alcohol and be more aggressive. It can be argued that drink driving is another instance of the willingness of such individuals to consume alcohol and drive which may cause dangerous accidents. Moore et al. (2005) conclude by arguing that alcohol does not cause violence but 'alcohol abuse and aggression are comorbid and are both an expression of personality type'.

Goldstein (1985) argues that some substances have psychological effects on the users and may lead them to act irrationally or become violent. He mentions alcohol, stimulants, barbiturates and PCP. It is very interesting that in (1995: 256) he talks about the depressant effects of some drugs such as heroin which dampen down violent inclinations and make it difficult to commit property offences while the subject is under the effects of the drug. Goldstein argues that the withdrawal stage of addiction makes drug users violent as they urgently need drugs which can easily lead to crime; such as a prostitute who robs her client to fund her heroin habit. [Bean, 2002: 23-24]

It can be argued that drug users may become victims of crime as a result of their intoxication; as people who are alcohol intoxicated may become easy targets for street offenders. Individuals under the influence of drugs or alcohol may leave their properties unattended which becomes an easy target for burglars. [Bean, 2002: 24] here it becomes clear that the bad effects of drugs and alcohol are not limited to violent behaviour and offending from the users, but they may bring victimisation to the users themselves. Cusick, Martin and May (2003: 6) reinforce this view as they argue that women who do sex work and use drugs are very vulnerable to abuse and violence.

Drug dealing and illegal markets are subject to violence and organized crime. There are drug barons and drug gangs who may fight between themselves and with the police in order to control the market. Theft of drug monies and fights over debt collection is very common. Drug users and especially problematic users may commit crimes to fund their habit such as burglary, robbery and prostitution. [Reiss & Roth (1993:202) cited in Bean, 2002: 26-27] ; [Topalli, Wright, and Fornango, 2002: 337]

In Lancashire there were several operations against drug dealers and drug barons. The media publishes the news of drug gangs or who make millions of pounds on drug dealing. Lancashire Police Authority has started operation NIMROD in 2002 to 'cracking down on dealers' as they describe it. The Lancashire police are very proud of that operation; as they say:

"A successful deployment of NIMROD in Blackburn led to 39 dealers being arrested in five operations. Three months later when an addict from Preston was stopped by Police, he complained that he could not buy any drugs in Blackburn, clear evidence that the markets had remained closed." [Lancashire Constabulary: Chief Constable Annual report 2004-2005]

However drug dealing and drug problems remained as an issue for the area. It is worth mentioning that the North West area has a higher rate of drug use by the 16-59 year olds in the last year comparing to other regions of the country; according to the BCS 2004-2005. [See Appendix 2] Individuals who are involved in drugs and crime, especially drug supply, may switch from one kind of crime to another if they find the first difficult or impossible. Degenhardt, et al. found out from a study about the effects of heroin supply in Australia that:

"Higher level heroin distributors were also thought by K1 to have switched to other commodities such as credit-card fraud." [Degenhardt, et al.2005: 7]

According to the Drug Misuse Database the most common drug used in Blackburn with Darwen is heroin. [Blackburn with Darwen Crime and disorder Audit report-2002] Lancashire police believes that a large proportion of the whole offences are fuelled by drugs. [Lancashire Constabulary: Chief Constable Annual report 2004-2005] In this context, it can be argued, that a link between drugs, especially heroin and crime is very likely. News Beat, which is a community newspaper from Lancashire Constabulary and Lancashire Police Authority, reinforces that view by saying:

"Put simply 10 per cent of offenders were responsible for 50 per cent of all serious crime. The majority of these persistent offenders were chaotic drug users who stole and dealt in drugs to feed their habit." [News Beat, 2004: 8]

Allen (2005: 355) argues that regular use of heroin and crack cocaine will lead to street robbery and snatch theft. However he finds out that the relationship is much more complex than to simply say: 'drugs cause (street crime)'. Allen argues that there are two claims about the link between class A drugs, especially heroin and crack cocaine, and crime: first claim is that supply and distribution of these drugs usually associated with criminal gangs and violence. The second claim is that the users of these drugs are mostly involved in acquisitive crime such as robbery, burglary and street crimes. [Allen, 2005: 355]

The Lancashire police strategy put fighting 'serious and organized crime' and 'crimes associated with class A drugs' on top of their agenda in order to reduce crime and disorder and to reassure the public about their safety. [Lancashire Constabulary: Chief Constable Annual report 2004-2005] ; [Lancashire Police Authority Annual report 2004-2005] These reports reinforce the link between class A drugs and crime in both mentioned claims: as serious and organized crime in most times involve drug gangs and, as mentioned before, acquisitive crime is largely associated with class A drugs.

However it is hard to prove the cause and effect in the link between heroin and crack cocaine and crime. Either the drugs cause criminal behaviour or their criminality leads to drugs. Rosenthal (1973) argues that the majority of a sample of addicts who committed robbery, shoplifting and burglary they had committed the same crimes before addiction. There was no evidence of increased criminality after addiction. [Allen, 2005: 358] Allen further supports these findings by arguing that persons he had interviewed most of them involved in crime before they had started to use heroin and crack cocaine. However, he mentioned that probably shoplifting provided them with the means to get heroin or crack cocaine at 'critical times'. [Allen, 2005: 358]

However, Allen concluded by saying that over two-thirds of his sample had involved in street robbery and '*at the same time or after*' they started to use heroin and crack cocaine, while over half of the drug users had started to commit 'snatch theft' after they started to use heroin and crack. This shift from 'petty crime' to street crime after involvement in drug use may suggest, as Allen argues, that there is some kind of relationship between heroin, crack cocaine and street crime. [Allen, 2005: 358]

It can be argued that involvement in illicit drug use and crime both have multiple causes which are very complex and difficult to determine. Stephens and Ellis (1975:487) argue that those who are involved in drugs and crime come from populations who are mostly vulnerable for both of them; crime and addiction. Allen mentions what is called socialization in criminology as an explanation. He argues that when people are socialized to a sort of norms of life they may start criminal career as any other job or system of life. He brings some evidence from his interviewees who claimed that crime and addiction: 'come naturally', 'just happened' or 'running in the family' and 'everyone was doing'. [Allen, 2005: 361] This view is supported by Gossop (2005) as he argues that most drug users' crime reflects their life style and circumstances.

It can be argued that most people who have been involved in addiction and crime have experienced difficult life times. Many of them come from socially deprived regions and a large number of them have experienced abuse in their childhood, including sexual abuse. Allen argues that being sexually and physically abused as children have prevented many of his interviewees from committing street crime; as they do not want to hurt anybody else as they were hurt. [Allen, 2005: 369] However it is obvious that not all people who experience difficulties in their childhood or life become involved in crime or substance abuse. At the same time not all criminals and addicts are from those classes.

Seddon (2000) argues that drugs and crime are linked in three ways: drug use causes crime as people who use drugs need large amounts of money; crime causes drug use because people who get large amounts of money out of crime without hard work may use it to buy drugs; and finally he argues that drugs and crime are related to other factors. [Wincup 2005: 208] However the question of cause and effect still unanswered. People may start crime and think they are labelled as criminals so use their money for drugs or vice versa. Wincup argues that the relationship between drugs and alcohol and crime is complex and is just like the 'chicken and egg' argument, instead:

"We have argued for a more complex understanding of the relationship between drugs, alcohol and crime which acknowledges the role of other social, economic and cultural factors." [Wincup, 2005: 218]

It is interesting that the Blackburn with Darwen Crime and Disorder Audit Report (2002:42) does not support the link between drugs and crime so much. The report argues that the majority of drug users are not 'currently in legal situation' in 1998, 67% were not involved in legal actions, in 1999, 52 % and in 2000, 56%. However it is worth mentioning that East Lancashire is more subject to both substance abuse and violence than many other parts of the country. Sivarajasingam et al. carried out a study about violence related injury and found out that the violence related injuries are higher in the North of the country than the South including London. [2003: 225] The BCS indicates that the North West region has a higher rate of drug use. [See Appendix 2] To make it more specific, Blackburn with Darwen NHS Primary Care Trust Annual report and Accounts 2004/2005 say:

"In the UK, half of all violent crimes, up to 17 million days worth of work absences and the majority of A&E attendances between midnight and 5am on weekends are alcohol-related. Parts of East Lancashire experience a death rate from alcohol that is higher than the national average."

It can be argued that tackling substance abuse, violence and crime needs a corporate strategy to tackle the roots of the problems not only fighting them on the surface. The links between drugs and crime or violence are very complicated; however it is apparent that individuals, especially young people who have difficult life styles, who have been abused both physically and mentally and are living in deprived environments, are more vulnerable to substance abuse, crime and health issues including HIV/ Aids and hepatitis C.

Conclusion

It could be said that all communities will have a problem of substance abuse, in some shape or form, from the socially acceptable 'cocaine snorting' higher classes to the unacceptable run down back terraced streets of a Northern Town. Substance misuse affects people differently from economically, socially, mentally health wise.

Some parts of the community will try to address the problem, while others will 'sweep' the problem under the carpet, therefore will not acknowledge that there is a problem.

Although, the problem is expanding rapidly and would therefore need to be addressed.

Substance misuse, it could be suggested that is seen to be more of a problem for the social deprived areas, due to the economic factors and the problems that this could encounter, such as crime and criminal behaviour.

Crime statistics for substance are difficult to record, due to people not reporting a crime, people may not report a crime as it is seen as deviant behaviour, therefore not classed as criminal. It could be said that, substance misuse is seen as a socially acceptable part of every day life in certain parts of the community. Drug dealing, for a certain number of people within a community is seen as a credible form of employment, therefore not seen as criminal behaviour.

It can be argued that further work should be done and a better cooperation between police and the public is vital to tackle substance abuse and reduce the potential harms for individuals and communities in East Lancashire.

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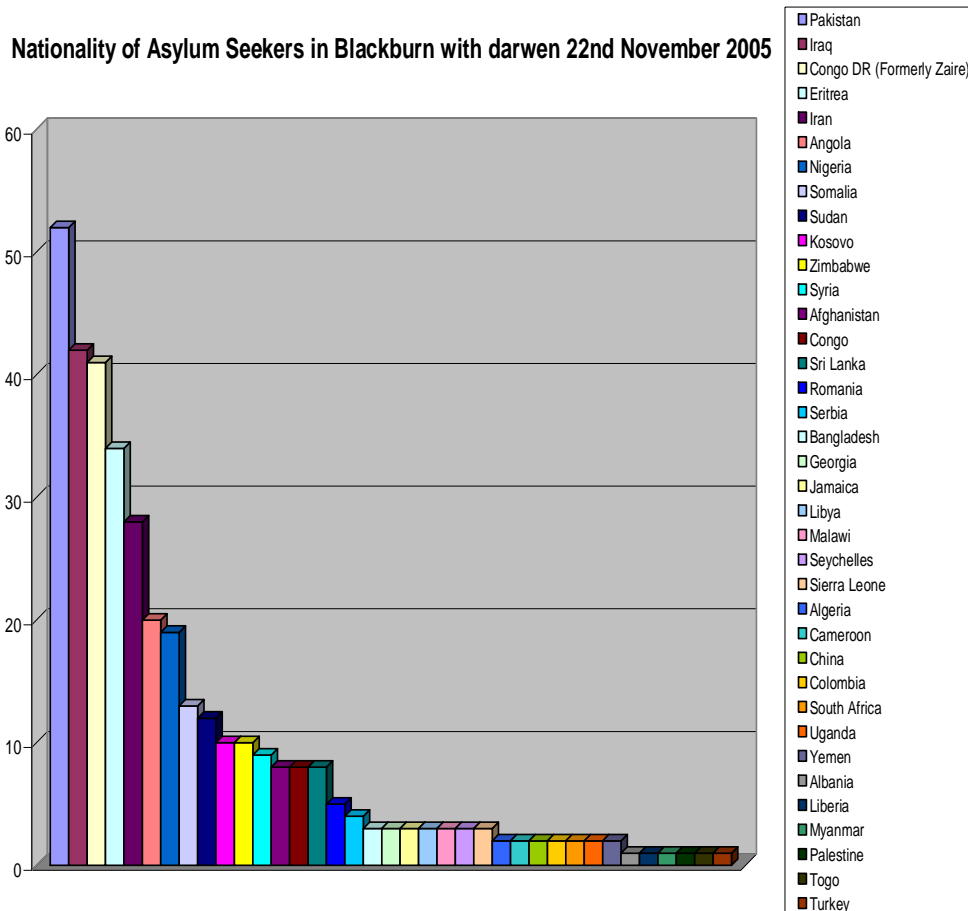
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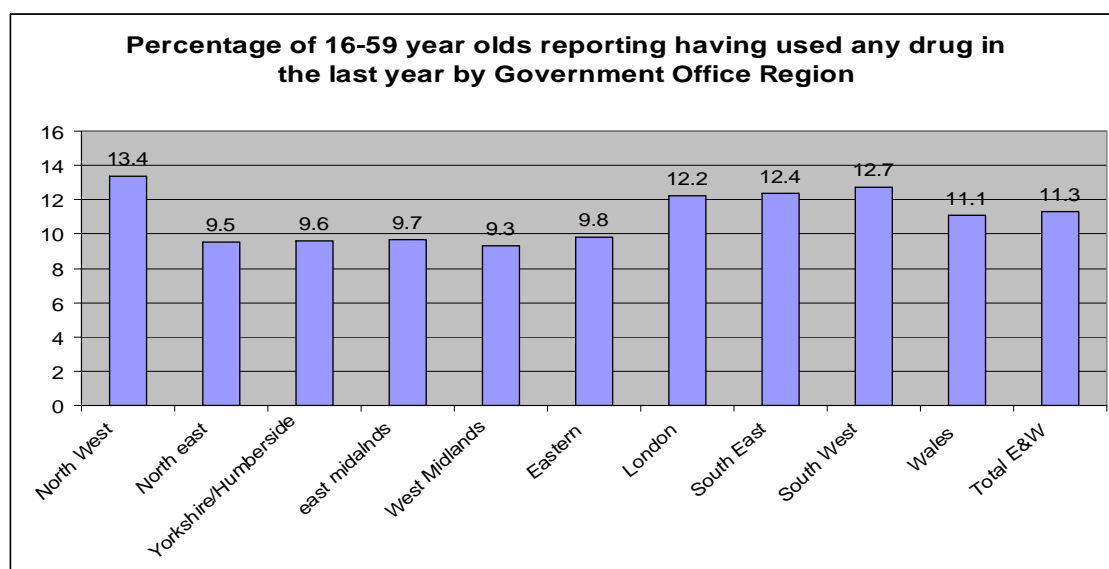
Appendices

Appendix 1



[Mallholland 22nd November 2005 (E-mail)]

Appendix 2



[Roe, 2005 (Online)]

Glossary of terms:

Khat: it is a green-leafed shrub that has been chewed for centuries by people who live in the Horn of Africa and Arabian Peninsula. It has recently turned up in Europe, including the UK, particularly among emigrants and refugees from countries such as Somalia, Ethiopia and the Yemen. [Drug Scope]

Black and Minority Ethnic (BME): All those communities who are not white in the UK such as Asian, Black African, Black Caribbean, Chinese and all other minority ethnic groups.

NASS: National Asylum Support; founded in 2000 to support and the asylum seekers and their families while they are waiting for a final decision concerning their stay in the country.