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2013 Conference, (2-4 July)
Criminology on Trial
Hosted by the University of Wolverhampton

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Contents

Editorial <i>Andrew Millie</i>	1
Are magistrates' courts really a 'law free zone'? Participant observation and specialist use of language <i>Lucy Welsh, University of Kent</i>	3
'Beyond the loot': Policing social disorder and urban unrest <i>Deborah Platts-Fowler, University of Leeds</i>	17
Capitalismo extremo, ideology and Ibiza: A new perspective of youth deviance and risk on holiday <i>Daniel Briggs, University of East London</i>	33

Editorial

Andrew Millie

It has been a sad year for British criminology with the passing of Stan Cohen, Terence Morris, Geoffrey Pearson, Barbara Hudson and most recently Jock Young. Their influence on criminology cannot be overemphasised and all will be missed.

In 2013 the British Society of Criminology Conference was hosted by the University of Wolverhampton. Held from 2nd to 4th July the conference had the title "*Criminology on trial*". A particular highlight was a mock trial where criminology was defended by BSC President Loraine Gelsthorpe, ably assisted by Coretta Phillips and Shadd Maruna. The case for the prosecution was led by Steve Tombs, assisted by Paddy Hillyard and Simon Pemberton. It was an event where no one really knew what to expect but were treated to some serious debate, albeit in a light-hearted setting with a real judge and well known criminologists in courtroom fancy dress. 'Criminology' came out on top, but not before some thought provoking challenge. Also at the conference Professor Joanna Shapland received the BSC Outstanding Achievement Award, presented to her by Stephen Farrall. Plenary presentations were provided by Paul Rock and Yvonne Jewkes. Thanks are due to the team at Wolverhampton for organising the event. In 2014 the conference moves to the University of Liverpool. If you are planning to speak at Liverpool I hope you would also consider submitting your paper to this journal.

For this Volume of the journal we have maintained a rigorous review process with three papers making the final selection. All submitted papers were reviewed by at least two academics. In the first paper Lucy Welsh of the University of Kent considers the place of law within the magistrates' court. Through her participant observations, Welsh reveals that implicit reference to legal provisions that are not adequately explained exacerbate defendants' marginalisation. In the second paper Deborah Platts-Fowler of the University of Leeds considers the 2011 rioting and looting that occurred across many British cities. She critiques other academics who have emphasised the role of consumerism, claiming that

explanations are not just about the loot. For the third and final paper Daniel Briggs of the University of East London provides an illuminating ethnographic tale of life in the clubs and bars of Ibiza. For Briggs consumerism is central to understanding how and why young people engage in deviant and risky behaviours while on holiday.

The production of this journal is only possible with the assistance of colleagues who give their time freely. Thanks are due to Karen Bullock, Chris Greer, Jessica Jacobson, David Nelken, Peter Squires, James Treadwell and Simon Winlow.

Andrew Millie, Edge Hill University, December 2013

Are magistrates' courts really a 'law free zone'?

Participant observation and specialist use of language

Lucy Welsh, *University of Kent*

Abstract

My research assesses the impact of changes to legally-aided representation in magistrates' courts operating in East Kent (a designated court area) in the context of structural change driven by neoliberal forms of governance. This paper presents some findings following periods of observation at the relevant court area. Past socio-legal studies of magistrates' courts, largely conducted when most defendants were unrepresented, suggest that the technical nature of proceedings excludes defendants from effective participation in the process. My preliminary findings support the view that court processes tend to marginalise defendants despite greater levels of representation. However, there also appear to be some differences between this study and findings seen in earlier studies. I suggest that marginalisation is exacerbated by implicit references to legal provisions that a non-lawyer would struggle to identify. This paper considers the issue from three angles – sentencing, bail and case management.

Key Words: magistrates; law; participant-observation; marginalisation

Introduction

This paper sets out some preliminary findings in relation to the broad topic of the impact of neoliberalism on access to justice. The empirical research identifies and examines trends in summary justice which appear to have been influenced by neoliberal political ideology, and considers how those trends may have affected the ability of those charged with criminal offences to access the information which enables them to participate effectively in the proceedings.

The observations from which these findings emanate form part of a broader concern about the impact of changes with respect to access to

publicly funded representation in summary criminal proceedings. These changes are set within the context of politically driven concerns about criminal case progression in an era that requires austerity and efficiency in publicly funded institutions. The research draws heavily on the findings of earlier socio-legal studies of summary justice, most notably Carlen (1976), Bottoms and McClean (1976), McBarnett (1981), Morgan (2000) and Sanders (2002).

This paper focuses on one of the issues that arose following observation of magistrates' court proceedings in late 2012 and early 2013. It explores how law is used in summary criminal proceedings and highlights how the researcher's own experience can affect the findings generated, and is therefore important to acknowledge. In that context, the paper highlights how a different epistemological approach to a topic can illuminate hitherto neglected issues. Other important matters that remain, here, part of the background, include levels of and funding for legal representation, the well documented differences between how magistrates and District Judges process cases and the use of forms as a manifestation of bureaucratic decision making processes. It is important to keep these issues in mind as it would be extremely difficult to isolate causal influences that have an impact on summary criminal proceedings.

The paper begins with a discussion about method and methodological issues that arose, followed by examples of how those issues manifested themselves during the research process. Finally, these issues are located in a broader socio-political understanding of processes of summary justice.

Method

The empirical research began from the premise that it was important to understand the way in which summary justice is administered, and it was against this background that observation was performed. Twenty days of observation was conducted at the four magistrates' courts in East Kent - five days at each court. I observed a range of hearings including sentencing, bail applications, trials and case management hearings. I remained in the public gallery of the court both while magistrates were sitting and while they were in retirement, which enabled me to observe some of the negotiation and more informal conversation that took place between advocates. I made notes about the cases and how the defendant was treated both while court was sitting and while magistrates retired. I typed up the notes into a diary at the end of each day when matters remained fresh in my mind. I subsequently analysed the diary to identify themes and then drew out examples in support of those themes.

The research takes the form of a case study which "is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question" (Bryman, 2012: 66) and is generally associated with a specific organisation or community - in this case, magistrates' courts in East Kent. The area in

which the courts are located is not the main focus of the research, but it is something which is of potential significance to the findings because the socio-economic make-up of the area may affect how the court operates. As such, the findings are not necessarily generalisable. The research therefore takes an idiographic approach in which the findings cannot necessarily be applied regardless of time and place (Bryman, 2012).

The case study combines a critical approach and an exemplifying approach and is based on a theory about court processes that "will allow a better understanding of the circumstances in which the hypothesis will and will not hold" (Bryman, 2012: 70). The hypothesis is that the court has become one area in which neoliberal practices manifest themselves, and that this has increased the marginalisation of defendants in the proceedings - see, for example, Wacquant (2009) and Bell (2011). It is also an exemplifying case study because it aims to encapsulate the circumstances of routine organisational situations in order to examine vital social processes (Bryman, 2012). Magistrates' courts are part of vital social processes in the sense that they administer the criminal law in the vast majority of prosecutions. As McBarnett notes:

the criminal justice process is the most explicit coercive apparatus of the state and the idea that police and courts can interfere with the liberties of citizens only under known law and by means of due process of law is thus a crucial element in the ideology of the democratic state (McBarnett, 1981: 8).

The equivalent of twenty days observation was conducted at the four magistrates' courts which operate in East Kent. A total of 184 cases were observed, ranging from applications for arrest warrants, cash seizures, administrative hearings, pleas, trials and sentencing. The aims of the observation were to identify:

1. Levels of legal representation
2. How representation was funded
3. Differences (if any) in case handling and outcome between represented and unrepresented defendants
4. Patterns of behaviour (if any) which tended to exclude defendants (whether represented or not) so that they remain only dummy players (Carlen, 1976) in the proceedings.

It is the fourth of these aims to which these findings refer.

An issue that is of methodological importance is my role within the institutions observed. I am a practising criminal defence advocate with seven years post-qualification experience. I regularly appear in the courts that I was observing and was easily identifiable by members of the Bench, court legal advisors and advocates, all of whom showed some degree of interest in my presence as a court observer. This placed me in the role of

“participant-as-observer” (Bryman, 2008: 410), which has two wider-reaching implications for the research:

1. My ability to conduct impartial observations which may affect my ability to identify issues which are significant but seem mundane to someone familiar with the setting
2. The recognition of nuanced behaviour which may not be obvious to a non-participant observer.

So far as those points are concerned, Bryman notes:

The researcher’s prolonged immersion in a social setting would seem to make him or her better equipped to see as others see ... also, he or she participates in many of the same kinds of activity as the members of the social setting being studied (Bryman, 2008: 465).

While the researcher’s immersion in the environment may lead him/her to take significant behaviours for granted, that immersion carries with it certain other benefits which could alter the understanding of the topic concerned.

The most relevant issue so far as benefits are concerned relates to “learning the native language ... it is also very often ... the special uses of words and slang that are important to penetrate that culture” (Bryman, 2008: 465). As a result of my previous experience, I was familiar with the meaning and significance of particular phrases used by court personnel. Further, while the presence of a participant observer can result in reactive effects, several advocates (both prosecuting and defending) commented that, although my presence as observer was unusual, they did not pay a lot of attention to what was being done because I was already an ‘insider’ or ‘on their team’. One prosecutor commented that, when an unknown observer is present, advocates must be on their ‘best behaviour’ – a formality which seemed to be unnecessary with me. This point does, however, have to be balanced against the risk of over-identification with the research subjects. It is therefore important for the researcher to retain reflexivity about his/her role and recognise potential bias that his/her role entails.

By far the greatest advantage that the practitioner-researcher/participant-observer role gave me was my location in the same epistemic community as the subjects. This enabled me to identify and analyse how law is used in summary proceedings. My observations suggest that points of law arise much more frequently in magistrates’ courts than has previously been estimated. Methodologically, this assertion holds because I am familiar with the language of the court and provisions to which implicit reference is often made. I intend to demonstrate this by reference to three instances in which advocates appear to make implicit references to law with relative frequency. Such references appear to be

common when defendants appear to be sentenced, for bail to be considered and during the course of case management.

Uses of law: Sentencing, bail and case management

This section considers how points of law manifest themselves in the four magistrates' courts studied. It considers the ways in which law is referred to in summary proceedings and situates the construction of legal issues in contemporary trends in criminal justice.

Socio-legal scholars have regarded magistrates' courts as venues in which proceedings are processed quickly, with minimal due process protections, and give the impression that those advocates who refer to points of law are dismissed as inexperienced and/or time wasting (Carlen, 1976; Bottoms and McClean, 1976; McBarnett, 1981). This theme appears to persist in summary criminal proceedings, as, according to Darbyshire (2011), lawyers who raise so-called spurious legal issues are still regarded as a threat to what Carlen (1976) described as the uncomfortable compromise which typifies the working relationships that exist between professional court personnel. As a result, one gains the impression that points of law are seldom referred to or, alternatively, that when legal issues are raised, they are treated as an inconvenience; as something which delays the volume processing of cases because legal ideology has been subordinated to bureaucratic requirements (McBarnett, 1981). As recently as 2011, Darbyshire (2011) reported that District Judges took the view that legal argument should not be raised in magistrates' courts, because the magistrates' court is the place of common sense, describing it as a "law free zone" (Darbyshire, 2011: 171). Notably, when Carlen (1976), McBarnett (1981) and Bottoms and McClean (1976) conducted their studies, defendants tended to appear without the assistance of a solicitor and the police (rather than qualified lawyers) were the prosecutors. The Crown Prosecution Service took over state led prosecutions in 1986 and, by 1986/87, four-fifths of defendants appearing in magistrates' courts were legally represented (Legal Action Group, 1992). Kemp (2010) noted that 82% of defendants in her magistrates' court sample were legally represented, nearly all via public funding.

It is possible that the professionalization of representation in summary criminal proceedings has led to increased reference to legal provisions in such cases. Indeed, Darbyshire (2011) reported the dismay expressed by one District Judge that more people were attempting to raise legal arguments in magistrates' courts. My observations suggest that there are frequent references to particular points of law during the course of summary proceedings in both implicit and explicit terms. Particular points of law seem most likely to be referred to during the course of sentencing proceedings. Furthermore, the provisions of the Bail Act 1976 are often implicitly referred to, while both implicit and explicit reference to the construction of charges and required evidence are also relatively common

in the course of case management. The significance in the use of implicit references to law are that they at least perpetuate, if not exacerbate, practices which exclude defendants from active participation in the proceedings. These practises manifest in the ways that advocates support the representations that they make to the court. The best evidence of references to points of law or legal provisions tends to arise when a particular outcome is sought such as a particular sentence or release on bail. I will therefore turn to particular ways in which legal issues arise in the course of such proceedings.

So far as sentencing proceedings are concerned, points of law seem to manifest via sentencing guidelines. Providing sentencing guidelines to magistrates is an example of measures designed to combat inconsistent decision making practices (Darbyshire, 1997; Davies, 2005). The Sentencing Council states:

It is important to ensure that courts across England and Wales are consistent in their approach to sentencing. Sentencing guidelines, which set out a decision-making process for all judges and magistrates to follow, play an essential role in this (Sentencing Council, 2012).

The sentencing guidelines are based on statute, case law and policy documents, and are therefore based on particular legal provisions according to rules of precedent. Thus, while the guidelines are not strictly points of law, they represent a distillation of legal opinion about what factors are important in determining the severity of offences. According to the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, the use of sentencing guidelines is mandatory unless it is not in the interests of justice to follow a particular guideline. Therefore, in order to determine the most appropriate sentence in any case, a working knowledge of the guidelines is advantageous - either to highlight specific aggravating and/or mitigating features or to argue that it would not be in the interests of justice to apply a particular guideline. The sentencing guidelines also suggest categories into which offences can be placed to determine their seriousness and therefore the most appropriate sentencing range. On several occasions, the court indicated to the defence solicitor that it was minded to consider an offence within a certain category, but the court did not explain what this meant to the defendant.

Of thirty-seven references observed to the sentencing guidelines, nearly half were made implicitly - for example, stating that a theft was opportunistic or an assault was provoked, which are matters specifically recorded as mitigating features (Sentencing Council, 2012). Defence advocates also appeared to suggest particular sentencing options to the magistrates by reference to the sentencing range and aggravating and mitigating features of offences. In those courts where a District Judge sat, he demonstrated a tendency to discuss the sentencing options with the defence advocate by reference to the specific aggravating and mitigating features contained within a particular guideline, but without stating that he

was specifically referring to the sentencing guidelines - that was something which was taken for granted.

The sentencing guidelines provide the magistrates with what are considered to be appropriate sentencing ranges on the basis of aggravating and mitigating features and are based on a first time offender who has been convicted following trial. As a matter of course, both prosecutors and defence advocates appeared to refer to the point at which defendants had pleaded guilty in the proceedings when dealing with cases to be sentenced. This provides another example of implicit reference to statutory provisions which entitle the defendant to a sentencing discount if a guilty plea has been entered at an early stage in the proceedings.

Sentencing guidelines in their present form did not exist until 2003, when the Sentencing Guidelines Council was created under the Criminal Justice Act 2003. The Sentencing Guidelines Council became the Sentencing Council in 2010. As that agency notes,

Guidelines are a relatively new innovation in sentencing so there aren't guidelines for every offence yet, and where they don't exist, judges look at previous similar cases for guidance on appropriate sentencing levels (Sentencing Council, 2012).

The sentencing guidelines therefore represent a coordinated effort to ensure more consistency and thereby appear to introduce a greater degree of specialised legal knowledge into summary proceedings than has previously been noted.

In terms of issues relating to bail, the fact of being placed on bail (with or without conditions) allows any criminal court to prosecute an individual who fails to attend court while subject to bail under s.6 Bail Act 1976. Therefore, every time a defendant is released on bail, at whatever stage in proceedings, he or she is effectively put on notice that there will be further charges if s/he fails to attend court as directed. The provisions of the Bail Act 1976 state that bail may be refused or bail with conditions may be imposed to ensure attendance at court, to ensure the defendant does not commit an offence while on bail or to ensure that the course of justice is not obstructed. Those exceptions to the right to (unconditional) bail appear to be referred to in implicit terms when prosecutors make applications to remand defendants into custody and when defence advocates apply for bail to be granted with conditions, because any conditions that are suggested are designed to meet concerns about the statutory exceptions to the right to bail. Examples include suggesting a condition to report to the local police at designated times to ensure a defendant does not abscond, or a condition not to enter retail premises to limit the risk of further offending.

Furthermore, provisions of the Legal Aid, Sentencing and Punishment of Offenders Act 2012 which came into force on 3 December 2012 now state that the prosecutor can only apply for a remand into custody if there is a realistic prospect of a custodial sentence on conviction. Not only does this suggest that knowledge of sentencing guidelines is

advantageous, but also my observations suggest that it is now not uncommon to hear prosecutors address the court simply by stating that there is or is not a realistic prospect of a custodial sentence when making representations about a defendant's remand status. For example, on one occasion, the prosecutor indicated that he was not applying for the defendant to be remanded into custody because the case involved a low level breach of an order and that custody was not a realistic prospect in the event of conviction. This is an implicit reference to particular legal provisions, the significance of which may not be understood by a non-lawyer. It should also be noted that particular provisions state that the decision to grant bail based on the fact that a custodial sentence is not a realistic sentencing option does not affect the power of the sentencing court to ultimately impose a custodial sentence. Again, these are matters that appear to post-date earlier socio-legal studies of magistrates' courts proceedings, and are particular legal provisions, of which knowledge is advantageous in framing submissions to the magistrates. The implicit use of legal provisions is therefore significant in summary proceedings, and could result in misunderstanding to the untrained ear. The implicit use of those terms highlights, and perhaps more recently exacerbates, the paradox of summary justice in that it requires knowledge of procedural propriety but denies access to that knowledge by the implicit and unexplained use of legal provisions. Carlen (1976) identified a similar issue in relation to the use of jargon and signalling between advocates in magistrates' courts but increased reference to legal provisions appears to have intensified this problem.

A third type of hearing in which increased implicit reference to particular points of law appears to be made is during the course of summary case management. Case management hearings have evolved from Narey's (1997) suggestion that pre-trial review hearings may alleviate the volume of ineffective trial listings that occurred in magistrates' courts. Auld (2001) was concerned about the number of Pre-Trial Reviews that occurred, and believed that the parties should take a more co-operative approach to case management. In 2005, the *Criminal Justice: Simple Speedy Summary Justice* initiative (which sought to reduce delay in summary proceedings) proposed the abandonment of pre-trial reviews in favour of more proactive case management outside the court (Department for Constitutional Affairs, 2006). However, case management hearings remain in place in East Kent.

The forms used in Case Management have both administrative and legal roles in magistrates' court processes. They require the parties to state the matters that are in dispute, the witness requirements (and reasons why witnesses are required), any further evidence to be served and any legal argument that is envisaged. As such, they require the parties to narrow the contested issues at trial so that court time can be used in the most efficient manner. The forms are also used to prevent the Crown being 'ambushed' at trial, which has the effect of focusing the Crown Prosecutor's time and resources only on those matters that are disputed.

As such, during the course of my observations, the defence solicitor was often asked by the court to clarify the exact nature of the defence with reference to the level of intent or the factual issues in dispute. The discussion that occurred between advocates and the court would make reference to issues such as the concept of recklessness in general without further explanation in open court. On one occasion, the court clerk simply said 'it's down to *mens rea*' without any further discussion. The concepts of *mens rea* and recklessness are very specific legal terms which are unlikely to be understood by a non-legally qualified participant or observer.

Case management forms are part of the executive's desire to increase efficiency under the Criminal Procedure Rules and therefore have an administrative function. Case management forms do also, however, have a role in potential legal argument about how evidential burdens are discharged and whether it would be just for trials to proceed. The form requires a defence advocate - the wording of the form assumes that the defendant has received advice - to indicate that a defendant has been advised that a trial can proceed in his or her absence if the defendant fails to attend court as directed, which is relevant to whether proceedings should continue in the absence of a defendant and whether a charge of failing to attend Court as directed can be laid.

Furthermore, the answers provided on Case Management forms about the issues in the case can be used as evidence during the course of a trial as implied admissions to particular elements constituting an offence, such as presence at the scene.

The completion of Case Management forms represents an important convergence of law and bureaucratic measures designed to ensure consistency and efficiency, as questions are reduced to a series of tick box answers - such as a yes/no answer as to whether the defendant has been advised about provisions which allow a reduction in sentence for entering an early guilty plea - with limited space to explain the issues. There is a specific section of the Case Management form which asks whether the parties can agree a basis of plea or plea to an alternative charge. Thus the form becomes a way of demonstrating that the parties are acting in an efficient, co-operative manner, as well as a document which, in order to be completed appropriately, requires knowledge of both the nature of the charge and the evidential burdens which the Crown must satisfy to prove its case. The case management form asks the parties to specifically confirm whether any issues surrounding hearsay or bad character evidence are likely to arise. My observations suggest that this often occurs in a very informal way - simply by the court saying to the advocates, for example, 'no bad character?' and the parties answering either 'yes' or 'no' without further explanation. Again this provides evidence that points of law are often referred to in a way that tends to ostracise defendants.

Explanatory factors

It seems therefore that points of law arise more frequently in summary proceedings than has previously been observed. This seems to result from the increased legalisation of summary proceedings in terms of a welter of new offences and legislation relating to the criminal justice process. Levels of legal representation have consequently increased, and that representation has been increasingly professionalised. Many of the new offences created are designed to avoid proceedings being transferred to the Crown Court as part of the government's desire for magistrates to retain jurisdiction in cases in the name of efficiency (Darbyshire, 1997). Furthermore, neoliberalism's embrace of management techniques has focused that efficiency drive on performance management techniques and statistics (Jones, 1993). This has resulted in the enactment of legislation which allows a number of low level, uncontested offences to be diverted from the criminal court process (Morgan, 2010), meaning that the cases which do come before the court are more likely to be complex or contested in some way.

There has been a desire for magistrates' courts to retain cases rather than send them to the Crown Court since the late 1990s (Darbyshire, 1997). So, while Darbyshire (2011) asserts that lawyers who wish to raise legal argument will, where possible, try to have the case dealt with in the Crown Court, there are bureaucratic measures which seek to deter committal to the Crown Court - not least the removal of committal fees and reduced guilty plea fees for advocates (Legal Services Commission, 2011). This desire has resulted from the government's hope to accelerate the processing of criminal cases as magistrates' courts tend to deal with cases more quickly than Crown Courts. Sanders (2010), and Ashworth and Zedner (2008), note that a significant number of new offences created in the last two or three decades are strict liability matters, which are usually confined to summary only proceedings and are easier to prove than those offences requiring *mens rea*.

In relation to those offences that remain in the summary criminal courts, case complexity has increased (Cape and Moorhead, 2005). The removal of low level, uncontested offending from magistrates' courts via diversionary processes was designed to increase efficiency in the criminal justice process, as were co-operative practices encouraged by the Criminal Procedure Rules (from which case management hearings are derived) (Auld, 2001). Not only do those co-operative practices discourage defendant's participation in the proceedings (Carlen, 1976), they encourage the parties to focus more on the legal and evidential issues involved in trials. The research observations suggest that of the 40 hearings in which defendants were unrepresented, 11 included references to points of law. There were 143 hearings in which defendants were legally represented, which included 105 references (either explicit or implicit) to points of law. Furthermore, the routine provision of case papers - also designed to

improve co-operation - has enabled cases to be analysed in greater detail at an early stage in proceedings (Cape and Moorhead, 2005). Therefore, somewhat ironically, measures designed to speed up the process of summary justice may have also encouraged more explicit references to points of law. Given that most defendants are legally represented - only 40 of the 184 defendants observed were not legally represented - it is arguable that those references to points of law would be less likely to arise if defendants were unrepresented, which may, in turn, further increase the pace of proceedings. However, evidence suggests that the presence of lawyers actually increases efficiency by negotiating pleas (Mulcahy, 1994) and co-operating with proceedings (Goriely, 1996).

In conclusion, it seems that the frequency with which points of law arise in summary proceedings has been previously underestimated. It appears most likely that increased levels of representation, alongside new legislation and procedural requirements have increased references to points of law in summary criminal proceedings. Earlier socio-legal studies of summary justice have drawn attention to marginalisation which is consequent to courtroom layout and signalling between personnel (Carlen, 1976), as well as issues regarding the efficacy of legal representation (McBarnett, 1981; Bottoms and McClean, 1976; McConville et al., 1994). However, recent government interest in the criminal justice process has resulted in more legislation which creates new offences, amends criminal justice procedure or alters evidential provisions. This appears to add another dimension to the nature of marginalisation experienced by defendants, particularly given that many of the references to recent legal provisions are made in implicit terms.

Given that this type of marginalisation is often identifiable only by reference to implicit use of legal provisions, the researcher's understanding of those provisions is of significant importance. A non-legally trained observer may not be able to immediately identify such implicit references and may thereby remain as marginalised from the proceedings as defendants. It is therefore clear that the researcher's location in the field is extremely important, and while it may carry risks of over identification with research subjects, these findings demonstrate how immersion in the research field can highlight hitherto underestimated issues.

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'Beyond the loot'

Social disorder and urban unrest

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Abstract

The article looks at current explanations for the 2011 English riots. It critiques one dominant view that, beyond the micro-political protest in Tottenham, people primarily participated to loot lifestyle items they could not afford to buy. Empirical data is used to challenge the extent and nature of the looting in 2011, concluding that the proportion of riot events that were not focused on looting, directly contradicts the argument that criminal acquisition and consumerism were primary drivers of the unrest. Social disorder is more likely to manifest as looting in commercial areas, but it does not naturally follow that participants originally set out to loot, and economics may not be their primary motive. The article moves on to explore the role the police may have played in promoting 'contagion' and to reflect on the role of policing in preventing and limiting unrest, even where foregrounded by other precipitating factors.

Key Words: 2011 English riots; urban disorder; looting; consumerism; policing

Introduction

This paper outlines emergent explanations for the English 2011 disturbances, looking in more detail at those which claim they were mainly about the loot. The Government and a group of criminologists believe that, beyond the initial protest in Tottenham over the police killing of Mark Duggan, people took part in the disorders primarily for motives of greed and material gain. The Government suggests this was 'criminality, pure and simple' (Cameron, 2011), while the criminologists argue that the overpowering influence of consumerist ideology was the major cause.

The paper draws on empirical data to challenge key assumptions about the extent and nature of the looting in 2011, and refers to accounts of previous disturbances - in Britain, France and the United States - to

demonstrate that looting can have other purposes beyond the economic. Comparative analysis is then used to demonstrate how, across time and space, policing has played a more important role in fostering urban unrest, and may be responsible for the 'contagion' in 2011. Findings revealing the dynamic relationship between policing and unrest are then used to reflect on ways in which the police can prevent and limit disorder in contemporary urban settings.

A criminal underclass

For four days in August 2011 there were widespread public disturbances in 66 locations across England and Wales. Generally referred to as 'riots', they involved an estimated 15,000 people, cost five lives and approximately half a billion pounds (Bridges, 2012). Despite the scale of these disturbances, there has been no major official inquiry. David Cameron claimed "this was not political protest or a riot about protest, about politics. It was common or garden thieving, robbing and looting. And we don't need an inquiry to tell us that" (cited in Newburn et al., 2011b).

The idea of the disturbances as a product of a 'Broken Britain' emerged strongly in the Government's commentary on the riots. This was a theme used by Cameron before the riots in justifying the agenda of the Coalition Government (Solomos, 2011), and afterwards to distance the events from any policies introduced by his administration, constructing them instead as the product of moral breakdown (ibid). The usual culprits cited as responsible for this breakdown were feral children whose parents had failed in their duty to socialise them, and criminal gangs. This political response was echoed by Australian sociologist, John Carroll (2012), who suggests the disturbances were a symptom of the 'spoilt brat mentality' that had developed in Britain and parts of Europe. He links this to welfare dependency, which has undermined the natural role of authority figures to transmit cultural beliefs and expectations down to new generations.

Social injustice

In the UK, a number of academics have argued that advanced capitalism and neo-liberal policies have created a highly unequal society, producing marginalised groups who are angry and feel their only way to express this is through violent outburst. Lea and Hallsworth (2012) suggest the 2011 disturbances were an expression of this 'diffuse and generalised rage', which had no specific target (p.31). Others regard them as an 'uprising' against the perceived injustices of the state and other powerful elites (e.g. Newburn et al., 2011b; Wain and Joyce, 2012).

Milburn (2012: 402) suggests that the 2011 disturbances emerged from a 'context of crisis and austerity'. European data demonstrates that social unrest is invariably linked to recession, in anticipation of austerity measures rather than their felt effects, because in the majority of cases

unrest narrowly precedes the cutbacks (Ponticelli and Voth, 2009). This fits the situation in 2011, when the full weight of proposed spending cuts had not yet hit.

Taylor-Gooby (2013: 12) argues 'it is not so much the fact of cutbacks ... as the groups affected and the detail of the restructuring of the welfare state' that affects social order. Welfare cuts that hit the poorest groups hardest, and welfare restructuring that promotes a greater role for the private over the public sector, are most likely to undermine legitimacy (the extent to which citizens accept the authority of the Government), and in doing so are the most likely to promote social unrest.

Young people, representing approximately half of riot participants (Ministry of Justice, 2012), had already been hit particularly hard by economic decline and austerity measures. Youth unemployment had reached record levels, and cuts to youth provision had left some young people with little to do (Higgs, 2011; McVeigh, 2011; Wain and Joyce, 2012). Rioters interviewed for the Reading the Riots study invariably talked about a pervasive sense of injustice, with younger interviewees particularly likely to mention lack of opportunities, cuts, and the ending of the Educational Maintenance Allowance¹ (Newburn et al., 2011a).

The close proximity of disparities in wealth is one factor explaining why similarly deprived areas were unaffected. In London, where a great deal of the unrest occurred, the rich and poor live side-by-side (Stenson, 2012) and the 'status frustration' induced by this is palpable (Angel, 2012). Jeffery and Jackson (2012) refer to the highly visible disparities in Salford, where 'islands of gentrified affluence' exist 'in a sea of relative poverty'. These emerged under the banner of urban regeneration (ibid), but are actually the 'result of a free and politically uncontrolled play of market forces' where the poor are excluded from city centres in a bid to attract inward investment and appeal to wealthy consumers (Bauman, 2012: 12). Thus, a significant dimension to the disturbances was the struggle over place and belonging (Spalek et al., 2012; Jeffery and Jackson, 2012).

Over-policing

Empirical evidence spotlights anger at the police as a key motivation for some riot participants. Adversarial styles of policing, such as stop-and-search, are widely reported to promote defiance rather than compliance (Sherman, 1993). Of those brought before the courts for riot-related offences, 78 per cent of males and 43 per of females had been stopped and searched in the previous year (Topping et al., 2011). It emerged that not only was the quantity of stop-and-searches an issue, but the disrespectful manner in which they were carried out (Reicher and Stott, 2011). Consequently, some participants claimed to have rejected opportunities to loot during the disturbances, to focus on the police (Lewis, 2011). These

¹ Financial aid payable to young people aged 16-19, studying or undertaking unpaid work-based learning, where parents have a certain level of taxable income.

findings highlight the importance of policing grounded on principles of 'procedural justice' (see Hough, 2013).

Although Whites represented the largest group in the disturbances, Solomos (2011: 2) suggests that 'it would be wrong to leave to one side the role that ... race and ethnicity played in some localities'. Some Black rioters report feeling unfairly treated by the police because of their race (Muir and Adegoke, 2011). There is also the remarkable similarity between the events surrounding the shooting of Duggan, and the role this played in sparking the riots, and the events that led to the Broadwater Farm riots of 1985, following the death of Cynthia Jarratt, who died during a police search of her home. Despite policing reforms since the urban disorders of the 1980s, it seems that policing practices may not always be sensitive to the needs of ethnically diverse communities.

Bad behaviour

Newburn (2012b) suggests that criminologists are not unaware of 'techniques of neutralisation' and have been enormously careful both in interviewing and analysis to weigh carefully what rioters have said, 'retaining a researcher's necessary scepticism at all times' (p.334). Nevertheless, there remains a great deal of suspicion that riot participants were simply making excuses for bad behaviour (Treadwell et al., 2012; Waddington, 2012; Žižek, 2011). According to Žižek (2011: 3):

It's easy to imagine a protester who, caught looting and burning a store and pressed for his reasons, would answer in the language used by social workers and sociologists.

We are reminded of the inconvenient truth that disorder and rioting are fun (Rock, 1981). Some of the events were observed as being carnivalesque (Waddington, 2012). A proportion of participants offered no other motivation for their involvement than 'the buzz of doing things they couldn't or wouldn't normally do such as smashing things and being chased by the police' (Morrell et al., 2011: 27). The motivation of having 'something exciting to do' is likely linked to the everyday boredom experienced by some groups of young people, due to high youth unemployment and a lack of quality youth provision (Morrell et al., 2011). Boredom may have been heightened anyway, in August, due to the school summer holidays.

Consumerism

There is a group of criminologists and sociologists (Bauman, 2012; Moxon, 2011; Tester, 2012; Treadwell et al., 2012; Žižek, 2011) who agree with Cameron, that the 2011 disturbances were primarily about robbing and looting, for material gain and not politics. They claim that despite

everything else - the relative poverty, unemployment, austerity and loss of youth provision – people participated because they felt unable to let this historic opportunity to grab something for free pass them by (Treadwell et al., 2012).

In contrast to the Government view, that family disintegration and the poor socialisation of children promoted the looting, these academics regard it as a product of the successful integration and socialisation of young people into a society that values wealth and consumables above all else. Rioters may have been angry and dissatisfied with their lot, but they 'did not begrudge the super-rich their success' (ibid, p10). They wanted the same for themselves. 'The ubiquity of the consumerist motivation is revealed by the fact that, after selling the goods they had stolen, they returned to the same stores to buy legitimate goods' (ibid, p.6).

Hence, 'this was not a rebellion or an uprising... but a mutiny of defective and disqualified consumers' (Bauman, 2012: 11). The police were only attacked because they got in the way of the shopping experience (Tester, 2012). The political context is recognised, but only to explain the impossibility of protest due to a culture of individualism, envy and intense social competition produced by late-capitalism and neoliberalism - which has made it 'almost impossible for a potential collective of marginalised subjects to construct a universal political narrative that makes causal and contextual sense of their own shared suffering and offers a feasible solution to it' (Treadwell et al., 2012: 3).

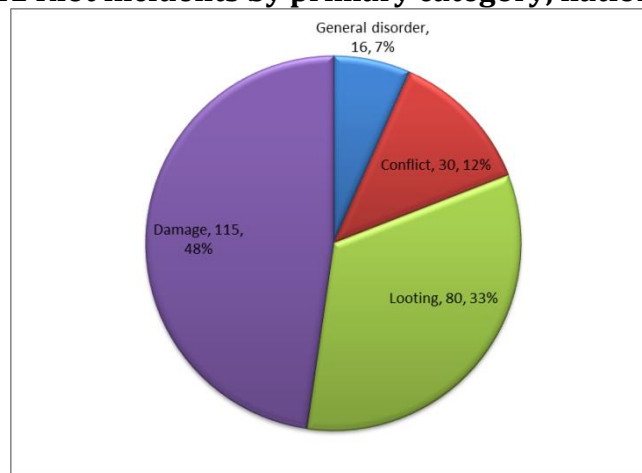
Scale and nature of looting

None of the explanations so far have really looked at the scale and nature of looting in 2011. Based on The Guardian (2011) database of riot incidents (collated from a range of media sources including news reports, blogs and twitter) and the author's own categorisation of these – according to whether they were primarily about looting, criminal damage, conflict (with the police), or general disorder – it seems that looting was not as prevalent as many accounts suggest. The data indicates that two-thirds of riot incidents had little or nothing to do with looting (fig 1), and, in some local authority areas, looting accounted for less than a tenth of what occurred (fig 2). This database does not capture every public order incident, but more detailed analysis of events in Nottingham suggests that looting incidents are over-represented.

These findings undermine the explanatory power of personal greed or consumerism. The majority of riot participants were not thieving or 'shopping'. The data confirms what many participants have claimed, that a proportion was more intent on 'sticking it to the police'. This fits with the observations made by Davies (2012) during the Birmingham disorders, where '[t]heir only aim was to goad the police, challenging them vocally, attempting to provoke the police to charge', at which point they would run through side streets to escape, before returning to repeat the exercise till

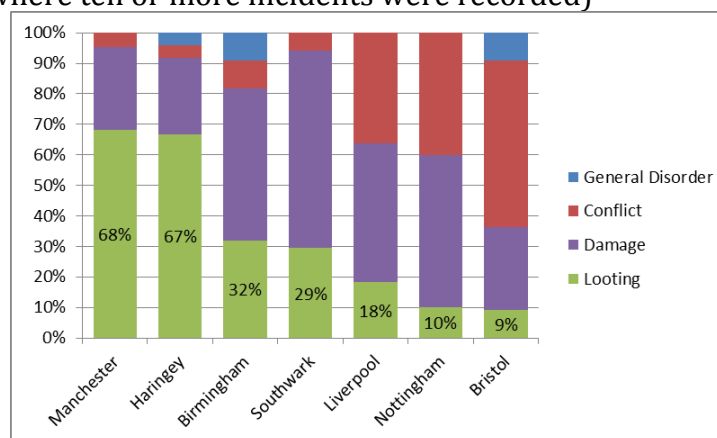
late into the night (p.16). There is also the fact that, in Nottingham, five police stations were attacked (One Nottingham, 2011), which does not fit easily with the consumerist thesis.

Figure 1. 2011 Riot incidents by primary category, nationally



Data source: The Guardian (2011)

Figure 2. 2011 Riot incidents by primary category, by district
(districts where ten or more incidents were recorded)



Data source: The Guardian (2011)

The role of looting in 2011 may have been exaggerated due to the value of the goods taken. Campbell (1993) suggests that damage to and looting of shops was a key feature in the Meadowell riot, in Northumbria, in 1991. Yet, the looting there, which left the people of Meadowell without access to basic provisions for a long time afterwards, received rather less attention. One wonders whether this was because the looting here amounted to little more than stockpiles of shampoo and coffee in rioters' homes (ibid), rather than plasma televisions.

Mac Ginty (2004) suggests that 'looting' is a pejorative term. It is a negative label used by the powerful, usually to imply acts of criminal acquisition motivated by greed. This is the definition accepted within the

consumerism thesis. Yet, looting conflates a wide range of activities that can differ greatly in terms of organisation, scale and the object of looting. To counter the indiscriminate use of the term, Mac Ginty proposes a four-fold typology, which establishes that in addition to economic motives, looting can be symbolic, strategic, or selective.

Symbolic looting includes the taking of goods as trophies, fitting with some accounts that looting in 2011 was primarily used as a means to acquire street reputation, especially by those involved in gangs, and this took primacy over the material value of looted goods (Harding, 2012). Looting can also send a message about changing power relations, demonstrating a lack of consent for existing authority. This aligns with Angel's (2012) view that riots are inherently political events because they both provoke and are a product of what Habermas (1975) describes as a 'legitimation crisis', where the modern state, in its attempts to maintain profitability in a capitalist-based economy, fails to retain political legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens.

Collins (2008) has previously referred to the strategic role of looting, which can act as a 'mass recruiter and momentum sustainer', without which the riot would come to an end once the police chose to withdraw. From a Durkeimian perspective, looting is a 'symbolic expression of membership' (McDonald, 2012). Solidarity and integration was evident in the looting behaviour in 2011. Participants stood in the way of cameras, presumably to avoid fellow looters being identified, Looters taking goods from other looters was reported, but rare, and violence was generally targeted at non-participants (ibid).

Selective looting, often a feature of communal rioting, is where properties or whole areas are looted in a manner suggesting target discrimination. For example, in the 1992 Los Angeles riot, property damage for Koreans was disproportionately high (Min, 1996: 90), being targeted by African Americans due to long simmering tensions linked to cultural differences and the socio-economic success of Korean Americans relative to blacks (Kim, 2011). Advocates of greed and consumerist explanations might see the targeting of designer clothing and electrical stores in the 2011 riots as simple economics. An alternative explanation, voiced by looters themselves, is that these stores were targeted because they were perceived to be the most exploitative (Briggs, 2012).

Mac Ginty (2004) has identified four variables that must come together for looting to occur:

1. availability of potential looters
2. availability of lootable goods
3. absence of restraint
4. permissible socio-cultural environment

These factors focus on the circumstances in which looting takes place, over the characteristics or motivations of offenders, which is how the 'routine activity approach' seeks to explain crime (see Cohen and Felson, 1979). The

second variable spotlights the importance of place, suggesting that looting is more likely to occur where lootable goods are more easily available, such as commercial areas; and may explain the greater prevalence of looting in some places compared to others.

Quantitative research in the U.S. has shown that where there has been no pre-arrangement or planned event, people tend to gather at symbolic locations, such as a well-known public building or major road intersection (Haddock and Palsby, 1994). Arguably, a shopping centre is a 'symbolic location' for young people living in contemporary urban Britain. Shopping centres are where young people meet to 'hang out' with their friends. Hence, it is understandable that young people living in Birmingham should head to the Bull Ring shopping centre, where disorder occurred in 2011. The manifestation of looting here is perhaps unsurprising given the proximity of lootable goods, but it does not confirm that participants gathered with prior intention to loot.

Policing preventing unrest

The disorder in 2011 is believed to have been triggered when a young woman, protesting outside Tottenham Police Station, was pushed to the ground and hit repeatedly by a police officer. Some say this event, rather than the death of Duggan, 'sparked' the disturbances (Reicher and Stott, 2011), thus, demonstrating the importance of strategies and techniques to effectively manage gatherings, to prevent them turning into major unrest.

People gather for many reasons, some simply as curious onlookers, but motivations can change, affected by the behaviour of other people at the gathering (McPhail and Wohlstein, 1983; McPhail, 1994). Research in the U.S. (Perez et al., 2003) has shown that the presence of a sizable, well-trained police force has a deterrent effect on riot escalation, whereas the violent deployment of the same officers has the opposite effect. The elaborated social identity model (ESIM) (see Drury and Reicher, 2000) explains how this can happen. Homogenous treatment of the crowd creates a common experience, promoting group identification and group behaviour. Once unified, an action against one member of the group is perceived as an action against the whole group. Collective conflict is more likely where the police-civilian encounter gives rise to a shared sense of police illegitimacy (Reicher et al., 2007).

Some areas of the country are reported to have avoided disturbances in 2011 specifically linked to the approaches taken by the police. In the St Pauls district of Bristol, the police had gained experience during the 'Tesco riots' earlier the same year. As a result they were 'very firm but very even-handed' calling on people to 'calm down', which had a relaxing effect on an otherwise tense crowd (Clifton, 2012b). Police arrests in the imminent or early stages of unrest, of people deemed to be doing little wrong by their peers, become symbolic of a society that treats them

unjustly. This was the situation that played out in Ely, Cardiff, leading to unrest in the early 1990s (Campbell, 1993).

Research has found that crowds are neither apolitical nor ahistorical, and that greater levels of excessive force are especially problematic where foregrounded with poor police-community relations (Perez et al., 2003; Rosenfeld, 1997). For example, the Chicago Bulls Riot of 1992 was widely defined as a 'celebratory riot' because it started as a celebration of a basketball victory. Rosenfeld (1997), however, evidences that it was political as well as celebratory, responding to a 'reservoir of grievances' including massive welfare cuts in Illinois and the televised drama of the Los Angeles riot of 1992, linked to the police beating of Rodney King. This demonstrates how an understanding of riots must focus on precipitating events and longer-term underlying causes.

There are usually signs that unrest is imminent before it erupts. Preceding the unrest in Oldham in 2001, the Asian community, expecting trouble after a football match, asked the police to re-direct fans from their area of residence. Had the police responded, the unrest might have been avoided (Bagguley and Hussain, 2008). Instead, Asian men gathered to defend the community themselves, leading to a large-scale confrontation. The police managed to drive back the White football fans and then attempted to disperse the Asians, who assumed that the police were taking the fans' side. The main disturbances that took place a few weeks later, characterised by extensive Asian violence against the police, were undoubtedly affected by these events. Thus, highlighting how 'under-policing', as well as over-policing, can contribute to the breakdown of social order.

Historical accounts demonstrate that a proactive approach by the police, with local partners, can prevent violence. Campbell (1993) describes how the joint efforts of the police and the Racial Equality Committee (REC) managed to avoid major unrest on the Elswick estate, Newcastle, in the early 1990s, by mobilising to protect the symbolic sites of its Asian residents, who were at risk of being targeted. The choice of policing partners seems important. In Chapeltown, Leeds, major unrest was averted in 2011 by the decision of West Yorkshire police to allow long-standing and respected community workers to conduct urgent outreach with potential rioters (Clifton, 2012a). As recognised in the HMIC review (2011), 'good community engagement' is 'pivotal' in effectively policing disorders (p.60); however, officers themselves may not always be the best placed to engage directly, depending on the situation and groups involved.

Communication and transparency are important factors in preventing disorder. In the absence of any announcement from the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) or the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) confirming or denying the 'exchange of fire' or 'assassination' stories circulating in the press, Duggan's family and the community began to suspect police mishandling. The MPS review (2012) notes that inaccuracies in these media stories 'should have been positively rebutted immediately'. Had they been, people may not have gathered

outside Tottenham police station seeking information and answers. Again, the paucity of information, when no senior officer came to speak to the gathering, took events further towards unrest. Violence finally erupted when the police addressed the crowd not with information, but with force.

Policing limiting unrest

A perception that the police could not contain the scale of the rioting was reported as a factor contributing to the spread of the disturbances. People felt they 'would be able to loot and damage without being challenged by the police' (Riots Communities and Victims Panel, 2011). One reason suggested for why the disturbances came to end was fear when the numbers of police officers on the street began to swell (Taylor et al., 2011). This supports 'rational choice theory' and an understanding of rioters', who decide whether to participate based on perceived costs and benefits. It converges with Jobard's (2009) explanation for contagion in the 2005 French riots, which he suggests was due to an initial policing strategy focusing on containment rather than arrest, as Sarkozy attempted to avoid any incident of police brutality that might undermine his government.

It is not wholly clear why the MPS did not take control when the 2011 disturbances began. The MPS reported being unprepared as unrest spread to 22 of London's 32 boroughs (Newburn and Prasad, 2012). Officers dealing with the violence first-hand said they felt not only unprepared, but untrained for the situation, overwhelmed and afraid (ibid). Perez et al. (2003) argue that a well-trained police force is crucial for dealing with unrest, due to the potentially disastrous outcomes that may stem from a single officer's transgressions toward a member of the public. They propose training officers to manage their emotions as well as the crowds they confront. Riots, such as the Watts riot of 1965, 'might well have been averted had the officers ignored taunts and insults from an angry yet innocuous crowd.' (Perez et al., 2003: 177).

Doubts remain whether the British police could have dealt any better with the 2011 disturbances, even with more and better trained officers. It is suggested that low morale, linked to job insecurity and recent controversies had undermined police resolve (Angel, 2012). In the aftermath of the Tomlinson case², it is unclear whether a strategic decision had been made not to confront the crowds, risking another incident of police brutality. Officers did, however, report being more cautious about the level of force they used as a consequence (Newburn, 2012a). Prioritising the protection of life over law enforcement would have been supported by Lord Scarman, who conducted the inquiry into the 1981 Brixton riots, even if he would have been critical of some of the other police failures regarding community engagement (ibid).

² A newspaper vendor, who died after being struck by police at the 2009 G20 protests

A report by the HMIC (2011) proposed that a new framework for resolving public disorder should include the rules of engagement for weaponry such as water cannons, CS gas, and plastic bullets. The Home Affairs Committee (2011), however, concluded that these would have been an inappropriate and dangerous response to events in 2011. However well-equipped the police force, society would still be impossible to regulate without its consent (Jackson et al., 2012; Klein, 2012). People are more likely to obey the law and cooperate with the police where there is moral alignment between the people, the law and enforcement agencies (Jackson et al., 2012; Tyler and Fagan, 2006). In the words of Chief Constable Alderson, following the 1980s' disturbances, the way forward is 'to talk hearts and minds, not CS gas and plastic bullets' (cited in Wain and Joyce 2012: 133).

Durodié (2012) claims that what was exposed by the 2011 disturbances was a crisis of authority, and authorities needed to work out how to inspire their citizens to be part of and engage with their own society. Research evidence supports this, reporting that a major brake on the disturbances was not any particular policing tactic, but the 'call for peace' from the father of one of the men killed in Birmingham. Rioters commented how the father's public speech made them feel remorseful, and this directly informed their decision to exit from the disturbances (Taylor et al., 2011). Parental pressure and concerns about bringing shame on their families were also found to inhibit young people's involvement (Morrell et al., 2011; Taylor et al., 2011). This demonstrates that communities have the ability to self-regulate, and perhaps suggests a role for the police as 'facilitators... rather than creators' of social order (Innes and Roberts, 2008).

Conclusion

Unrest is usually foregrounded by social inequality, social injustices perpetrated by the state, business, or the police, and often the context of austerity. Protest against these seems to be a motivation for some rioters. There is also the 'generalised' anger of marginalised groups, who know not what to blame. However, a lack of understanding about the structural and processual causes of their suffering does not make political action impossible. Perhaps their actions are 'political' if they are rioting because something is definitely not right. Either way, the large-scale breakdown of social order is a political context.

There is evidence that some people took part in the 2011 disturbances for personal and material gain. However, the number of riot events that did not involve looting directly undermines the argument that criminal acquisition was the primary driver of unrest. Capitalist and consumerist ideologies undoubtedly influence many aspects of our behaviour, but clearly other factors were at play. It must also be recognised that looting can have non-economic motives. For example, with the police

looking on, unable to prevent it, looting can be a show of power that is overtly political.

There is significant evidence demonstrating the role of the police in fostering and limiting unrest. Treating people uniformly as a crowd, using unfair practices, can transform a gathering into a riot. Low police numbers in the early stages of unrest, using methods of containment rather than arrest, has also been found to escalate disorder, as marginalised and over-policed groups seize a rare opportunity to feel powerful.

However, even in unequal societies, police and policing partners have the potential to prevent and limit disorder by monitoring and proactively responding to tensions and by fostering good police-community relations, supported by sensitive community liaison and transparency. Styles of policing that treat people with respect ensure trust in the institution of policing and provide a better platform for maintaining social order over the longer term (see Hough, 2013).

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Capitalismo extremo, ideology and Ibiza

A new perspective of youth deviance and risk on holiday

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Abstract

Working class British tourists are renowned for their deviant and risk behaviours when they go on holiday to Spain. However, there is almost no consideration for a) how these accelerated attitudes to 'getting wasted' evolved; and b) the role of the resort, as well as the British people who work there, in the process of behavioural coercion. Based on ethnographic research, I argue in this paper that for many British youth, the idea of getting wasted on holiday is a socialised process which is commercially influenced which normally starts through *Club 18-30* package holidays. There young Brits learn what they should be doing on holiday - drinking, taking drugs, having sex and engaging in violence - and here begins the 'holiday career' where they start to learn of the pinnacle of the holiday experience: Ibiza. It is the 'place to be' - even though many don't really know why. Some shortcut the holiday career at a younger age and this, I argue, is what we are currently witnessing - a population of younger Brits who are being wooed by the potential acquisition of social status which can come from going to Ibiza which is ideologically constructed for them by marketing companies, travel operators and flight companies and the media. So well functions this ideology, that when people arrive, they are therefore familiar with what they should be doing - spending money they don't have and engaging in various deviant and risk behaviours - only the holiday occasion, away from home routines and responsibilities and with friends who have ambitions for the same thing, means that the excess and consumption takes on a greater pressure. This is what I want to argue is called 'capitalismo extremo', a money-making process concerned only with profit and which takes no prisoners; even if it means significant personal and social loss. It is this which is precisely what creates the impetus for the deviant and risk behaviours of young British tourists.

Key Words: Deviance; risk; holiday; British youth

Introduction

Working class British tourists are renowned for their deviant and risk behaviours - heavy drinking, drugs, casual sex and violence - when they go on holiday to Spain. Indeed, their behaviour impacts on the local Spanish communities and has attracted a significant amount of media coverage as well as governmental campaigns in order to prevent/reduce the problems. However, the blame for these behaviours is placed directly with the tourists themselves - it is pathologised - and there is almost no consideration for a) how these accelerated attitudes to exaggerated hedonism evolved; and b) the role of the resort, as well as the British people who work there, in the process of this behavioural coercion. Using data gleaned from three years of ethnographic research, this paper unpacks these issues in greater depth.

I argue that for many British youth, the idea of engaging in excessive consumption and hedonism on holiday is a socialised process which is gleaned from popular culture and often is borne from their participation in the night-time economy (NTE) at home where they go out at weekends to drink, take drugs and get into fights. It is thereafter christened by their attendance at a *Club 18-30* package holiday when they are in their late teens. On these organised holidays, young Brits learn what they should be doing on holiday - drinking, taking drugs, having sex and engaging in violence - and here begins the 'holiday career' where they go to different commercial resorts around the Mediterranean and start to learn about the pinnacle of the holiday experience: Ibiza. Ibiza, they find out, is the 'place to be' - even though many don't really know why. Some, however, shortcut this holiday career at a younger age and this, I argue, is what we are currently witnessing in Ibiza now - a population of younger Brits who are being wooed by the potential acquisition of social status which has been ideologically constructed for them by marketing companies, corporations, travel operators and flight companies and the media. So well functions this ideology, that when these young Brits arrive, they are therefore familiar with what they should be doing - spending money they don't have and engaging in various deviant and risk behaviours - only the holiday occasion, away from home routines and responsibilities and with friends who have similar ambitions, means that the excess and consumption takes on a greater pressure. This means their behaviours become more extreme and bizarre. These British tourists - at various stages of their youth - therefore participate in what I want to call *capitalismo extremo*: a money-making process concerned only with profiting from what they spend and which simultaneously potentially leaves them with significant personal, financial and/or social loss.

I provide my insight through the lens of a group of young British men who I met in Ibiza in 2011. They exemplify many in my sample who have uncertain work futures, a commitment to partying on the weekends and generally looking for ways to relieve the boredom of home existence (see Briggs, 2013 for full details of sample and methodology). I call them

the Southside crew. They are all aged between 25-26, are from a coastal town in the UK and represent typical constructions of working class British holidaymakers abroad in resorts like San Antonio.

British holidaymakers abroad: The facts

Like their European counterparts, young British holidaymakers have benefitted from cheap international airfares. While southern Spain and the Balearic Islands (Majorca, Ibiza and Menorca) have been popular for decades, in the 1970s, 80s and 90s, new tourist destinations evolved and were marketed at the British holidaymaker. Known as 'package holidays', they started to become popular and helped establish new transport and tourism economies, while at the same time, created unanticipated competition for already-established destinations such as those in the Balearics. However, over the last 20 years or so, many of these destinations have developed a reputation for social problems (Calafat et al., 2010). Here I provide some brief overview of the extent of the behaviours to which they are attributed in the context of Ibiza.

The extent of British deviant and risk behaviours in Ibiza

The most recent data on the level of deviant and risk behaviours among British holidaymakers comes from researchers from Liverpool John Moores University. Their survey of 1,022 British holidaymakers aged 16-35 in Balearic island airports of Majorca and Ibiza found that over half experienced 'drunkenness' five days a week or more (52%), a similar percentage (54%) reported using drugs and around a fifth having unprotected sex (20%) with multiple partners (15%) while on holiday in Ibiza. One third of the visitors to Ibiza were current ecstasy users (34%) and cocaine users (34%). Indeed, while just 2.4% of ecstasy users in the Ibiza sample reported using the drug two or more times per week at home, during the holiday nine out of ten users reported use at this frequency with 46.7% reporting use five or more days per week. Indeed, in comparison to German and Spanish tourists, British use more illegal substances in Ibiza when they holiday than when they are at home (Calafat et al., 2010).

More qualitative analyses have since followed and here is where some of my work began. In 2010, I led a team of four researchers to investigate binge drinking in San Antonio, Ibiza. During that excursion, we found that excessive alcohol consumption was socially embedded as part of the holiday ambitions of various single sex groups of young British holidaymakers, but that also this was endorsed, and at times aggressively coerced, by players in the social context in various marketing material, the reps, and the bar workers/owners. The following year, in 2011 when I met the Southside crew, I documented the role of the other players of the social scenery - bar and PR workers, the strippers, lapdancers, prostitutes as well as augmented my data on the British holidaymakers. We found that deviance and risk also emerged in the context of risky sexual practices,

drug and alcohol consumption as a consequence of the 'marketisation' of sex, drugs and alcohol which was prevalent as much in the ambitions of the British holidaymakers as it was in the discourses of the casual workers, the club promoters and the general landscape of San Antonio.¹

The appeal of the holiday, as a form of continuous leisure venture, has been recently documented through the increased number of British casual workers/tourist workers. While there is some ambiguity attached to whether they are 'holidaymakers', I can only conclude that it is some extension of the holiday because often the workers do not keep the same job with the same company/boss for long and it is not permanent work nor intended as a long-term career. O'Reilly (2000: 113) would call these people 'residential tourists' whereby 'worklessness is celebrated and the work/leisure distinction is blurred'. Indeed, this is perhaps reflected in quantitative studies which have found that such workers are more likely to be using more drugs, and consider it safer to do so, than the British holidaymakers (Hughes et al., 2004). Like the tourists, the casual workers find it difficult to fend off the temptation to party - probably because they have been told it is part of their job to stimulate the party atmosphere and encourage drinking, sexual-innuendo-like games and general deviance (Guerrier and Adib, 2003). Recent research in Ibiza has found that this particular British population are more likely to take more drugs, take more risks with unprotected sex with multiple partners and have sought healthcare services abroad than the holidaymakers (Kelly, 2011). I now turn to the background circumstances of the Southside crew by examining how their cultural outlook - or *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984) - has come to be moulded over time by consumer capitalism.

Goin' Ibiza: Home lives and the holiday hype

Author: *What is it that you all do [for work] in the UK?*

Jay: *Building.*

Streetfighter: *I just come out of the army so I am very stressed. I come out of the army, see people get killed, so I have a lot of stress.*

Jay: *That's why we've got to have fun, mate. So if he's not having fun, I'm not having fun. And we are on holiday. If I've got £100 and they have nothing, I'm gonna split it.*

Author: *Right. [To Popeye] What do you do at home?*

Popeye: *Construction work.*

C-Dawg: *Yeah me too.*

Jay: *We all do the same sort of thing.*

Popeye: *We're all riff raff [lower down the social chain].*

They say their work is 'boring'. It then transpires that all have criminal records and have spent a significant period of their youth in the weekend

¹ For a similar analysis of the spatial construction of gender relations in the context of British holidaymakers see Andrews (2008).

local NTE, drinking heavily, and taking and dealing drugs, and getting into fights. Later in the interview:

Jay: *Yeah, we all used to smash it on drugs. When I was 18, I was on it non-stop. Proper on it. For a whole weekend, it would keep you alive. Say from Friday to Sunday night, it would be non-stop and you could drink more.*

Streetfighter: *It's true.*

Jay: *If you want the real truth, this is what we do. I wouldn't lie to you. Me, him [Streetfighter] and my mate in three hours, we finished 21 grams of coke [cocaine].*

Author: *How much was it worth?*

Jay: *Easily, that was strong shit, easily a grand's [£1,000] worth.*

Popeye: *I went to jail for selling it. That's why I don't touch them. I come out two years ago and won't touch them because I lost so much through drugs. It fucks you up, mate.*

The experiences the Southside crew describe here are similar to numerous others in my sample of young working class Brits who go to Ibiza. Many reflect on growing up and being familiar from an early age with drinking, drugs, drug taking and, in some cases, drug dealing. Those that have work, tend to describe it as tedious and mundane while others survive more by temporary and uncertain means (Standing, 2011) augmented with illicit activities such as crime (Hall et al., 2008). To some extent, a quest for transgression evolves from these precarious positions as there seems to be much more of an attraction for getting drunk and/or 'living for the weekend', perhaps getting arrested and/or engaging deviance and risky behaviours.

What it is, therefore, important to acknowledge is that these deviant and risk practices are already embedded in their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984) and this, to some degree, influences what they do on holiday because it is what they have come to know they should be doing with their leisure time. However, it is these elements of their *habitus* that have, over time, been moulded - and are increasingly shaped by - the delegitimisation of work and labour, instead complemented by an aggressive commercialisation of their leisure time and increased emphasis of a consumer society (Hayward and Hobbs, 2007). It is this socio- and culturo-structural framework which blinds them with a thin film of ideological fantasy about how they should enjoy their leisure time - that is getting drunk and/or taking drugs at weekends, and engaging in deviance and risk behaviours in places like Ibiza - and that it is this which lays some foundation for what they do when they go on holiday abroad.

Constructing Ibiza: The holiday career and status stratification

Streetfighter: *People say that Magaluf there is lots of slags [easy women] and it is easy to pull.*

Author: *Is it?*

Streetfighter: *Yeah but people say the birds are [good] quality in Ibiza.*

Jay: *Nah.*

Author: *No?*

Jay: *No because they are as good. Right, my mate, he come here [to Ibiza] and had one bird [girl] but went to Magaluf and had six birds over seven nights.*

[Pauses as if he wants me to show commendation of this feat]

Author: [Almost missing my cue and in a disbelievingly tone] *Six birds in seven nights?!*

Jay: *That is definitely better mate, without a doubt.*

Popeye: *But if you put the work in, you get it out.*

Jay: *Yeah but he will put in the work here mate, I guarantee it.*

Popeye: *But they are like upper class here.*

Jay: *They are not so easy.*

Popeye: *Lot more respectable, mate.*

Jay: *It does get messy here though mate. The booze cruises are mental. MESSY. 'Come on boys, drinks, drinks, boom, boom' [as he imitates knocking back shots].*

Streetfighter: *In Magaluf, it is like cheap man's fucking [lower class] holiday.*

Jay: *Yeah but here it is mental, just as messy.*

C-Dawg: *I don't know actually, I haven't been to any of these places.*

Streetfighter: *Nathan: It's cheap parties in Magaluf but Ibiza is more upper class.*

The Southside crew raise a number of interesting issues here. Firstly, they discuss the way in which different holiday destinations are populated by, as they see it, a certain 'class' of individual; Magaluf in Majorca they say has a different cohort to those who go to Ibiza. But Ibiza is different because there are supposedly 'quality women' who are 'upper class'. In addition, what the Southside crew perhaps do not recognise - yet seem to be describing - are groups of young British women from the same class bracket who are more seasoned on the holiday circuit; some of whom have had their fair share of blunt encounters with men and are, as a consequence, less forthcoming to male advances. This does not deter their candid approaches for sexual conquest but the fact they think the 'women are easier' says something about how young British men in this cohort objectify their female counterparts. But what I want to draw attention to

here is the fact that the Southside crew seem to be accumulating some sort of holiday experience in these resorts.

Since the post-war period, the holiday for the British working class has developed as a means of time out to more of a social occasion of celebration and engaging in excessive consumption and hedonism. This has come with the advent of mass tourism and the commercialisation of tourist destinations. A common feature which developed from this was the package holiday which helped to provide everything the working classes could need when they went on holiday. Today, this form of tourism exists in what's called *Club 18-30* or *Twenties* - package tourism companies which specifically cater for holidays for young people. The Southside crew and others in my sample seem to be christened into excessive consumption on these holidays as they are persuaded by the companies and their workers to buy tickets for 'bar crawls' and 'boat parties' which encourage deviant and risk behaviours. As they mature, however and realise that the young and inexperienced or 'lower classes' are in those places where they once went (such as Magaluf), they look for/hear about other places which are similar in their orientation where they can do exactly the same thing but without the young and inexperienced crowd. If they have not heard about Ibiza through the aggressive marketisation of the island through popular culture, they come to hear of it on this holiday circuit.

However, tourist numbers in Ibiza are falling because of the increased competition with other new European holiday destinations, so over the last ten years global corporations, marketing experts, commercial entrepreneurs, the music industry and the Superclubs have rampantly marketed Ibiza as the 'place to be'. This has attracted a younger British crowd who have not accumulated the same holiday experience as the Southside crew (Briggs, 2013). Consequently, they arrive not knowing what is expected of them and learn the hard way - often getting heavily into debt and engaging in deviant and risk behaviours with more severe consequences. Ibiza is one of those places and has attached to it a social status for which many aspire by 'go in' Ibiza'. However, for most, once they have been to Ibiza, they feel they have to come back because they find out that there are other levels of ideological social status they can claim if they had more money which prompts them to return. Many of these working class British want to try to climb the social class ladder by producing a level of social envy about the fact that they have gone to Ibiza. The cultural and commercial side of how this process takes place is explored later but for now I want to introduce you to this hierarchy. Pursuits toward this ideological status, I want to suggest, in part helps to create a revolving population of British tourists who not only talk about Ibiza, thereby contributing to the commercial and social ideology of the island but also to return to its shores.

**'You can be who you want to be, do what you want to do':
Identity and unfreedom**

Jay: *That was how we were in Magaluf mate, we couldn't remember the first day. Maybe that will be like that today; well we can remember everything so far. I thought I would be more minging [drunk] by now because me and him [Streetfighter], we don't really drink.*

Streetfighter: *That's because I have a girlfriend.*

Author: *You have a girlfriend.*

Streetfighter: *And a kid [child] on the way, mate.*

Author: *I see.*

Streetfighter: *But I am sexually frustrated mate.*

Jay: *Yeah, sexually frustrated idiot!*

[All laugh]

Popeye: *I've got a girlfriend...*

Streetfighter: *But mate [grabs my arm], what happens on holiday, stays on holiday [no one tells anyone about what happens on holiday]...But I am away, I need to get fucking something. If I don't have sex on this holiday I am going to go back more frustrated, more angry.*

Popeye: *Seriously, your girlfriend is pregnant.*

Streetfighter: *But you don't get a fuck when your misses is pregnant.*

Popeye: *That's why I think it's terrible [A young woman in a thong bikini walks past] Cor, look at the tits [breasts] on that.*

The Southside crew raise some important issues here with regard to how the holiday marks a shift in identity. Firstly, Streetfighter, in particular, feels he can finally do what he wants to do because he thinks he is 'free' in a landscape designed for his liberty. Secondly, and aside from the fact they cannot remember the first day of last holiday because they were so drunk, the holiday is constructed as time to do the things they feel they are missing out on, as well as the things they cannot do at home. The truth is that they are doing exactly the same things as they are doing at home but in a more exaggerated manner. Lastly, for Streetfighter, the holiday - and what he does on it - bares no reflection on his home relationships and the new baby which is due soon; there is also some clear determination in his tone to take advantage of this moment because no one will know who he is and there are no apparent repercussions on his behaviour.

For young British tourists the holiday signifies a decoupling from the perceived restrictions on everyday home life, routines and responsibilities. The first thing this does is create the immediate impetus for most to initiate default behaviours and practices which they would normally do at the weekends: that is get drunk, take drugs and engage in

playful forms of deviance and risk-taking. Yet the people in my research are seeking to maximise their experiences in the short time they have to do it - it may not come again so the occasion must be seized and drained for as much as possible. It is therefore in the excitement of this perceived 'liberation', heightened by a group dynamic which endorses transgression and a subjective intension of self reward and indulgence, that the occasion is marked by most by excessive consumption into the realms of *hyperconsumption*.

While this is partly because Ibiza is commercially depicted back home as a place where one can engage in these behaviours and marketed as a place with no visible repercussions, the other side is that this decoupling means people are increasingly likely to try things they would not normally do in places which are either constructed as *unfamiliar* (it is a foreign country and a plane has taken them there) or as *familiar* to them (in that they have come to know what is expected of them and are in an environment which reflects home NTE symbolisms such as bars, clubs and brand restaurants like KFC). In this sphere a new permissiveness is constructed around anonymity whereby they see no direct reflection on what they do as 'wrong' because everyone around them, including their 'friends' (and friends of friends), are doing the same/similar thing as well - that there is little pressure for them to adhere to their daily demeanour back home. This is especially true when the social context is offering the 'good life' for which they have come to be so familiar (Hayward and Hobbs, 2007; Hall et al., 2008). There are the familiar pub names, bars, take-aways which reflects what Billig (1995) calls 'banal nationalism' whereby everyday representations of the nation build an imagined sense of national solidarity and belonging. It is this therefore, this identity transition from home to holiday, which alerts the individual's subjective sensations to this new permissiveness.

In the new territory of the resort, people like the Southside crew think they are liberated and that their behaviours represent 'freedom' and 'unconformity'; yet from what I can see they represent only exaggerated forms of consumption or *hyperconsumption* which typically take place at home. Even extensions of these behaviours into very unpredictable realms (trying and experimenting with deviance and risk taking) symbolise efforts to escape *unfreedom* and *conformity* - this being their commitment to break free from consumer lifestyle and the way in which they are bound by reproducing the same practices typically undertaken on a night out back home (Briggs, 2013). In a similar vein, because much of what is going on around them is the 'same sort of thing', in 'same sort of places', with the 'same sort of people' and everyone around is wearing 'similar sorts of

clothing', this, I want to argue, prompts subjective adventures to claim back 'individuality' which can reap social commendation as well as individual ontology. These are additional elements to consider in the process of engaging in extreme deviance and risky behaviours; it is the leap of faith into the unknown which, for some, becomes legendary but for others, can go very wrong because they get injured, hurt or cause harm to others. These elements are important to acknowledge because, the other side to these subjective transitions, is the way the social context - San Antonio, Ibiza - has been commercially designed to coerce them into deviance and risk behaviours. The resort therefore acts as the catalyst for the behaviours.

The political economy: Consumerism and the commodification of everything

Author: *So you two have been to San Antonio before [Jay and Streetfighter]?*

Streetfighter: *Same hotel, same place, San Antonio!*

Author: *That's interesting because some people are saying that Ibiza is the last one, the ultimate and that other holidays facilitate a step towards Ibiza. But there are people that come back here, year after year.*

Jay: *It's the name [the brand].*

Streetfighter: *Mate, I will always come back to Ibiza every year. That's how much I love it. The clubs, yeah? In Southside [back home], yeah, the club called the Kingdom. All the best DJs from Radio 1 come down. Drum and Base in one room and Van Dyke and all that and it is exactly like Ibiza, but Ibiza is like thousands of people but like Southside is like one thousand.*

Author: *So it is like the ultimate.*

Streetfighter: *It is a clubber's paradise. If you love the trance, house, I fucking love it.*

Popeye: *I hate it.*

Streetfighter: *Yeah, he doesn't like it [to Popeye], don't know about them two [C-Dawg and Jay].*

C-Dawg: *R&B.*

Jay: *Yeah R&B.*

Popeye: *All day long.*

Streetfighter: *Any day, mate. Me and him [to Jay as if to secure some common ground].*

Author: *What do you do if you are not into the clubs then?*

Popeye: *I would rather stay by the pool and go in the small clubs to be honest with you.*

Jay: *But we are mates and we'll have a laugh anyway [as if to try and unite group on separate interests].*

The tensions in individual holiday agendas are important here for they come to fruition when the Southside crew arrive on the West End drinking strip in San Antonio and split up. However, what I want to draw your attention to here, and as the Southside crew demonstrate, Ibiza now exists beyond its underground dance/house music reputation (which is now more mainstream than ever). As I have shown, some British tourists cannot quite locate the reasons for selecting Ibiza for their holiday; some say things like it's because of 'its name' or because it's the place to *be* but can offer little other reason. While there may be some allegiance to the music, the Superclubs or Ibiza town shopping boutiques, more than ever people feel they *should* go, to say they have gone, and feel they need to do so as part of life's experience. How is it then that they have come to believe this? Over the last ten years Ibiza's strategic immersion in the media, popular culture and celebrity stories has been coupled with its rampant marketisation. There has also been commodification and commercial transformation of its resorts and Superclubs, and the development of exclusive hotels and beach clubs. However, the island's infrastructure - health, criminal justice, and in some respects tourism (Bellis and Hughes, 2008) - is woefully short of supporting this development and demand for what is expected to be available in Ibiza. So where the formal economy falls short, in steps the informal equivalent (drug dealers, illegal taxis, etc.). Indeed, the British tourists and casual workers have their role to play in this respect because many arrive thinking they can get work but instead cannot and end up dealing drugs to sustain a wage.

These commercial and commodified advances and changes have occurred at the same time as Ibiza's tourist numbers have started to dwindle; in part, because of its image of 'drugs and crime' but also because of the increased competition it now has with other emerging tourist destinations which offer the same sort of thing (music, clubbing, sun, sea and the rest of it). With tourist numbers down and fighting an image problem, the corporations and marketing entrepreneurs, local authority, the Superclubs and, perhaps more reluctantly, many of the local community who work in the tourist industry on the island, more than ever, face a dilemma. They must ensure that the visitors who come maximise their spending in the short time they are there. And because Ibiza's economy relies so heavily on tourism, it means the principle elements of how this has to happen must take place in the Superclubs, the West End drinking strip, private hotels/beach clubs such as Ibiza Rocks and Ushuaia, and on the booze cruises. These tourist institutions and forums must therefore permit deviant and risk behaviours because they come as a consequence of the spending attached to the British (and other) tourists.

And here is where the ideology works because this cohort of working class British youth have come to believe that the better experiences come with spending more money - even if they end up in hospital as a consequence. So these tourist institutions and forums introduce different tariffs of VIP and create new spaces in which people feel they need to be seen just so they can tell everyone back home. What I am

describing here is a *spatial commodification of status stratification* (how space and 'social status' becomes intrinsic to spending power). It is these elements, I suggest, which also helps to propel British tourists into *hyperconsumption* and to feel they need to return the year after to attain the ideological higher status by spending more money. They want to go to the supposedly 'better' places which require them to have 'more money' and this is where the global corporations, commercial and marketing experts, the Superclubs win. These institutions are only concerned with making money from the British tourists and are not worried if they are harmed in any way as a consequence of their over-intoxication.

Capitalismo extremo: Risk taking and deviance in context

After no fewer than six different casual workers approach us with offers for booze cruises, bars and clubs, we stumble out of the bar at around 4.45pm and they permit me to continue recording. We walk slowly in pairs down the road, distracted by different attractive women trying to pry us into bars or sell us tickets to help shape our 'night out'. As the sun bounces off our half-naked bodies, Jay practises his kickboxing techniques on me and shows me methods of killing people. Streetfighter then whispers in my ear about how he 'pulls women', telling one PR woman he will '*fuck her senseless in his apartment.*' '*Charming*' she replies. Yet their blunt advances have little success:

Jay: *Nice arse* [bottom].

[The girls passing by walk on unimpressed]

Streetfighter: [To me] *Mate, you have to push* [approach] *the birds out here.*

[One PR woman approaches us]

PR woman: *Hi guys we just want to let you know what is going on Thursday...* [Hands out leaflets for a pre-party 'booze cruise']

Streetfighter: *Nice face. Pretty.*

Jay: *Then to our hotel to party?*

Streetfighter: *We will fucking smash you up, fuck you* [have sex with you], *all sorts.*

PR woman: *Eugh, that's disgusting. That's vile.*

[All the lads laugh while Streetfighter remains serious about the offer]

Here continues the Southside crew's first night on holiday in San Antonio. All the data presented thus far has been from their lengthy focus group discussion. They are now loose in the social context of San Antonio and ready to continue the party. In doing so, and as this short excerpt shows, their no-nonsense holiday intentions and fetishes surface in tandem with the relentless bombardment of offers to help shape their night out and their holiday in general - all of which involve spending money, drinking, drugs

and are sold with the ideology and promise of sex (Andrews, 2008). That night, which is their first, they all get drunk and take drugs: Streetfighter has sex with two prostitutes; Jay loses his friends and ends up walking back to the hotel by himself; C-Dawg loses the group and ends up drinking in a bar by himself while Popeye drifts off with some other friends who he meets. The group separates because they have different conceptions of what they want from a night out and the West End drinking strip has been designed to cater for all their wild fetishes. I am saying that their attitudes for a holiday 'blowout' are persistently coerced by the commercial and commodified elements of the social context, which, results in deviant and risk activities - people continually approach them offering them sex, drugs and drink offers.

The Southside crew and others in my sample are participating in *capitalismo extremo* (extreme capitalism) - a sublime money-making process led by global corporations, commercial entrepreneurs, tourist companies/organisations who ideologically make the holidaymakers believe they should 'seize the moment', 'live the dream' and engage in excessive consumption, deviance and risk - all at the expense of themselves. This is evident in the way in which many of working class British holidaymakers have come to believe what they do on holiday is expected of them - because they learn about these behaviours at home and through popular culture - as much as the way in which the resort, and all its players, assists in those constructions and coerce them into those behaviours by offering them the opportunities to take drugs, drink heavily and have sex. *Capitalismo extremo* takes no prisoners because it is concerned only with exaggerating the tourists' 'blowout' attitudes to their holiday to make profit - even if it means significant personal, financial and/or social loss for the holidaymakers. Unknowingly, many British tourists participate in this social system, which often leaves them penniless and to their detriment, yet this does not seem to matter much to them. This is because their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984) and ontology are already preset on reproducing similar kinds of behaviours back home (Hayward and Hobbs, 2007; Hall et al., 2008). So to do them abroad, when they occur in an exaggerated and/acute manner, means they are even more enjoyable - even if they may appear from the outside to be bizarre and extreme. Therefore, while the behaviours, and even some of the crude consequences, are constructed as something *real* which they can tell back home, they are as much a by-product of an ideological social conditioning of *being* over a period of time as they are drawn into excessive consumption, deviance and risk taking by the powerful corporations, commercial entrepreneurs and tourist companies/organisations. And despite all this, many often come back out to do the same thing the next year.

Going home ...only to come back out

I sit drinking with Streetfighter and Jay in their local pub. As we gulp our pints of beer, their Ibiza holiday becomes the discussion point:

Streetfighter: *It was a year ago and I am just getting over it now [the holiday]. The last day, I really wanted to fucking stay. Didn't I say that, that I was going to sleep on the beach and find a fucking job; I didn't want to go.*

Jay: *If I didn't have a family, I would be there every year. Fucking on it. It has to be done.*

Author: *But why?*

Streetfighter: *Because it is freedom. There is no one to tell you what to do. No pressures or stresses of work or of the life you are in. So the person you see out there, is not the person you will see for the rest of your life.*

Over drinks the eventful night is confirmed as something which has gone down in history: a tale for many years. Later in the discussion:

Streetfighter: *Good night? And he was like yeah because I shit myself [laughs] and got sucked off [oral sex] by prostitutes.*
[All laugh]

Author: *Is that the best or worst?*

Streetfighter: *The best! The worst was coming back [home]!*

In a conversation a year after their holiday in Ibiza, the Southside crew can clearly recall the 'great moments'. In doing so, they confirm the perception that what they experience in Ibiza - and for many Brits on holiday elsewhere - a kind of constructed 'freedom'. My argument is that this is in fact *unfreedom* because of the way they reproduce what they have come to learn back home in the UK in the NTE, through popular culture and the media as well as on other holidays. For most, the feelings generated by the return to home life are sour and existentially penetrating, and this is evident in their admissions that they want to stay and that, despite everything - even the most bizarre moment of the holiday when Streetfighter was with the prostitutes - that the feeling of coming home was more depressing. The perfect life it seems is one without these home pressures where they can engage in this kind of hedonism on a daily basis.

Why is it that they feel like this then when they go home? I think the return to home life produces a dualism in the self: that is, how, over the course of the holiday, a gradual self deconstruction - a kind of emic and reflexive evaluation of the self takes place as they become unhinged from everyday home life, while, at the same time embrace the life of the resort and the dreamlike landscapes of the West End, the Superclubs and beach clubs. This identity reversal reinforces the perceived mundane of 'normal'

life, but also, at the same time, exaggerates the false happiness of the 'good life'; the *hyperconsumption* providing a bogus safety net, an imagined escapism towards security which easily stimulates the subjective need for enjoyment. This often results in an internal existential tug-of-war as people like the Southside crew end up not knowing what is real and what is false; they lose their ontological bearings. Their 'boring' home life, as they say, is laid naked before them while, at the same time, there is some small realisation that the dreamlike essence of what they thought they participated in was actually nothingness. What they are doing is reflexively looking 'below life' and it feels like looking deep into a desolate and personal abyss; a no man's land where the false is real and the real is false. Young Brits employ one (or a combination) of several methods of dealing with this depressing feeling: a) go out on the town when they get home to quickly revive the memories and home transgressions as part of their *being*; b) to start planning/saving for the next holiday next year, potentially in Ibiza; c) impulsively go out to Ibiza again the same summer or even fail to return and stay out there. Their return to Ibiza is also buttressed by a significant amount of marketing around the 'reunion parties', the release of Ibiza club compilations which stimulate memories of the 'good times' and the continued discourses which revolve around leisure and online time (in the pub, on Facebook) about the perceived magic of Ibiza. Some attend the same branded Ibiza clubs in the UK, go to reunion parties and buy the compilation CDs from the summer they had in Ibiza. This helps them rekindle memories and so we are also therefore talking about a *commodification of nostalgia* which provides the personal impetus to consider returning.

Conclusion

This paper shows that the deviant and risky behaviours of British holidaymakers are as much about what they do/who they are abroad as what they do/who they are at home. The justification to 'play hard' on holiday, say these young British tourists, evolves from the pressure to 'work hard'. Yet some say work is 'boring' while others do not display such a commitment or any significant work ethic in their daily home lives. In fact, work is uncertain and precarious (Standing, 2011). To me, this validation seems more akin to an increasing commitment to a life of leisure and the role of consumer lifestyles and this seems evident in the hedonistic attitudes young British working class exhibit across town centres most weekends in the UK (Hayward and Hobbs, 2007; Hall et al., 2008); where work has little value as a means of identity construction which is where a life of leisure fills the void. This is not to suggest that they construct their lives as 'free beings' as some liberal-pluralists would like to think, but instead, make both conscious and subconscious decisions within the framework of an increased prevalence of the role of leisure and consumer capitalism.

With the advent of the holiday, there is an amplification of 'play' (at home) to 'play harder' (abroad). This splintering from 'work hard/play hard' to 'play/play harder', I would like to suggest, has occurred through a crude mixture of structural and social changes to the youth labour market and strategic marketing campaigns which do a number of things: a) make overt advertisements of leisure and the 'good life' (which involves a life mean attribution away from work); which, in turn, b) resonates with some working class groups who either have precarious, uncertain positions in the labour market (students, unemployed or those with temporary positions) and others who have quite mundane 9-5 jobs; c) thus creating the impetus for a life of leisure which, for most of the people in my study, is manifested by a premise of making impulsive decisions to spend money/experience 'life'/do 'crazy' things. Some of these social changes undoubtedly have affected all of us but I have been concerned with how these processes shaped a particular population; that is a small group of working class British youth and how they seek to 'experience' their holiday to construct the 'good times'.

It is this cultural ideology of 'leisure' and 'play' which directs people like the Southside crew to engage in deviance and risk abroad. At home, they are used to drinking, taking drugs and playful forms of deviant and risk taking - these actions are part of their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1984) - and so therefore it should be no surprise that these practices are often what they initiate when they can find any time out of the home predicaments in spaces which are specifically and symbolically designed for their 'blowout' (Billig, 1995; Miles, 2010). After all, one way or another, they have come to know that this is what is expected of them, and subconsciously what they expect from themselves. Because the holiday is a finite period of time, it must be seized and must be milked as much as possible before of the inevitable return to the banality of routine; the fixed time period often acting as a rationale to power through especially when a self deconstruction starts to pull apart some of the failings of home life - which only amplifies the need to make the most of it. Abroad, they are anonymous and a new permissiveness is personally rationalised and socially buttressed which allows for experimentation and exploration of the deeper realms of their fetishes and fantasies in the resort space which happily matches these interests...as long as money is being spent.

Yet everything around them is the same, the people they are with, the clothes they wear and they don't seem to have the cultural adventure to venture outside the resort: the only option for most is to remain in the resort area, engage in *hyperconsumption*, transgress and make some sort of version of memories on digital cameras by engaging in extreme deviance and risk activities to create social kudos and envy for their legendary activities. Quite often, although this can go very wrong and many end up with injuries or in hospital, they do not mind because they have come to believe the behaviours are more normal than not. As the holiday draws to a close, a personal crisis ensues which, for most, is negotiated by recommitting themselves to weekend excess and consumption as soon as

they get home, relive the Ibiza moments/discourses in the pub, and/or come back to Ibiza as soon as possible - perhaps even to work. This realisation not only assists with a reasoning to seize the reality as much as possible - to power on - as it does to tempt them back to Ibiza to relive the 'crazy times' and/or the 'good old days'.

There is therefore no pathology at play in the behaviours they exhibit abroad as they are in a perpetual cycle, not only to consume and live by this consumption as a means of identity construction - which by the way constrains them - but are equally bound to transgress it as a way of attempting to abscond its hold on their life. Here play the roles of the weekend, festivals, megaevents, and, in the context of my work, the holiday, and this is the tight grip the social system has on its subjects. Deviance and risk behaviours abroad are therefore as much culturally embedded as they are reinforcing; as much socially expected as they are situationally engaged; and consequently become as much subjectively reasoned as they are structurally and spatially encouraged.

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